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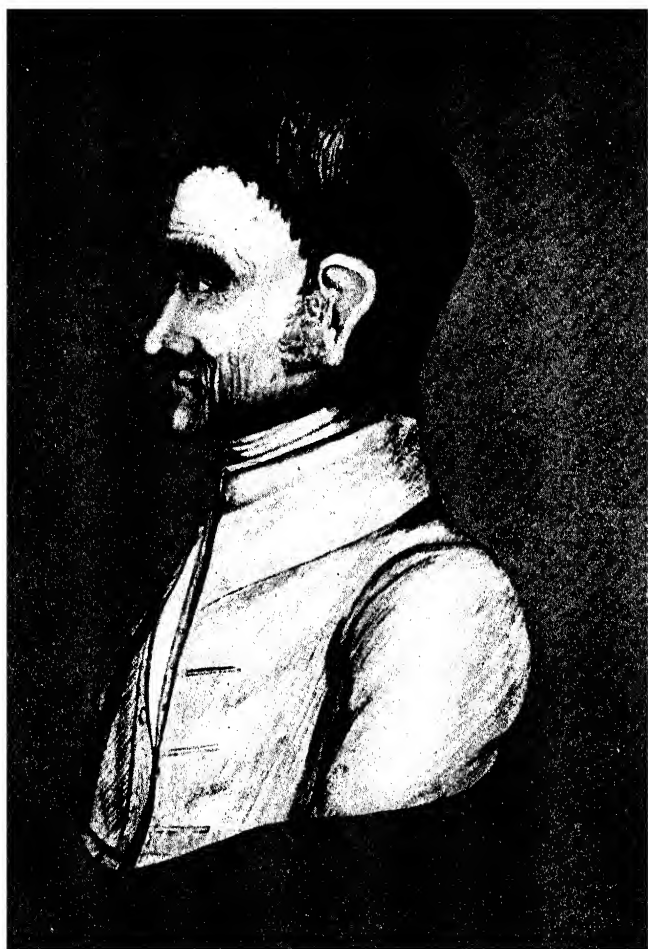
THE JOURNAL OF
JOHN WOOLMAN
1922



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John Woolman

PORTRAIT OF JOHN WOOLMAN.

The original sepia drawing on a large folio sheet from which this reproduction has been made is almost certainly the work of John Woolman's friend and contemporary, Robert Smith III, of Burlington, New Jersey, son of Daniel (d. 1781), and grandson and namesake of the well known Judge Robert Smith of the Court of Common Pleas, Burlington County (1769 &c). Robert Smith III married Mary, daughter of Job Bacon, of Bacon's Neck, N. J. He had a natural gift for seizing a likeness and has left a large collection of striking sketches. The technique is identical with this sketch, which, however, is more ambitious, and the erratic background is omitted. The medal of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Association, founded in 1787 by Thomas Clarkson, which appears in the original, goes to prove this a memory sketch, as are many of Robert Smith's portraits, and also furnishes corroborative evidence of its genuineness.

The original was in possession of the late Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, whose endorsement is on the reverse, and whose accurate judgment was seldom at fault. It was sold with the contents of his library in 1908 and came later into the hands of the present owner, George Vaux, Jr., of Bryn Mawr, Pa., to whom are due the editor's thanks for the privilege of reproduction.

RANCOCAS EDITION

THE
JOURNAL AND ESSAYS
OF
JOHN WOOLMAN

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS

WITH A

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE

*"That best part of a good man's life,
His little, nameless unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love."*

—WORDSWORTH.

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PREFACE

Nearly a decade has passed since the preparation of this edition of John Woolman's *Journal* was undertaken at the request of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia. In that interval has come and gone the Great War, whose shadow has fallen so deeply upon our modern civilization. To the philosopher of the future, who will command a truer perspective than is possible for us today, must be left the final verdict of its effect upon a great portion of the human race.

In view, however, of the stupendous changes which have been wrought in national and political relations, and of the fact that never before were social upheavals of such magnitude or importance, it is appropriate that a wider hearing be given to one whose quiet voice has still a message for this weary world, and whose meditations have survived in a form, quaint indeed, but singularly penetrating in their sympathetic counsel and wisdom. John Woolman had two great aims in his rather brief life:—the abolition of slavery, and the readjustment of human relations for the relief of the laboring classes. The first was accomplished at the cost of a civil war, and the life of the Great Emancipator. Over the second, which is yet unattained, the world nevertheless may discern faint gleams of light; but we desperately need today the sound teaching of John Woolman. He called his little book a *Journal*, although in it will be found comparatively few autobiographical details. Such it is, however, in the sense of being the history of the Progress of a Soul through what was to him indeed a Vale of Tears. John Woolman believed it possible "to provide all men with an environment which will best develop their physical, mental and spiritual powers." This definition of social reconstruction is that of a modern English student and leader in social reform, B. Seebohm Rowntree, but it was anticipated more than a century and a half ago by John Woolman.

The circumstances of the early publication of Woolman's *Journal* are related in the pages that follow. It is less a matter of

regret that the present edition has been unavoidably delayed, since some of the most important facts connected with John Woolman's life have but very recently come to light. The reader should be reminded that the change of date from old to new style occurred in the year 1752. In certain cases it has been impossible to know definitely whether the record quoted has been adjusted or not. In every such case the original is given as it stands; in other cases, the change is noted. The bibliography is based upon the very full one published in the "Century" Edition of Headley Bros., London, 1900, and is used with permission.

It remains to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance rendered the present editor by many kind friends who cannot all be named, but to most of whose services reference will be found in the notes. Death has claimed those to whom the editor's debt is greatest. President Isaac Sharpless, of Haverford College, read the earliest chapters, and urged their publication. Professor Allen C. Thomas critically examined and endorsed the entire manuscript during the summer preceding his death. To the late Dr. John W. Jordan, and to Miss Wylie of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, and to Dr. J. Russell Hayes, Librarian at Swarthmore College, are due thanks for their aid with the original Woolman manuscripts in their respective collections. Many members of the collateral branches of the Woolman family have cordially loaned their papers and documents for examination or reproduction. Gilbert Cope, the genealogist, has furnished the facts regarding the father of Sarah Ellis, wife of the Journalist, and both William A. Slaughter and the late Charles H. Engle of Mount Holly, gave valuable aid in regard to the local associations of John Woolman in his home town.

In England the editor is under deep obligations to Norman Penney, F.R.H.S., at Devonshire House, London, where the vast collections of Quaker historical material have been laid under contribution for this volume by him and his able assistant, M. Ethel Crawshaw. He has also had searches made in the records of those meetings in the counties which were visited by Woolman. The late William C. Braithwaite and Dr. R. Hingston Fox furnished valuable information, and to no one more than to the late Malcolm Spence, of Almerly Garth, York, is the editor's indebtedness greater. His interest in the work led him to much care in photo-

graphing in detail the valuable manuscripts still in possession of the family in the house where John Woolman died, and his own death occurred very soon after he had sent over all the material which had any relation to the Quaker philanthropist.

The inspirer and adviser of this edition, who did not live to see the work finished, but the memory of whose helpful aid has made the completion of the task possible, was Francis B. Gummere. His grateful wife would here record her debt to his unfailing bright encouragement and wise counsel. Without the aid and coöperation of these and many others, the editor's labors would have been less complete. The personal life of John Woolman is here presented in more detail than has before been possible. It is hoped that his spiritual message will not lose thereby.

AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE.

Lancaster, Pa.
June, 1922.

INTRODUCTION

There are few men so eminent as John Woolman in social or religious literature, of whose personal life and surroundings so very little is known. The extraordinary modesty of character which so distinguished him in his personal relations with his fellowmen, has kept from the world for one hundred and fifty years those more intimate facts of which present day biography is often so full. In reading Woolman one must always carefully distinguish between the humility of character which was his in a marked degree, and that "holy boldness" which made him fearless in the prosecution of those delicate and difficult tasks to which his apprehended duty called him.

John Woolman's autobiography, heretofore our only source of information, contains but a thread of personal history, usually introduced because it is necessary to explain the circumstances of the spiritual "exercise" which he wishes to record. Even this appears solely for the purpose of enforcing a moral lesson. The Journal, for its very restraint, its simplicity of style, and its clarity of vision and statement, has grown into a classic, occupying a place unique in literature, and of far more influence than was dreamed possible by its modest author. Such writers as Henry Crabbe Robinson, Charles Lamb and George Macaulay Trevelyan, to name but three representative men, have borne testimony to its spiritual and literary qualities. Joseph Sturge, the reformer and philanthropist, wrote of it: "In the picturesque simplicity of its style, refined literary taste has found an inimitable charm; but the spiritually minded reader will discover beauties of a far higher order."¹ The Journal was at one time in use as a text book at Princeton University, for the purity of its English,² and in 1920 the State of Pennsylvania required it of its candidates in the public school examinations.

¹ "Visit to the United States." 1841. p. 9.

² Charles B. Todd. "History of the Burr Family." 2d edit. p. 449.

The Journalist was in the habit of noting down his experiences on his tours about the country, and he says, "After reading over the notes I made as I travelled, I find my mind engaged to preserve them." Having once made this determination, he systematically carried it out. The "Memorials" of his intimate friend, Rebecca Jones of Philadelphia, were published thirty years after her death, and in violation of her written request that they be not made public. She committed them to writing under a sense of duty, like John Woolman, and it was the opinion of the eminent men consulted that "it was not within her province to withhold from posterity the lustre of her example." John Woolman made no such restriction. Aware how much the record of his own experience might benefit his successors, he committed to paper all he thought of value as the days went by. He began the practice at the age of thirty-five and kept it up until his death at the age of fifty-two.

Examination of the sources now available for a fuller biography, brings out a personality which has nothing to lose and much to gain over the traditional figure of John Woolman. Records, legal and denominational, have been searched, often with important results, and many hitherto unknown letters and documents have been found in public libraries and in private hands. In fact, so much of new interest has developed, that a biographical sketch of the man is now no more than due to those who know John Woolman only through his Journal—the most impersonal autobiography ever written.

The only valid reason which could be offered for a new edition of the Journal of John Woolman would be the discovery of new material. There are half a hundred editions of the Journal proper, and a multitude of publications in which his Essays and appreciations of him appear. This valid reason, however, may now be safely advanced, for descendants of the Journalist have recently made accessible by presenting to learned institutions which are glad to guard them, the manuscripts—there are three—of the Journal, and of most of his Essays, as well as letters, marriage certificates of the family and other documents.

The large, leather-bound folio, which once had clasps, written in the excellent clerkly hand of the author, and from which Cruikshank printed the first edition in 1774, came into possession of

the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1912 as the gift of Samuel Comfort, a descendant in the sixth generation from John Woolman. It measures eight inches in width by twelve and a half in height. Inscribed upon the outside of the front of its cover are the names of three of John Woolman's grandsons:—"Samuel and Stephen and John Comfort's Book." Upon the back his great-grandson, Samuel Comfort, has written his name. This was the descendant who aided John Comly in preparing the edition of 1837, and who replied to the Philadelphia Friend who was the medium through whom an English would-be purchaser in 1845 offered a small sum for the folio:—"Could it be justly supposed that those through whose veins his blood flows, would, for sordid gold, sell to a stranger those pages over which the hand has moved and penned the sentiments and feelings as they flowed fresh and warm from the heart of their honored Father in the Truth? I may adopt this Scripture: 'The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the Inheritance of my Father unto thee.'" Accompanying this folio are the Larger and Smaller Account Books, the marriage certificate of John and Sarah Woolman, that of their daughter Mary and John Comfort, and of several of his ancestors and other relatives, besides valuable letters, papers and other documents. These have by gift now become the property of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia.

At Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, are the two earlier manuscripts of the same Journal. The first of these is a rough draft of forty-seven quarto pages, begun when the Journalist was thirty-five years of age, and bearing interesting internal evidence of his spontaneity and youth. There is great freedom from the set phraseology which sometimes renders the literature of Quakerism difficult of comprehension to the ordinary reader. Its account ends with the year 1747. The second, like the first, is unbound, with its pages stitched together, and containing all the material in the first. It continues the narrative to the year 1770. Worn and sometimes blurred, the good ink and clear handwriting have in both cases preserved for us these precious documents. Accompanying these also are letters, and the manuscripts of several of the Essays. Most valuable of all, from the antiquarian point of view, is the short Journal of the Sea Voyage and of the four months travel in England. This is stitched together in a duo-

decimo page, and is still covered with the original blue paper which protected it in its owner's pocket. These papers were all deposited on loan at Swarthmore College by a descendant in the same generation as Samuel Comfort, Elizabeth Lawrence Dudley, in 1913.

It is clear that the two Swarthmore copies were used by Woolman in preparing the folio for the printer. His Larger Account Book (Page 27) contains a charge for this book. This copy was made in the years 1769-1771, and was finished before he left home for England. It was one of the important details of his preparation for departure, whose completion was necessary for his peace of mind. Corrections and changes were made as he copied, most of the alterations bearing evidence of the writer's more mature thought. In the present edition these changes are noted. When John Woolman was about to leave home in 1772, he carefully tied up this folio, together with other important private papers, and left them in the hands of his intimate friend, John Pemberton, who was at that time Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings, as the large Committee acting in the intervals of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, was then called. They were not to be opened except in case of his failure to return. He also prepared and left for immediate publication his well-known "Epistle," to Friends "4 mo. 1772."

The Journal of the Sea Voyage was made from day to day, and in the five weeks during which it lasted, John Woolman inserted the reflections which life at sea suggested to him. Five days after landing, at the close of London Yearly Meeting, this manuscript was given to his friend, Sophia Hume, for whom he had in 1748 performed a similar service, to revise and correct,
da mo

at her discretion. The cover bears the endorsement "13: 6: 1772. I commit these notes to the care and keeping of Sophia Hume, and if she hath a mind to revise them, and place them in better order, I am free to it, but I desire she may not shew them to any one, but with a very weighty consideration. John Woolman." There is no evidence of any alterations made by Sophia Hume, with whom he doubtless left the little manuscript on his departure from London.

The leaves on which is written the diary of the long walk to the North are stitched in later, possibly having been added after his death, the manuscript of the voyage, and of the English Journey thus forming one little paper-covered pamphlet. On the blank pages of the English Journey, William Tuke⁶⁸ wrote down from day to day the memoranda of John Woolman's illness and death. This manuscript was brought by Samuel Emlen,⁷ [then known as "Junior,"] to whose care William Tuke consigned it, (along with Woolman's clothing and other small possessions), from York to John Woolman's wife, who handed them to the *Meeting for Sufferings* at Philadelphia. That meeting appointed a Committee to edit and prepare the Journal and Essays for publication. The minutes are in the handwriting of the Clerk, John Pemberton, the lifelong friend of Woolman. They give us in detail the story of the first edition.

"At a Monthly Meeting for Sufferings held in Philadelphia, the 15th of 4 mo.th, 1773.

Our beloved Friend John Woolman having before his leaving us Sealed up a Journal of his life to near that time, together with some other manuscripts, & directed them to John Pemberton⁸ in order that they should be Communicated (sic) to this meeting, if it should please the Lord to remove him from the Stage of this life before his return, being now presented to this meeting, John Hunt,¹ John Reynell,² James Pemberton,³ Anthony Benezet,⁴ & Owen Jones⁵ are appointed to inspect them & Communicate (sic) their Sentiments thereon to a future Meeting;" (p. 379). 18th day of 8mo. 1773; Israel Pemberton,⁶ Samuel Emlen,⁷ Junior, & John Pemberton⁸ were added to the Committee in charge of the Journal. These, then, were the Friends who became the official editors. They were men whose prominence in the councils and affairs of the Colony will at once be evident to any one familiar with the history of Pennsylvania.¹

They had already entered upon their task when the official announcement of the deaths of John Woolman and his cousin William Hunt,⁹ was received from London. The meeting replied:—"22nd. 4mo. 1773. . . . We had before the arrival of your Epistle received the Sorowful account of two of these

¹ Brief sketches of these men will be found in the Biographical Notes.

worthy Friends being removed to receive the Reward of their faithfull Labours, which very Sensibly affect us, & our loss is the Greater, as several other valuable Friends were near the same time taken from us, & by their patient Continuance in Weldoing were nearly united to the faithful." (p. 383).

Several months were spent in sorting and arranging the various papers and manuscripts, and in the autumn work was actually begun on the Journal proper. The Meeting for Sufferings, under date, "21 day of 10mo. 1773," has a minute;—"It's now agreed that the Committee, with such other friends of this Meeting as can well attend, do meet at the 6th. hour in the Evening of next 4th. day in order to proceed to the Inspection & Consideration of the Journal left by our Friend John Woolman, & so to adjourn from time to time until they have gone thro' it." (p. 396.) Next month they record that the Committee and "*divers Friends*" are regularly meeting together once a week for the purpose of hearing the Journal and *to revise* it. Finally, "21 of 1mo. 1774. . . . The Journal left by our Dear Friend John Woolman having been read through by the Committee & nearly ready for the Press, and a Specimen of the Type & Paper on which it is proposed to be printed being produced, the letter appearing clear & large, it's tho't may be agreeable, & that the Printer may be Encouraged to Print 1200 Copies. Some further Consideration respecting the Journal is referred to the next Meeting." (p. 401).

The last entries have to do with the subscriptions. Broad-sides were printed and distributed by Joseph Crukshank. "21 of 4mo. 1774," they record:—"The Friends who have had the Care of revising the Journal left by Our Friend John Woolman are desired to get printed notices spread to Several Quarterly & Monthly Meetings to Acquaint them that the work is in the press & to encourage Friends to Subscribe for them." (p. 413). "19 of 5mo. 1774. Notices having been printed respecting the Journal of our Friend John Woolman, part of them are distributed, & its expected Joseph Crukshank (sic) will Exercise care to Spread them further." (p. 414).

One of the Publication Committee returned the Manuscript to Woolman's family, accompanied by the first London edition of "Remarks on Sundry Subjects," under which title are published the Essays written in England (1773). His letter follows:

Seventh Day; 4 O'Clock P.M.

Dear Friend,

I herewith send John Woolman's Journal, & that part of his Works published in England. Thy Aunt show'd us a written testimony sent from England, which I now applied to her for, but she tells my wife that thou hast a copy of it. I know of nothing else I can furnish, which would help y^e designed testimony. Oh! that I may have reason to believe that my name is written in the meanest page (if there is any difference) of the Book of Life, and I care nothing about Testimonies.

Anthony Benezet."⁴

To Samuel Allinson, Burlington.¹

The school house in which the Friends met "every 4th day evening at 6 of the clock" throughout the winter of 1773-4, stood on the site of the present Forrest Building, No. 119 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia. These were the Friends who performed the important service of giving to the world the first edition of John Woolman's Journal. The printing was excellently done by Joseph Crukshank, himself a Quaker, official printer for the Yearly Meeting. His shop was in Market Street, at the sign of the "Bible-in-Hand," and he was one of the best printers at that period in America.² The book appeared in the spring of 1774 with the title, "The Works of John Woolman."

This Committee performed its task at a period when the biography, whether Quaker or not, might be regarded as complete, if it recorded the spiritual life of the individual, and omitted many, or even most, of the facts of daily life. History had not then become a science, and the historical sense was untrained. The eighteenth century editor considered himself justified in omitting or revising at his pleasure, the statements of his author, as may be best instanced in the well known *Life of Washington*, by

¹ Family Papers in possession of Caroline Allinson, Yardville, N. J.

S. Allinson [1739-1791.] Prominent Quaker lawyer, appointed by N. J. Legislature, 1773, to prepare well-known folio, *Laws of New Jersey*, printed by Isaac Collins. [N. J. Archives 1st Ser. xxv. p.6.]

² His friends wrote of him, that "fair in his dealings, punctual with his payment, and amiable in his manners, he was greatly esteemed by his fellow citizens." [Thomas. "History of Printing in America," Vol. I., p. 262.] Crukshank occupied the third house west of Grindstone Alley, on the site now (1922) numbered 227. He had moved there in 1770 from an earlier location in Third St. ["Market Street, Philadelphia," p. 32, by Jos. Jackson.]

Weems, or *Washington's Letters*, edited by Jared Sparks. The changes made in the first edition of Woolman are chiefly omissions. The dreams are all wanting, as well as the only instance in which Woolman went to law. Part of the paragraph on inoculation is left out, as well as several mathematical calculations and diagrams. The reader will be able to compare other changes in the present edition. At the close of the volume, the letter of William Tuke was inserted as a portion of the text, and not in its original form. All later editions have followed this precedent.

Many editions at once followed the first, both in Great Britain and America (see Bibliography). None of these, however, appear to have been collated with the original manuscript, carefully guarded in the hands of descendants and easily accessible, until 1837, when Samuel Comfort, its owner, a great-grandson of John Woolman, assisted John Comly,¹ minister and school teacher and author of several text books, in publishing a new and revised edition of the Journal. This edition leaves the impression upon the reader that it was printed for theological reasons. It appeared in the stress of denominational controversy, and its joint editors, like the first committee, still regarded themselves at liberty to alter and "correct" their author. The copy of Johnson's edition of 1800 which they used, is still tied up with the manuscript. It is interlined with notes, and on its fly-leaf appears a calculation as to the frequency and significance of the name of Christ in the Holy Scriptures. In many instances "God" has been substituted for "Christ" in the text. Occasionally another Scriptural text has been substituted for that quoted by the author. The editing was nevertheless done with more accuracy and literary taste than that of any other edition, and many omissions of the first were inserted. In this a valuable service was rendered to literature.

The English edition of 1840, printed by Thomas Hurst at Warrington, was the next to appear, and the changes in that of Comly (1837,) led to its preface on the orthodoxy of John Woolman, which collation with the original manuscript would have rendered unnecessary. James Cropper, the editor,² died

¹ John Comly of Byberry, Pa., minister and schoolmaster. Born 1773. Died 8mo. 17 1850. An able and well-known Friend. Comly bought Woolman's Journal in 1792, with his first savings, when he was 19.

² James Cropper (1773-1840) of Liverpool-Philanthropist; interested in the Abolition of Slavery. Founder of Penketh School.

before the book was finished, and a Committee of Friends carried the work to its completion. The preface is an answer to the criticism of those who contended that the *Journal* itself had so much to say of *duty*, and so little of *doctrine*. The obvious reply to the Quaker precisians of the early Victorian period is that Woolman's appeal is to the *heart* even more than to the *head*. The text in this case has suffered more than in any other, the editors having attempted to "improve" Woolman's simple English. They thus conclude their preface:—"In preparing this valuable work for a more extensive circulation, it has been found necessary to correct many grammatical inaccuracies, and occasionally to omit redundant words, and repetitions of the same sentiments; also to transpose sentences, in which the author's meaning was obscured by the want of a more simple and perspicuous arrangement."

For some years before 1871 the poet Whittier had been contemplating the publication of a new edition. He was familiar with the home of Woolman, had conversed with those whose parents had known him well, and in abolition days had been chiefly anxious to bring out in a fuller introduction, the anti-slavery phase of Woolman's work. His Philadelphia friend, Charles Yarnall,¹ learning of his thought, wrote to him urging him to the undertaking, and he replied under date, from Amesbury, Massachusetts, "Eighth Month 17th. 1869. The pressure of many cares and duties, illness, and I may also confess, a deep sense of my own deficiencies as contrasted, not alone with the perfect purity of the Great Exemplar, but with such a devout follower of Him as John Woolman, have deterred me from the task to which thy letter invites. Yet it is often on my mind, and if my life is spared awhile longer, I may do something of the kind. I have now before me an unpublished work upon John Woolman by Dora Greenwell of England, author of 'The Patience of Hope' which I may yet find a publisher for."² Whittier's edition appeared in 1871.

Since that year, most editions have been based upon that of Whittier, notably the "Century" (1900) edition of Headley Brothers, London, and "Everyman's Library." The latter omits the

¹ Born 1801. Died 1877. A prominent Philadelphia Friend, much interested in Quaker education.

² Original from collection of the late Prof. Allen C. Thomas, of Haverford College, Pa. Dora Greenwell's "Patience of Hope" first appeared in Edinburgh, 1860.

entire tenth chapter. In Whittier's, which has become the standard edition, is always accessible his own brief history of the anti-slavery movement, and the message of love, human and divine, which John Woolman brings, is equally obtainable in all the many editions in which his remarkable Journal has appeared. For this reason, and because so little has been known of the personal life of Woolman, it has been deemed best to discard Whittier's introduction and substitute a sketch giving the new facts of Woolman's life, as they have recently come to light. It is necessary to keep in mind the fact also, that many of the small meetings which are named by Woolman in his travels, no longer exist.

Throughout this volume, the folio MS. used by Cruikshank in the first edition, upon which the text is based, is termed MS.A. The first small quarto, ending 1747, is MS.B. and the similar quarto ending 1770, is MS.C. Footnotes give the variations when not in the text, and the biographical notes in the Appendix aid us to identify Woolman's friends. Brackets indicate variations in the texts. There is so much interest in his family, that it is hoped the wills and deeds included, will also be welcomed.

Those who fear to see their favorite author appear in a strange form, and dread the touch upon the page of a profane hand, may be reminded that in these modern days, no higher tribute of praise or of affection can be shown than to give to his readers the exact reproduction of the text of his message. Slavery has mercifully become a dead issue; but there are today before a distracted world, questions of life and death that bring into prominence the aspects of Woolman's work having to do with social problems, which are not less timely now than when his Essays were written. The first editorial Committee was engaged at its task during the very strenuous days immediately preceding the American Revolution, and the Minutes bear abundant evidence of the appropriateness of the publication of John Woolman's Journal. It is a curious fact that this last edition, with its peaceful message, should have been prepared whilst the greatest world-war was raging.

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THE JOURNAL OF
JOHN WOOLMAN
1922

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

CHAPTER I

THE IMMIGRANT ANCESTOR

1678

John Woolman came of good old English stock. The family name is found in Gloucestershire, and also in Middlesex (London), where a Sarah Woolman of Limehouse held title to the lot on Fourth Street, in Philadelphia, which was part of a property now owned (1922) by the William Forrest Estate. The original patent¹ is dated 1st of 5mo. (July) 1685 and the deed of sale, through her nephew and attorney, William Carter, is drawn 6mo. 7, 1687. She did not come out to America, and at present there is no clue to her identity, beyond the description of her as "widow." Limehouse Parish Records do not begin until 1730.

The Quaker records of Painswick, Gloucestershire, twice contain upon their marriage certificates the signature of a John Woolman, as witness. The first occurs at the marriage of Henry Harber and Martha Humphries, 4 mo. 10, 1658; the second, at that of Richard Merrill and Hannah Mason, 2 mo. 23, 1676. Parish Church records of the same time and place disclose no such name. The second signature may have been that of the Journalist's grandfather, but he would have been only three years of age at the time of the first of these marriages. Their identity has not yet been established, but the signer or signers were in all probability members of the same family. No Woolman is named by Besse in his "Sufferings of the Quakers." A number of Painswick Friends settled in Burlington County near together, in the group which accompanied the first John Woolman. One of these was Walter Humphries, whose power of attorney was given his

¹ Rolls Office, Philadelphia, 6mo. (August) 7th. 1687. Book E. Vol. V, p. 574.

son-in-law, Enoch Core, August 15, 1684, to act as his agent in New Jersey.¹ They had all been neighbors in the old home in England, and John Woolman I inventories Walter Humphries' estate, October 17, 1698.²

In the year 1678 this John Woolman, I (1655-1718), grandfather of the Journalist, arrived at Burlington, West Jersey, from England, and is one of the settlers named as heads of families by the historian, Samuel Smith.³ He was then 23. With him, or very soon after him, came his aged father William Woolman, (d. 1692) of Gloucestershire. The son was a West Jersey Proprietor, having bought of Thomas Hooton in 1677, a thirty-second share of a proprietary right in that colony.⁴ In the next twenty years he acquired at various times several large tracts of land extending north from Rancocas Creek. In 1687 two hundred acres were taken up by John Woolman, and the ancient deed for this land, carefully preserved and bearing the signature of Governor Samuel Jennings, is cherished by the family of his descendant, the late Granville Woolman Leeds, of Rancocas, who owned one hundred acres of the original tract.⁵

John Woolman was a signer, 12mo. 7, 1680-1, of the Address sent by the Friends of Burlington to those in London. The records of the Monthly Meeting of the same place state, "7mo. 1, 1684. John Woolman & Eliz. Bourton P'posed their Intentions of Marriage, it being y^e first time." On the sixth of the next month, "Jno. Woolman & Eliz. Bourton P'posed their Intentions y^e second time, & y^e meeting left y^m to their Liberty to Consummate it as they saw meet in y^e Fear of y^e Lord." They were married

¹ New Jersey Archives, 1st Ser. Vol. XXI, p. 229. Also Do. Vol. XXIII, 109.

² N. J. Archives, 1st Ser. Vol. XXIII, p. 248.

³ Samuel Smith. "History of the Colony of Nova Cæsarea, or New Jersey." Burlington, 1765, p. 109.

⁴ Revel's Book of Surveys in Office of Sec. of State, N. J. Liber B, Part I, p. 1, "April 5-6, 1677. Thomas Hooton to John Woolman, for 1/32 of a share of West Jersey."

⁵ For the text of deed see Appendix. The State Archives (Vol. XXI) thus name some of the purchases made:—Return of Survey for John Woolman, 5mo. 1685, of "4 Acres of Marrish (marsh) opposite to Enoch Core's house, on South side of Northampton Road." Revel. Lib. B. Part II, 78. July 25, 1692, Isaac Marriott of Burlington, yeoman, to John Woolman of Northampton, Weaver, for fifty acres, "part of land bought of Thos. Budd, Jan. 11, 1861." Ibid. Lib. B. II, p. 530. November 1, 1698. Wm. Borton, yeoman, to John Woolman, weaver, both of Burlington Co., for one hundred and ten acres on Rancocas Creek, adjoining, on north, Daniel Wills; south, John Petty. Bought by John Borton, father of the grantor, of Daniel Wills, March 27, 1680." Ibid. Liber B. II, p. 655.

on the sixteenth. Elizabeth Borton was the daughter of John and Ann Borton, who in 1679 had come from Aynhoe, in Northamptonshire, with a certificate of unity addressed to Burlington, from the Meeting at Burton.¹ John Borton was also a West Jersey Proprietor, and is named by Samuel Smith as a Constable for the "London Tenth" of the settlers on the Delaware.² Woolman was a witness to the will of his father-in-law, John Borton of Hillsdown, on the south side of the Northampton River. "The deceased owned a part of Burlington Island and a thirty-second part of West Jersey, and asked to be buried in the Friends' Burying Place in Burlington." The will is dated July 28, 1687.³

John and Elizabeth Woolman settled in Northampton township, on land which ran down to the Rancocas, where a fertile plantation was soon under cultivation. "The Constabulary," from the Minute Book of the Supreme Court, begun in 1681 at Burlington, traces the original township boundaries for Northampton in 1688. "The Constabulary of Northampton: from Daniel Wills' plantation on Northampton river to y^e towne bounds, including Daniel Wills' plantation and George Elkinton's plantation." The site of the house was chosen with excellent judgment. On the north bank of the stream, it commanded a charming sweep of water and had the benefit of the southern sun and western breeze. The mere fact that the house was built of brick and not of timber, places the emigrant ancestor among the well-to-do. The numerous ancient houses of brick in Burlington County prove the excellence of the early product. Before the end of the seventeenth century, Doctor Coxe's potteries in Burlington turned out a superior china, and the clays of the neighborhood made the importation of brick from England unnecessary. The old house saw two generations born there, including the first John's famous grandson and namesake. In 1806 it was taken down, and the bricks were used in the construction of a larger house several hundred feet higher up the bank, now occupied by the family of a late descendant in the seventh generation.⁴ The farm is given over to fruit-raising, and the exact location of the early house is in a great field of

¹ W. F. Cregar. "Ancestry of Wm. S. Haines."

² Samuel Smith. "History of New Jersey." p. 152.

³ New Jersey Archives. XXIII. p. 47.

⁴ Granville Woolman Leeds.

strawberries. An occasional brick is still ploughed up on the spot where it once stood.

The first Friends' Meeting at Rancocas was held, as the minutes state, at the house of Thomas Harding, 3 months, 2, 1681.¹ After this, for several years a settled meeting was held at John Woolman's, whose house became a sort of headquarters of Quakerism for Northampton, sharing with Thomas Olive's² house the meetings for the neighborhood. John Woolman in 1684 subscribed eight shillings toward building the meeting house in Burlington. The records of Burlington, under date 9mo. 7, 1687 read, "The Weekly Meeting being on y^e Fourth Day that use to be kept at Tho. Olive & Jno. Woolmans is Now Ordered to be kept at Daniel Wills house Weekly." A meeting house was completed soon after. In the early period of the settlement, the Rancocas is frequently called "Northampton River," and the minute of Burlington Monthly Meeting for "y^e 1st. of y^e 12th Moth 1707," indicates the increase in number of Friends' families locating on that stream: "Several Friends Living within y^e Fork of Northampton river & thereabouts, made request to this Meeting for an established Meeting for y^e accommodation of those Friends, which was left to y^e consideration of y^e next Meeting."

John Woolman had a little tiff with his neighbor, Joshua Humphries, "broadweaver," son of Walter, for failing to keep up his fences, so that in 1701 the latter "complains on John Woolman because of damage by Cretuers on his Corn." Six months of arbitration was followed by peaceful settlement, when the two, recently at odds, went amicably together as representatives to the same Quarterly meeting.³ When Joshua Humphries died in 1721, he left a legacy for repairs to the meeting house at Northampton.⁴ Woolman was one of many signers to a "publick instru-

¹ The Will of Thomas Harding, proved Dec. 6, 1708, of Wellingboro, Burlington Co., West Jersey, names his "home farm on Northampton River" and leaves a legacy to John Wills "for fencing the burying ground in Northampton Township." The inventory is made by John Woolman & Joshua Humphries, Oct. 6, 1708, amounting in personal property to £62. 6s. 10½d. New Jersey Archives, XXIII, p. 210.

² Thomas Olive located six hundred and thirty-six acres and built the first grist mill in the province. He came from Buckinghamshire, England, and was a neighbor and intimate friend of Samuel Jennings, was a Justice of the Peace, and served as Deputy Governor of W. Jersey. He died 1694.

³ Minutes, Burl. M. M. for 2mo. 6, 1702, &c.

⁴ New Jersey Archives. 1st Ser., Vol. XXIII.

ment," protesting to the authorities against the rioters who in 1703, "brake open the prison dores in Burlington, and set the prisoners at large." His name also appears on the Petition to Lord Cornbury, dated Nov. 14, 1706, against the Governor's prohibition for granting warrants for land.¹

On March 30th, 1692, had died William Woolman, father of John, an elderly man at the time of his arrival in the Jerseys. In 1688 John had given his father one hundred and fifty acres of land in Northampton Township, apparently in settlement of an arbitration between them. A survey made March 2, 1681, for Walter Humphries, for two hundred acres on "Rankokus, alias Northampton River," is described as adjoining lands of *William Woolman* and Bernard Devonish.² During the last four years of his life the father had lived at the house of George Elkinton, and as partial acknowledgment for the kindness shown him by his host and his wife, William Woolman gave to them seventy-five acres,—one-half of the land received from his son. We are left to surmise why the old man's last days were not spent in his son's care. Fifty years later, on 7mo. 17th. 1742, John Wills, son of Daniel Wills, whose farm joined that of John Woolman, made a very interesting affidavit to the effect that William Woolman's son John had never claimed the land thus presented to the old man's caretakers; the action was probably taken to clear a title.³

A census of Northampton Township in 1709 gives us a very interesting record of the ages of the members of John Woolman's family. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, is not named; she had married Nathaniel Payne in 1703, at the early age of eighteen:

John Woolman	aged 54
Elizabeth, his wife.....	" 44
Samuel	" 19
Mary	" 17
Ann	" 15
Hannah	" 6
Hester	" 2

Isaac Satterthwaite, 17, is the apprentice who lived with them.

¹ New Jersey Archives. Vol. III, p. 165.

² N. J. Archives, XXI, 349.

³ See Appendix. John Woolman to his father, Wm. Woolman, 12mo. (Feb.) 13, 1688. Wm. Woolman to Geo. Elkinton, 12mo. (Feb.) 21, 1692.

The population of the township at this time is recorded as a total of two hundred and thirty-one.

For thirty-four years John Woolman and his wife lived happily together on the banks of the beautiful Rancocas. In April, 1718 he died at the age of sixty-three, leaving in his will¹ all his real and personal estate for the use of his wife, his son Samuel and his five daughters. Samuel, the only son, was made executor. An inventory of the estate, filed 3mo. (May) 13, 1718, shows £440, 19, 2, including £212, 8, 2 in bonds, bills and debts—an ample competency, in addition to the real estate, in those pioneer days. Elizabeth Woolman died almost immediately after her husband, aged fifty-five.² Her will was approved May 30, 1718.

Of the five daughters, Elizabeth,^{10 8} the eldest, was married three times. Her first husband was Nathaniel Payne of Mansfield, N. J., to whom she was married 5mo. (July) 1st, 1703. His will was proved May 26, 1707.⁴ She then married “7th of y^e 4mo. (June)” 1708, Robert Hunt, who died in 1716. In 1718, the year of her parents’ deaths, she married John Harvey. Her death occurred after his, in 1756. Her sister, Ann Woolman,¹⁰ married 9mo. (Nov.) 1712, John Buffin. Ann’s marriage is not in the marriage Records of her meeting, but may be found in the minutes. Those of Ann’s sisters are regularly recorded. Mary,¹⁰ the third daughter, married 2mo. (April) 4th, 1720, William Hunt of Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

A removal certificate is on record for the two younger sisters, Hannah and Hester, dated Burlington, 5mo. (July) 7, 1729, and directed to Philadelphia. Hannah had been Treasurer of the Women’s Meeting, Mt. Holly. There is in the list of marriages in the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, by the Governor’s License, that of Hannah Woolman to Joseph Burgoine (Burgoine), dated 2mo. (April) 10, 1735. Family notes also indicate that this is the correct name of the husband of Hannah Woolman, but the editor has not undertaken to trace her further history. Letters are advertised for “John Burgoine” in the Philadelphia Postoffice in 1762.⁵

¹ See Appendix: also N. J. Archives, XXIII, p. 524.

² See Appendix. One wonders if small-pox, the frequent scourge, attacked them?

³ See also N. J. Archives, XXXIII, p. 351, Orig. Lib. I.

⁴ See also Trenton Records, p. 180.

⁵ See “Pennsylvania Gazette” for July 8, 1762.

Hester (or Esther) youngest of the family, born in 1707, removed with her sister Hannah to Philadelphia in 1729, and soon after married John Allen, of West Nottingham, Pennsylvania; the editor has not yet found the meeting record. Her husband's will made her his executor with his son John, who, however, died a year after his father. The elder John's will was probated October 2, 1758; the son's October 26, 1759: the latter leaves £10 to his mother, Esther Allen, and a legacy to his sister Patience. He leaves also £5 "to Cousin John Woolman" and the same sum to John Woolman's mother, his aunt Elizabeth Woolman.¹ Hester Woolman's descendants are still living in Pennsylvania.

Joseph Devonish, son of Bernard, a neighbor of Samuel Woolman, left in his will dated 12mo. (February) 22, 1747, "to the two daughters of my friend, Samuel Woolman, namely Hannah and Esther, to each of them the sum of ten pounds." Both Samuel and John Woolman witnessed this will, which was probably drawn up by the latter, and which was proved March 1st. 1748, when John Woolman and John Stokes made the inventory.²

Samuel Woolman¹¹ (1690-1750), only son of John and Elizabeth (Borton) Woolman, born 3mo. (May) 14, 1690, succeeded his father on the plantation along the Rancocas, and was remarkable for his intelligence and perseverance. He added to the original acreage and acquired parcels of land elsewhere. His marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Hudson) Burr, took place 8 mo. (Oct.) 21st, 1714.³

Samuel Woolman was a man of affairs, and that he took up his duties as a citizen is shown in the report of an election in Burlington County for members of the Assembly, held 3mo. (May) 14, 1739. Woolman was one of the four candidates, the others being Mahlon Stacy, William Cook, and Joshua Wright. Stacy and Cook were elected. Of particular interest to us is the fact that Samuel Woolman's son John, the Journalist, served as one of the

¹ Chester County Wills, Penna. For the will of John Allen of West Nottingham, see Book D, p. 125. For the son, John Jr., Book D, p. 174. John Jr. lived at East Marlborough, Pa. Patience Allen married, 1771, James, son of Thomas and Isabel Gawthrop, whose family in England John Woolman visited in 1772. (See Appendix.) (Biog. Note 84.)

² New Jersey Archives. Series I, Vol. XXX, p. 142.

³ Records, Burr, M. M. A "Testimony to the Memory of Elizabeth Burr" was recorded by Mount Holly M. M. 8mo. 5th, 1778. Henry Burr was in the Jerseys in 1682, and bought land of Robt. Dimsdale, 1688.

clerks of the election, being then a youth of nineteen.¹ Samuel Woolman witnesses various wills recorded in New Jersey, as well as makes inventories.

Samuel and Elizabeth Woolman brought up a large family of thirteen children, seven sons and six daughters, of whom John, the Journalist, was fourth child and eldest son.² It was their custom on the first day of the week to gather their children about them for Scripture reading and verse memorizing. An education quite in advance of others in their neighborhood was bestowed upon them, and the sons, besides successfully conducting comfortable and profitable farms, were surveyors, conveyancers, and merchants, who shared in the business affairs of the community. They were known as men of upright character, concise of speech, and grave of demeanor,—a trait not entirely lost in some of the family today.

Samuel Woolman died in the autumn of 1750 at the age of sixty. His will³ was proved December 17, 1750. It was witnessed by John, "11th of 6mo. (Aug.) 1750." The will⁴ of his wife Elizabeth, dated "11 of 2mo. (Feb.), 1772" was proved October 21, 1773. She outlived several of her children, including her famous son John. All of the children of Samuel and Elizabeth married, with the exception of Elizabeth and Rachel. Elizabeth¹² is the only one of his brothers and sisters to whom John refers by name in his Journal. He appears to have looked up to her as eldest of the family, and the two were undoubtedly much in sympathy in spiritual things. They were but five years apart in age, although two sisters, Sarah and Patience, came between them. In an unpublished portion of the Journal⁵ John relates an anecdote of Elizabeth. Checked by their parents in paying a visit at a distance to a certain young friend, of whose desirability as companion there was some doubt, Elizabeth with her two sisters returned home. "Elizabeth," writes her brother, "expressed her satisfaction at being put by, adding this Rhyme,

Such as thy companions be,
So will people think of thee."

¹ "Toll Book" of John J. Thompson.

² See Appendix, Biog. Note, 11.

³ See Appendix, for text.

⁴ See Appendix, for text.

⁵ M.S. C., at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

Perhaps with the idea of relieving her parents in the care of so large a family, Elizabeth at an early age took up tailoring as a source of independence, and removed in 1740 to Haddonfield, New Jersey, where for the rest of her life she made her permanent home. She had a small inheritance, and succeeded in her trade, so that at the time of her death of smallpox in 1746, at the early age of thirty-one, she left sufficient property to remember in her will¹ each member of her family. Her "Great Bible" is given to her father; to her mother she leaves her "great looking glass," and to her brother John, twelve pounds "Proclamation Money,"² and her *gold buttons*, a gift which, in the light of after years, seems curiously incongruous! John was her executor and settled her affairs jointly with their brother Asher.

When the mission of John Woolman took him away from the family circle, his next brother Asher (1722-1796) undertook the duties usually falling to an eldest son.³ Their mother evidently depended upon him as much as upon John, as she advanced in years. Her home, in accordance with the will of Samuel Woolman, continued to be in the old house, which was left to Asher, with the use for her of "two brick rooms down stairs and the least brick room above stairs, and half the cellar and half the kitchen, during her widowhood." She also had half of everything else, including the barn, in which to house "the sorrel mare called 'Bonny' and her colt," which her thoughtful husband left her to ride to meeting.

All the brothers appear to have settled in New Jersey, and most of them remained in Burlington County. Uriah Woolman^{1a} (1728-1804) was for a time resident in Philadelphia, but the

¹ Appendix, for text of will. She left personal estate to the value of £273, 11, 11. Elizabeth (Haddon) Estaugh was a witness. Elizabeth Woolman's certificate of removal, Mt. Holly to Haddonfield, is dated "4 of 6mo. (Aug.), 1740."

² "Proclamation Money." The Proclamation of the sixth year of Queen Ann, 1704, had fixed the value of coin in the Colonies. An Order in Council, May 19, 1720, forbade any emissions by the Colonies without Royal assent. (H. Phillips, Jr., "American Paper Currency," p. 104.) In 1742, £132 Jersey money equalled £88 sterling. "War Notes," redeemable five years from date, were issued between 1740 and 1758 and raised exchange in West Jersey. The several colonies passed laws with the intention of making the paper money issued equal to the barter currency of the Colony, which was below sterling. This paper was called "Proclamation Money." (C. J. Bullock, "Monetary History of the United States," p. 131.)

³ In 1764 Asher Woolman is one of six persons offering £10 reward for a German Christopher Housler, "who absconded from Burlington County with his wife and five children in a waggon and two horses not his own." Penna. Gazette for Oct. 25, 1764.

house in which he lived and which was sold by his executor in 1809, known as "Breezy Ridge," stood until 1918 on a fine location a short distance from the present railroad station of Hainesport, a mile below Mount Holly. It was at that date destroyed by fire. Uriah Woolman married in 1769 his cousin, Susanna Burr, daughter of the Surveyor General of the Province, John Burr.¹ Uriah was the only brother of John Woolman who died leaving no descendants.

¹ See Appendix, Biog. Note, 13.

CHAPTER II

YOUTH AND EDUCATION

1720

The Rancocas is a picturesque stream which rises in the eastern part of Burlington County in New Jersey and, after a course of twenty devious miles, empties into the Delaware River, sixteen miles above Philadelphia. It is navigable for ten miles, as far as Hainesport, and for canoes and light skiffs, much farther. The village of Rancocas is on the stream of the same name, six miles from its junction with the Delaware.

At the date of John Woolman's birth, October 19, 1720, the little community of Ancocas (which later added an *R* for euphony), was largely made up of families living wide apart in Northampton township, a portion of Burlington County settled almost entirely by English Quakers, many of them from London, Yorkshire, and Gloucestershire. In marked contrast to East Jersey, where Dutch and Scotch inheritances were prominent in the social life and character of the people, West Jersey was essentially English in its manner and habit of thought.¹ Customs brought over from Yorkshire especially, prevailed in the neighborhood for generations, and, until recently, the farmer sold his eggs by the score, as is still done on the Yorkshire moors, rather than by the dozen. Farmers' leases today in central and southern New Jersey, date from March twenty-fifth, "Lady Day," rather than from May first, as is the custom elsewhere. An admixture

¹ That this distinction has been little understood is evident in the recent *appreciation* by W. Teignmouth Shore, in his "John Woolman: His Life and Our Times." He has followed a German's book describing life on a farm among people of that nationality in East Jersey, which was as distinct from the English customs which Woolman inherited as though the boundary line had been a wall between the two parts of the Province. The editor has elsewhere drawn attention to this distinction. ["Quakers in the American Colonies"—Part II, "Quakers in New Jersey."]

of French Huguenot refugees was combined with this basic element in West Jersey social life, and many of these exiled Protestants became identified with the Quakers. Their names are still borne by Quaker families which have long been prominent in the various meetings. The Gauntt brothers, to instance but one case, who married two of John Woolman's sisters, were of French Huguenot descent.

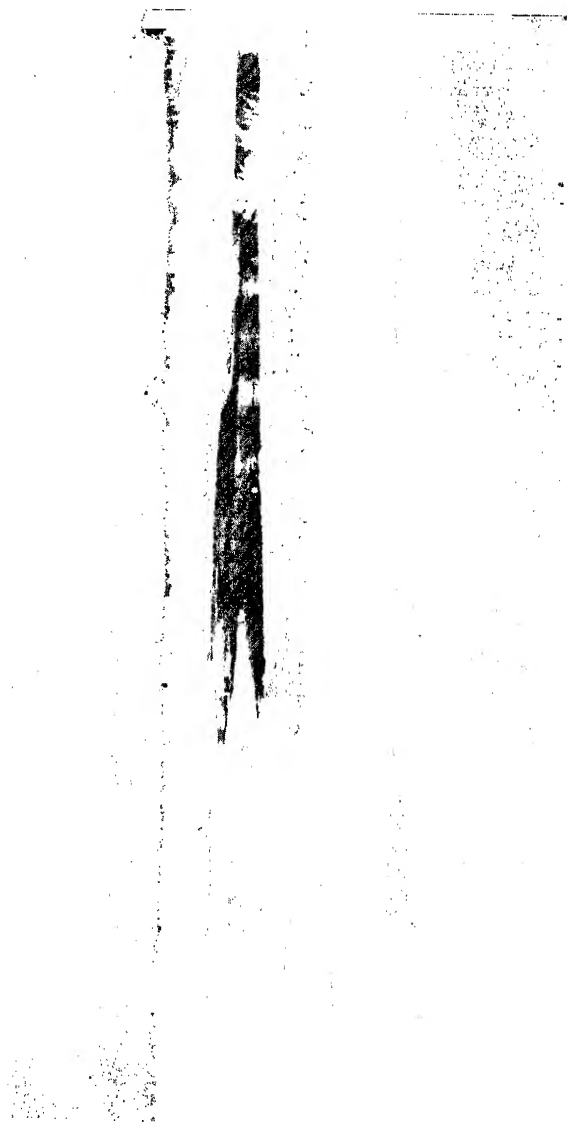
At this period the primeval forest was not yet cleared from many of the plantations in the Jerseys. Ancocas, then not even a village, was connected by five miles of rough road with Bridgetown, which later became Mount Holly, and was its nearest settlement. "The Mount," from which the town was named, is one of a series of low sandstone hills extending across the Province. These hills were used by the Government for semaphore communication by means of signals and colored lights. A Return of Survey from the original owner, John Cripps, (d. 1734), in 1681, for three hundred acres of land, mentions the line south of Rancocas River as running "through a Swamp, wherein grows Store of Holly, and within said Tract is a Mountain (!), to which the Prospect East, South, West, and North Send a beautiful Aspect, named by the owner thereof, Mount Holly."¹

The Quakers of Northampton Township were all members of the Monthly Meeting of Burlington, which was already a large and prosperous town on the Delaware, seven miles to the west.² The prime care of the planters had been to provide the necessities of life, and agriculture and the mechanic arts claimed first attention. But although plantation life with primitive appliances was laborious, simplicity and neighborly kindness were conspicuous in an eminent degree, and early hardships were even then giving way to what were regarded by some as dangerous luxuries. The Journalist's family were prominent among the plainer settlers.

John Woolman was exceptionally intelligent, and was taught to read, he says, "as early as he was capable of it." This is an equal testimony to the intelligence of his parents. The little school which he attended was under the care of the Friends, about a half mile west of the village. There is record of its building in

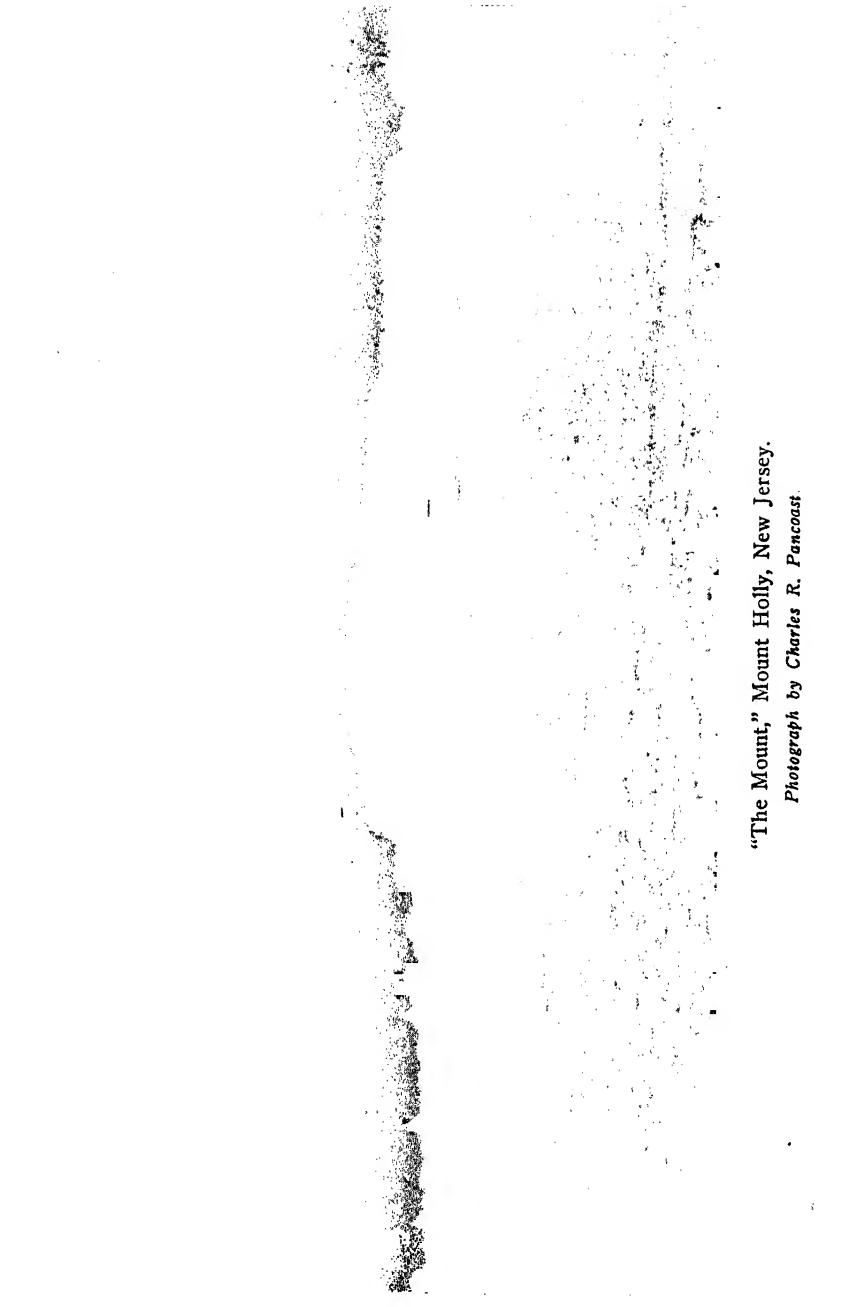
¹ N. J. Archives, Vol. XXI. 1st Ser. p. 349.

² The Monthly Meeting of Mount Holly was set off from Burlington in 1775.



View on the Rancocas, 1922, from the Site of John Woolman's Birthplace.

Photograph by Charles R. Pancoast.



"The Mount," Mount Holly, New Jersey.
Photograph by Charles R. Pancoast.

1681, while the meeting was held at Thomas Harding's, the owner of the plantation. The property later came into the hands of the Stokes family and has since been known as Stokingham. An Indian village on an elevated site was also within the limits of Thomas Harding's plantation, with a never-failing spring of water hard by. The Indians shared this spring with the Friends, and under the great swamp-magnolia trees which filled the air with fragrance, the latter built their school house, twenty feet square, and within a hundred yards of the spring. It is not many years since some of the trees were still standing, and Indian arrow heads are yet found upon the site. The old graveyard is near by.¹ The present meeting house in the village of Rancocas dates only from 1772, the year of John Woolman's death. There were in Woolman's time about forty meeting houses in the entire province of New Jersey.

The young Woolman must have been a sensitive and sympathetic child, possessed of that priceless gift, a vivid imagination. We can see the little boy of seven, stepping aside from the high-road on his way to school, to sit down and meditate upon the glories of the Holy City, the magnificent description of which in the Book of Revelations had fired his childish thought. The Journal's opening paragraphs show this temperament very clearly, and the way in which the daily walk to school marks for him in after years, the struggles of his early awakened conscience. The incident of the robin's nest is dear to all Woolman lovers.² The dream which he had when but eight years old must have very deeply impressed him, since he wrote it down at the age of thirty-six, and three times afterwards copied it out at length for the printer. It has, however, been omitted in every previous edition. There is no moral in it, hardly even an end, for it terminates most

¹ Charles Stokes: "History of Rancocas Friends' School."

² A story told of Abraham Lincoln makes a remarkable parallel to this familiar and oft-quoted anecdote of Woolman. When Lincoln was a lawyer in Springfield, Ill., he was one day going with a party of lawyers to attend court in another town. They rode, two by two, on horseback through a country lane. Lincoln was in the rear. As they passed through a thicket of wild plum and crabapple trees, his friends missed Lincoln. "Where is he?" they asked. Just then Lincoln's companion came riding up. "Oh," replied he, "when I saw him last he had caught two young birds which the wind had blown out of their nest, and he was hunting the nest to put them back." After a little while Lincoln caught up with his friends, and when they rallied him about his tender heart, he said: "I could not have slept if I had not restored those little birds to their mother."

abruptly; yet there it stands—little John Woolman's *Dream of the Sun-Worm*.

This quality of imagination was no passing thing. At twenty-one, left to sleep in the lonely chamber where a Scotch redemptioner, a newly bought servant of his master, had died the night before in delirium, he speaks pathetically of his own timidity and dread of the place in the hours of the night. But a strong will overcame his horror. Is it not to the vivid imagination of John Woolman, by which he was able to visualize in such an amazing degree the situation of his fellow beings, that we owe his peculiar power to enter sympathetically into the needs of all mankind? He spent his life in what was perhaps the most conservative community in the whole of Quakerism, where even the word "imagination" would be a shock to his neighbors; and yet it is that very quality of mind that may well differentiate him from almost every other Quaker journalist of his century.

Of Woolman's education we have only the glimpse of his attendance at the village school; the school house under Friends' care, sheltered the children of the best families in the little community; more than this we do not know. Woolman says of himself, "Having had schooling pretty well for a planter, I used to improve myself in winter evenings, and other leisure times." His father had a good library; the inventory made at Samuel Woolman's death shows that it included works on divinity, navigation and law. There is abundant evidence of the son's wide reading, and of his acquaintance with books which may have had influence upon that style which is the charm of his writing. The literature of Europe was beginning to be more accessible at this period, and the young Woolman grew up at a time of great progress and advancement in the new colony.

The home circle of the family was limited, but at Burlington, where he constantly visited, and where was a group of exceptionally well educated and intelligent Friends, he had the foreign publications at his service. There is abundant evidence that he made the best use of his opportunities. He was very intimate in the family of the historian, Samuel Smith,¹⁴ and of his distinguished brother, John,¹⁵ son-in-law of James Logan, (1674-1751) and a founder of the Pennsylvania Hospital. Their friend also, Jonathan Belcher, (1682-1757) Governor of New Jersey,

had removed to Burlington, and his house and library were at Woolman's disposal. Through the efforts of these cultivated men the Burlington Library received its charter in 1757 from King George II. The Library at "Bridgetown" was also chartered eight years after, in 1765. John Woolman's relatives and friends were represented among the original subscribers, but his own name does not appear on either library list. At the date of that in his home town, his scruples as to the literature introduced would have prevented his subscribing.

But he at no time confined his reading exclusively to Quaker literature. He quotes Cave's "Primitive Christianity," Fox's "Acts and Monuments," Thomas à Kempis, and the French quietistic writers in the English translations. Especially did he study those books of travel written by the Jesuit Fathers who explored India and Africa, and they and the agents of the East India Company are frequently quoted.

There are many strong suggestions of Fénelon about the essays, and one has but to read the two together to be convinced that the peculiar literary style of Woolman was gained by no accident. Not that he in any way imitated the French writer, but he was so saturated with the atmosphere and thought of the famous Abbé, whose works at this period were upon the tables of all the best educated Quakers, that the style is reflected in his essays, even to the choice of title. Compare, for instance, Fénelon's "Dissertation on Pure Love," with Woolman's "Essay on Pure Wisdom." It is chiefly in the Essays that one finds reflected the French influence. The identical volume of Thomas Bromley's "Way to the Sabbath of Rest," which was in the library of Elizabeth Smith,¹⁶ the sister of Samuel and John, still exists, and was one of the much admired works then perused by them all.

The first portions of the Abbé Raynal's "Philosophical and Political History of the Europeans in the East and West Indies" appeared in 1755. Doubtless his friend, Anthony Benezet,⁴ saw to it that Woolman had the translation. Benezet was a life long correspondent of the famous Abbé. The advance chapters of this book received great attention, as had the same author's "Literary Anecdotes" two years before. Justamond's translation did not appear until 1776. It is interesting to find today in the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library, some of the works

imported by John Smith and left by him with his own books to the library which James Logan founded. These are in all probability the identical volumes used by John Woolman. Smollett's "Voyages" and his History appeared in 1757, and were also closely studied, and Smollett himself was a correspondent of the brothers Smith. Woolman was a hard reader all his life, and when one reflects upon the intimate friends who loved and admired him, among whom were the distinguished brothers Pemberton,^{3, 6, 8} and the Frenchman, Anthony Benezet,⁴ only second to Woolman in the importance of his anti-slavery work, one becomes somewhat impatient at encountering in every writer on Woolman, the persistent tradition of his illiteracy, linked usually with poverty. That he was neither unlearned nor poor, there is abundant evidence. Both impressions have doubtless come from the utter simplicity of the man's life and thought. He speaks of his family as "we who are of a middle station between poverty and riches."¹

We now know that John Woolman was an accomplished school teacher and taught many years, publishing a "Primer" which went through at least three editions. He mastered surveying and read enough law to obtain the legal knowledge necessary to draw wills, for which his services were in constant demand; to execute deeds and do conveyancing. Six estates for which he served as executor are named, with the accounting, in his manuscript account book, and old deeds in private hands, and in the Record Office in his native county, together with marriage certificates and surveyors' plans, all in his clear handwriting, are frequently turning up in unexpected ways. Passages in his writings indicate a legal turn of mind. In the chapter, for instance, "On Loving Our Neighbors as Ourselves," is the following syllogism:

"In great measure there is a great trust.
A great trust requireth a great care;
But the laborious mind wants rest."

Again, in his last mystical epistle to his countrymen, before sailing for London in the spring of 1772, he says:

¹ Essay "On Loving Our Neighbors as Ourselves."

"The Church is called the body of Christ:
Christ is called the Head of the Church;
The Church is called the Pillar and Ground of the Truth."

Even surgery was not unfamiliar, for evidently Woolman frequently bled people, and his judgment was of value to both the body and mind of his neighbor. Surely this is no illiterate laboring man who produces a wonderful book, but one possessed of as much self-taught wisdom as many another famous man, not to mention his neighbor, Benjamin Franklin. (1706-1790).

Anyone familiar with life in the Jerseys at this period will remark the total absence in the Journal of any reference to the great philosopher. Franklin was the publisher of Woolman's second essay on "*Considerations*," &c. as to the Negro, (1762), and the two men must often have met. Moreover, Franklin Park, on the outskirts of Rancocas, the residence of Franklin's son, William, (1729-1813) better known later as the *Tory Governor*, was frequently the retreat of his father. On the streams and swamps nearby he pursued his investigations into phosphoric phenomena, and all sorts of agricultural experiments were made on the farm, which comprised some two hundred acres. The large mansion was burned about 1843 and the park was later divided into several small farms. The deep ditch or moat surrounding the deer park may still be faintly traced to-day; twenty-five years ago it was clearly marked.

John Woolman must have been aware of the work of these agricultural pioneers, and of the Agricultural Society to which also belonged some of his wealthy Quaker neighbors. But one can imagine no sympathy between the practical scientist and the Quaker idealist. Their views of life, present and future, were too radically different to permit of any common standing ground, and Woolman would naturally shrink from the brilliant social circle in which the Franklins, father and son, moved together, until their differing political opinions separated them at the time of the American Revolution.

The pleasures of youth, as Woolman describes them, were temptations which he does not give us in any detail, but he leaves a picture in our minds of a sensitive spirit, whose disrespectful reply to his mother was never repeated after his father's gentle

and wise reproof, and who was preserved "from profanity and scandalous conduct." He loved vanities and mirthful company in a normal and natural way, but through all he "retained a love and esteem for pious people" and frequently read religious authors. At sixteen he was very ill, and made thoughtful by the circumstance, on his recovery he writes, "I was early convinced in my mind that true religion consisted of an inward life . . . I found no narrowness respecting sects and opinions, but believed that sincere, upright-hearted people in every society, who truly love God, were accepted of him." In this spirit of wide sympathy, so utterly foreign to the average young man, was lived out the whole of Woolman's life.

Until the age of twenty, our Journalist, as he says, "wrought on his father's plantation." A paragraph omitted in earlier editions of the Journal tells us that he was desired by a shop-keeper and baker to tend shop and keep books. For this he asked and obtained his father's consent, adding, "I had for a considerable time found my Mind less given to Husbandry than heretofore, having often in mind some other way of living." In the year 1740 he was settled in his master's shop at Mount Holly, six miles from his master's house, and seven from his own.

With his entrance at twenty-one into what he doubtless regarded as a *career*, in a little village containing all that he knew of the great world, excepting the occasional glimpses which he had of the city of Philadelphia, eighteen miles distant, we have the beginning of a life that was henceforth dedicated to his Master's service. He was quite alone after the day's work was done and his employer had gone home. He pursued his reading, improved himself in his education, and had time for pious meditation. It was so small an incident as the agreement to drink a health at an ale house that brought on the crisis in George Fox's life, and sent him forth to struggle with his soul in the wilderness. Fox was then nineteen. A similarly important crisis in John Woolman's life, and at nearly the same age, was brought about by being unexpectedly called upon to write a bill of sale for his employer's negro woman. The agitation into which this incident threw him marks the moment when he became dedicated to the life-long effort to free the slave—a result which he did not himself live to see. The Quakers held much property in

human flesh throughout the colonies, and at Perth Amboy stood the slave market where scenes occurred that must have rent John Woolman's heart.

He became much more serious and in this year, 1740-1, he records his first appearance in the ministry. But fearing that he had too much enlarged upon his message, he sat in abasement of spirit for six weeks before he again broke the silence of his little meeting. The house in which he first uttered his message no longer stands. Where can be found in few words, so vivid a description of the living spirit which moved him and his predecessors in the Faith, as in these words of the Quaker youth? "All the faithful are not called to the public ministry; but whoever are, are called to minister of that which they have tasted and handled, spiritually. The outward modes of worship are various; but wherever any are true Ministers of Jesus Christ, it is from the operation of his spirit in their hearts, first purifying them, and thus giving them a just sense of the condition of others. This truth was early fixed in my mind, and I was taught to watch the pure opening."

From the very beginning of his preaching Woolman appears to have been able to put aside the narrowness of thought and teaching by which he was surrounded, and to have grasped a sense of the *unity* of mankind. The keynote of his message, at the very start, no less than at the moment when, wearied out, he laid down his life in a distant land, was always and ever, Love: Love to God and love to man. This single note runs through the life and writings of John Woolman, as has been said, like a silver thread that is always conspicuously bright and glowing, however dark the web in which it is woven by circumstance.

His meeting recognized the power of the young preacher, for the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders at Burlington, under date "27th. day of 6mo. 1743" recorded on their minutes: "The Monthly Meeting of Burlington have recommended our friends, Peter Andrews,¹⁷ John Woolman, and Josiah White,¹⁸ who have sometimes appear'd in a way of public testimony, as Friends whom they have unity with, to be members of this meeting." Woolman, much the youngest, was but twenty-three.

Almost immediately after this formal recognition the young

Woolman accompanied Abraham Farrington,¹⁹ an elderly preacher, on a brief tour through northern New Jersey. Woolman at first hesitated, but some elderly Friends whom he consulted advised him to go. During this first and most important preaching tour of John Woolman it is interesting to note that nearly all the meetings were held in places where no Quakers were settled. In the town tavern at Brunswick they had a large and attentive congregation. The same thing happened in the Presbyterian settlements in East Jersey. A large meeting in the Court House at Perth Amboy, where the Provincial Assembly was then in session, was attended by many members of that body. A large proportion of these were Quakers, or of Quaker affiliations, and some of them were life-long friends of the old preacher and his young companion. One of these was the Treasurer of the Province, Samuel Smith. Woolman says his "ancient Companion preached largely in the love of the Gospel" to the statesmen and prominent people present. He himself took but an occasional brief part, "with" as he says, "much care that I might speak only what Truth opened. My mind was often tender, and I learned some profitable lessons. We were out about two weeks." This was in the autumn of 1743 and was Woolman's first visit away from home on such an errand. Abraham Farrington¹⁹ died in London on a religious visit in 1758.

The Journal at this period tells its own story of the daily life of Woolman, with somewhat more detail than at other times. We learn that in the falling off of his master's business in "merchandising," Woolman began to look about for more permanent employment, especially as thoughts of the possibility of "settling"—i.e., marrying—arose in his mind. There is no certain clue to the name of this master, but he apparently carried on a large general business such as was for a century or more to be found in country districts throughout the colonies, supplying the farming population with every possible need, not furnished by their own farms. He made up into clothing the cloth woven on the hand looms, and for this purpose employed a man who had learned tailoring. With his characteristic thoroughness Woolman determined that this would furnish him with a living, and if so, he must become skilful and learn the trade properly. The way was made easy by his master; terms were agreed upon, and

1743	To work done for City of Shrewsbury 2 days 2 1/2	00 23 09
1743	To work done for Ebenezer Hopping 1 day 1	00 02 03
1743	To makeing a gown for Elizabeth Hunk	00 02 06
1743	To makeing a gown for Jeyannick Cook	00 03 06
1743	To makeing a gown for Nicholas Mallard	00 03 06
1743	To makeing a short & cloak for Mary Michell	00 02 00
1743	To makeing a jacket gown for Nicholas Mallard	00 03 00
1743	To makeing a pair of Coat Skirt for John Barrough	00 02 00
1743	To makeing a gown for Mary Robt. Hunk	00 04 06
1743	To makeing a gown for Jemzells Boggies	00 02 00
1743	To work done for Ebenezer Hopping 2 days	00 03 00
1743	To makeing a gown for Jemzells Hunk	00 02 00
1743	To work done for Ebenezer Hopping 1 day	00 02 00
1743	To makeing a gown for John Barrough	00 02 00
1743	To work done for Ebenezer Hopping 3 days	00 02 00
1743	To makeing a jacket gown for Mary	00 02 00
1743	To makeing a gown for Richard Wilmson	00 02 00
	Carried over	00 03 00

Earliest Entry in Small Account Book, as Tailor's Apprentice, 1743.

Original in Possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

John Woolman became an apprentice, serving for three years, without severing his connection with the shop, or his bookkeeping.

For this period of his life we may turn to his own Smaller Account Book, in which also he later entered his accounts for the several estates for which he became executor. The little paper book, six by eight inches in size, begins with his Apprenticeship account. The brief tailoring charges contain so many interesting names, and bring before us so vividly the appearance of the worthy people—nearly all Quakers whose clothing was made by the young tailor—that some of the items are here reproduced. Elizabeth Haddon in 1702 became the Elizabeth Estaugh²⁰ whose name is first on the list. She was the founder of Haddonfield, and probably aided John's sister, Elizabeth, who was her intimate friend, when she set up as a tailoress near by. Her name appears as a witness on Elizabeth Woolman, Jr's¹² will. It will be seen that John Woolman notes in the margin of his account, the end of each six months of his service.

	£	s.	d.
1743			
y ^e 8 mo.	To work Done for Eliz. Estaugh		
	2 Days $\frac{1}{2}$ cash.....	00	03 09
y ^e 21	To making a Stomacher for Eliz.		
	Matlack	00	02 06
	To makeing Calamink gown for		
	Achsah Matlack	00	03 06
	To Makeing a Short Cloak for		
	May Mickle	00	02 00
	To making a pair of Coat Stays		
	for Debe Burough	00	02 00
	To making a Gown for Judith		
	Hampton	00	03 00
	To making a Pair of Leather		
	Britches for Titus.....	00	02 00
	To making a bonit Civer for Eliz.		
	Lord — cash	00	01 00
	To making a Jackit for John		
	Crage	00	02 00
	To making a Long Cloak & head		
	for Martha Matlack.....	00	07 00
	To making a Double gown for		
	Mary Caighn — cash	00	03 00

	£	s.	d.
To makeing a Short Cloak for			
Sarah Elton	00	02	00
To makeing a poplin gown for			
Sarah Elton	00	03	06
To makeing a short gown for			
Martha Matlack	00	01	06
To work done for Eliz Estaugh			
3 days cash.....	00	05	00
To work done for Timothy Mat-			
lack 1 da	00	01	06
To makeing a pair of Stays for			
Hannah Woolman	00	18	00
To makeing a flaning wais coat			
for Martha Matlack.....	00	01	00
1 mo. y ^e 13, 1744			
To makeing a Callico gown for			
Judith Hampton	00	03	00
To makeing a brown fustin Cap			
for David Elwell.....	00	01	00
To makeing a Child's coat for			
David Elwell	00	05	00
To makeing a Pair of bodies &			
Stomacher for M. Rosendhale..	00	14	00
To makeing a Pair of Trousers			
for Reuben Haines.....	00	01	00
To cutting out two Tunicks for			
William Griscom	00	00	08
To makeing oznabriggs Jackit 2			
Pair britches — Timothy	00	10	00
To Jackit Britches for Timo. Mat-			
lack	00	04	00
To work done for Isaac Andrews	00	03	00
To work done for Robert Elton,			
4 days — cash	00	06	00
To work done for Samuel Wool-			
man 5 days.....	00	08	00
To days work for Eliz. Estaugh,			
Cash	00	02	00
To work done for Isaac Andrews			
4 days.....	00	09	00
To work done for Isaac Smith 1			
da 1	00	02	06

		£.	s.	d.
	To makeing a short Clock for Ann			
	Elton Jur.	00	01	00
	To work done for Eliz Estaugh 2			
	days	00	01	00
	To makeing a short gown for Eliz.			
	Estaugh	00	01	00
8 mo. 17, 1744	To makeing a Great Coat for			
End of 1 st year	Thos. Robson	00	07	06
	To makeing a gown for Timothy's			
	Betty	00	03	00
12 mo. 14	To plating a Pair of Bridle Reins			
	for John Collins.....	00	08	00
1745	To makeing a home spun gown			
2 mo. 17,	for Martha M.	00	02	06
End 3 ^d ½ year	To Quilting a Petecoath for Eliz.			
	Estaugh	00	08	00
	To Plating a Pair of Bridle Reins			
	John Shivers	00	01	00
	Quilting a Petecoath for Mary			
	Caighain	00	08	00
	To work done for Samuel Wool-			
	man	00	04	00
	To makeing a Little bonit for			
	Amey Gill	00	00	10
	To makeing a Pair of Trousers			
	for John Craig	00	16	00
8 mo. 17	"Which makes this year ye 2d			
	year too amount to.....	20	09	09
1745	To makeing leather Britches for			
	Joseph	00	02	06
	To makeing a habbit for Eliza.			
	Kaighn	00	02	00
	To makeing a Flaning Jackit for			
	Josh. Kaighan	00	02	00
	To work done for William Gris-			
	com— 1 day	00	01	00
	To makeing a Pair of Stays for			
	Achsah Siddons	00	03	00
	To Plating a Pair of Bridle			
	Reigns for Sarah Lord.....	00	01	00

			£.	s.	d.
	2 mo. 9	To making 1 Tunuck for Seth Matlack	00	02	00
		To making a Pair of Trousers for Cupid — Cash	00	01	00
2 mo. 16	1 mo. 28 th	To making a Pair of Brown Hollon britches for Jno.....		02	00
End of 1746	4 mo. 30 th	To making one coat for J. Kaighn's servant	00	04	00
5 th ½ yr.	5 mo. 14				
1746		The last charge is			
6 mo. 2 nd		"To work done for Thomas Redman 1 da."	00	01	00

Could anything bring more vividly before us the homely pleasant details of the lives of these country folk? Everything is furnished at the tailorshop, for both men and women. Leather "britches" and "jackits" share with women's "petecotes" and stays, and out of the long and narrow strips of leather trimmed from the edges of the skins are braided the bridle-reins for "Bonny," the mare on which John Woolman's mother, Elizabeth Woolman, rode over to Monthly Meeting, as well as those for the men. John Collins's reins must have been long ones for driving, or, if for the saddle, very elaborate, for they cost eight shillings. The usual price was one shilling. "Cupid," a negro, "J. Kaighan's servant," and "Titus" are all furnished with clothing by this democratic tailor, as well as their masters and mistresses. And what was Amey Gill's "Little bonit" like, we wonder?

This small account book has been made by Woolman himself from larger sheets, cut down and stitched together, and bears on the outside in the owner's hand, the following inscription:

"John Woolman's Book
Of Executorship
To the Last Wills of
²¹ Elizabeth Woolman, Dec'd
Samuel Haines, Dec'd
²¹ Samuel Woolman, Dec'd
²² Thomas Shinn, Dec'd

Negro Maria, Dec'd
 " Peter Fearon, Dec'd."

It is evident that the careful Woolman, having but a few pages occupied by his apprenticeship accounts, has reversed the little book, and beginning at the opposite end, has used it later for his accounts as executor. The apprentice's account is the earliest holograph manuscript of Woolman that we have. The first page, reversed, reads, "John Woolman's Book of Executorship As Joyntly Concern'd with his brother Asher in the last Will of
 da. mo.

Elizabeth Woolman, Junr. Dec'd y^e 17: 1: 1746-7." Over page, "Accompt of What I have Rec'd of y^e Estate of Elizabeth
 day mo.

Woolman 17: 1: 1746-7

	£	s	d
Cash And Goods as pr. Inventory.....	283:	18:	11:
Rec'd Joyntly p. me & Asher			

Dr. Craig is paid £3: 7: 0, and "Negro Maria," who evidently
 s. d.

nursed her, 18 9. Woolman charges himself for "Clerkship at Ye Appraisement, 6 sh." "To John Gill for Diging Grave 5 shillings." "To my Time and Expense at proving Will &c., 4: 6." Elizabeth Woolman left legacies to "Father and Mother and Hannah and Esther" and Rachel; to her brother Abner and to her sisters, Patience Moore and Sarah Elton. Samuel and Hannah Gauntt are named, and Hannah is paid £1: 10 for a Walnut table, "which Patience had as a part of her legacy." John Woolman himself has a legacy of twelve pounds, and "*A pair of Gold Buttons, part of my Legacy.*" Page 2 is inscribed, "Affairs relating to the Estate of Elizabeth Woolman Junr. are all Setled,
 da mo.

and discharges taken from all the Legatees. 26: 3: 1749."

The family scribe was called upon, October 29, 1742, to write the will of his grandfather, Henry Burr, and he is himself one of the witnesses.¹ The will was probated in 1743 and the negro woman, Mary, (Maria) is given a large allowance of goods by

¹ New Jersey Archives, Ser. I, XXX, p. 77. Samuel Woolman and Caleb Haines, Executors.

her generous master. Henry Burr was a large landowner in Burlington County. His son Joseph (who in 1726 married Jane Abbott, a sister of Sarah [Ellis] Woolman's mother) was the owner of Dinah, whose marriage to William Boen in 1763 is elsewhere described. There is abundant evidence in all branches of John Woolman's family of their care for the negro race.

About the time that his apprenticeship ended, John Woolman set out on his first independent preaching tour, with Isaac Andrews²³ of Haddonfield as his companion. Starting in 3 mo. (May) 1746, they passed through Chester and Lancaster Counties in Pennsylvania, and made their way into the sparsely settled portions of Virginia, reaching afterward the neighborhood of the wealthy planters. Knowing the mode of life among the rich southern gentlemen of the Colonial period, we do not wonder that John Woolman records his "exercise" among the older settlements as far more painful to him than among the poorer "back inhabitants." Things that in his simplicity he had never even dreamed of were revealed to him among the fox-hunting, hard-drinking gentry—church-going or otherwise—whose slaves labored that they might dwell in luxury. He was "uneasy" at being entertained by those who lived on the profits of slave-labor, and spoke to that effect to his hosts. Prophetically, he wrote of the slave-trade, "I saw in the Southern provinces so many vices and corruptions, increased by this trade and this mode of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess hanging over the land; and though now many willingly run into it, yet *in future the consequences will be grievous to posterity*. I express it as it hath appeared to me, not once or twice but as a matter fixed in my mind."

They were gone six weeks. Woolman was twenty-six when this memorable visit to the south was made, and upon his return he wrote the essay, "Some Considerations upon the Keeping of Negroes." This was only read to his family, and for eight years it remained unpublished. The Virginia experience evidently brought home to him in its true bearings, and with real conviction, the greater evils of slavery, and revived the abhorrence of the institution which he had felt when called upon to write the bill of sale for the negro woman. He had protested at

that time, and from now on he was dedicated to the cause of abolition. A momentary backward glance at what had been earlier attempted will not here be amiss.

Slavery, for commercial reasons, was disappearing from Great Britain in the middle of the eighteenth century, but it flourished greatly in other parts of England's dominions, and under the protection of the British flag. England had been a slave-owning power since Sir John Hawkins had interested Queen Elizabeth in the great profits of the trade; many followed her example, and the Treaty of Utrecht gave a fresh impulse. The Quakers from the beginning had been implicated as owners, and by many, perhaps most of them, the institution had not been regarded in its true light. The ancient Hebrew slave did not serve in hereditary bondage, but went free every fifty years, being treated in the interval much like his master's sons and daughters. A Roman slave who showed unusual talent was well educated and generally set free, and some of the most illustrious poets, statesmen and warriors of Rome were freedmen.

The African, on the contrary, was doomed to perpetual bondage. The negro in America was the product of foreign importation, combined with a most vicious system of domestic breeding, and was totally deprived by law in many portions of the colonies, of any literary, moral, or religious instruction. Soon after the settlement of Pennsylvania, slavery was introduced into the West Indies, and the Quakers were the more ready to condone it under the conditions of a scarcity of labor in the new province. The Indian was too wild to settle down to domestic service, as was at first fondly hoped, and the black, more tractable and adaptable physically, was substituted.

The protests of "our dear friend and Governor, William Penn," against the institution, caused Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1700 to appoint a special meeting to be held at intervals for the negro slaves. Penn urged "that Friends be very careful in discharging a good conscience towards them in all respects, but more especially for the good of their souls." Two bills were introduced by him in the Assembly: one, "for regulating negroes in their morals and marriages"; the other, "for regulating negroes in their trials and punishment." The former was defeated. A later bill, "To prevent the Importation of Negroes

and Indians into the Province," was passed by the Legislature, but immediately repealed in England by an Order in Council. Until the year 1770 almost every effort to ameliorate by law the condition of the negroes was frustrated in Parliament. The Quakers were not often importers, but in many instances they were slave-owners on a large scale, although by the period at which Woolman wrote his tract, the practice was decreasing among them. Puritan Massachusetts had early raised her voice against the iniquity,¹ but most of the other Colonies saw too much profit in the trade to abolish it by any legal measure.

Like voices crying in the wilderness, single protests at long intervals had been raised in the American colonies. The appeal of the Germantown Friends to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1688, the first corporate effort of Quakerism in this direction, is well known. George Keith followed in 1693, with his "Exhortation and Caution to Friends concerning Buying and Keeping of Negroes, &c." In 1712 Nantucket meeting made a minute that "it is not agreeable to Truth for Friends to purchase slaves and keep them term of life." Five years later New England Friends recommended "that Merchants do write their Correspondents in y^e Islands and elsewhere, to discourage their sending any more (negroes), in order to be sold by any friends here."² Philadelphia Friends thought differently, for at the same time, in 1717, one of their meetings³ made a record condemning "the paper by John Farmar directed to this Meeting against Slaveholding, the Casting of Lotts, &c." He was dealt with "for disorderly practices in sending and Publishing papers tending to Division."

¹ In 1645 Massachusetts prohibited buying or selling slaves except when prisoners of war, or when sentenced by a Court. Even here the "Law of Moses" was enjoined. In 1713 a heavy duty was imposed. In studying the attitude of the Quakers toward the slave question, it is interesting to note that there was a time when the Quakers themselves had been slaves on the coast of Africa. In common with all prisoners taken in the seventeenth century by the Algerine pirates, certain Quakers were for years held in slavery in the Barbary States. In 1679 the London Meeting took action for relief. (Sam'l Tuke, 1848, "Account of the Slavery of Friends in the Barbary States, towards the Close of the 17th Century.")

² MS. Records of N. E. Y. M. 4mo. 14, 1717. Vol. I, pp. 97, 98, 188. This action was referred to in 1744, when New England, at the instance of Philadelphia, asked all the subordinate meetings to discourage "buying slaves, even when imported."

³ Quarterly Meeting of Phila. for 3mo. 12, 1717. The original paper, signed by Sam'l Preston, Clerk, is in the Monthly Meeting papers of Burlington, N. J., at Friends' Library, Phila.

William Burling's "Address to the Elders of the Church" came out in 1719, and was probably in response to the agitation caused by the unwise methods used in a good cause by John Farmar and William Sotheby. In 1729 Ralph Sandiford's "Mystery of Iniquity, in a Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times," preceded "The Testimony against the Anti-Christian Practice of Making Slaves of Men," published by Elihu Coleman in Nantucket in 1733.¹ Benjamin Lay's "Treatise on Slave-Keeping" appeared in 1737, containing also a republication of part of Burling's tract. A very great influence was exerted by George Whitefield in 1739, who addressed a letter from Georgia to "the inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina" on the cruelties practiced by many slave-owners.²

In the colony of Virginia it was long against the law to manumit a slave. Friends found it difficult to free them, and vainly endeavored to get the law repealed. Far from the supply of slaves being exhausted or limited in South Carolina, when that colony in 1756, proposed to curtail the number imported, the British government forced her to remit the duty on imported negroes, "lest the legitimate business of English merchants and shippers be interfered with!"³

The importance of the Essay which had been written by John Woolman upon this vital subject was duly appreciated by his father. When Samuel Woolman¹¹ lay upon his death-bed, in the summer of 1750, he urged his son to submit the manuscript to the publication committee of the Friends that it might be printed. His advice was eventually taken, but four more years elapsed before the essay appeared in 1754. In that year also the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, held at Burlington, published "An Epistle of Caution and Advice concerning the Buying and Keeping of Slaves." A rare copy of this little known epistle still

¹ Coleman's original manuscript is now in possession of the Nantucket Hist. Soc. It is dated "29th of ye 11mo. 1729-30." The first printed copy bears the above date of 1733.

² Given entire in Clarkson's "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," Vol. I p. 149. Dr. Birkbeck Hill draws attention to Dr. Johnson's hatred of slavery, and says "Whilst the Quakers were almost the pioneers in the anti-slavery cause, he lifted up his voice against it. So early as 1740, when Washington was but a child of eight, he had maintained 'the natural right of the negro to liberty and independence.'" (Boswell's Johnson, II. 478.) Works of Dr. Johnson, Ed. by Birkbeck Hill. VI. p. 313.)

³ Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel: "Charleston: the Place and the People," p. 145.

exists.¹ The author is either John Woolman, or Anthony Benezet.⁴ It is quoted entire in Clarkson's "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade."²

In these days, when, happily, slavery is a dead issue, it is hard to appreciate the grave importance which attached to the appearance of Woolman's pamphlet. People of any standing who did not own slaves were an exception, and at the largest import markets, as Philadelphia, New York and Newport, Quakers were prominent merchants. New Jersey was a large slave-holding colony in Woolman's day, and the slave-market was standing in Perth Amboy half a century after his death. At Kaighn's Point, or Cooper's Ferry, where is now Camden, New Jersey, sales were regularly advertised in the newspapers. Thus, for instance, the "Pennsylvania Journal" for May 27, 1762, is typical of the entire period: "Just imported from the River Gambia in the Schooner Sally, Bernard Badger, Master, and to be sold at the Upper Ferry (called Benjamin Cooper's Ferry), opposite to this City, a parcel of likely Men and Women Slaves, with some Boys and Girls of different Ages. Attendance will be given from the hours of nine to twelve o'clock in the Morning, and from three to six in the Afternoon, by W. Coxe, S. Oldman, & Company. N.B. It is generally allowed that the Gambia Slaves are much more robust and tractable than any other slaves from the Coast of Guinea, and more Capable of undergoing the Severity of the Winter Seasons in the North-American Colonies, which occasions their being Vastly more esteemed and coveted in this Province and those to the Northward, than any other Slaves whatsoever." "A parcel of Choice, likely Young Slaves" was sold off at the same place three months later.

Anthony Benezet⁴ wrote, in 1762,³ "Those Negroes that were brought last year up the River and sold on the Jersey Shore opposite this City (Philadelphia) were probably of the Fully (Fuli) Nation, as the vessel came from the River Senegal."

¹ In the Athenæum Library, Nantucket, Mass.

² Vol. I, p. 113. The New Jersey Assembly in 1769 enacted a law imposing a duty of £15 on every imported slave in the Province. (Allinson's *Laws*, p. 315.)

³ A. Benezet. "Short Account of that Part of Africa Inhabited by the Negroes," p. 75 note. Ed. 1762. A conservative estimate places the number of slaves brought from Africa between 1676 and 1776 at three million, and a quarter of a million more died on the way across the Atlantic. (J. P. Wickersham, "Education in Pennsylvania," p. 248.)

At this very time, however, even George Whitefield dared not maintain that in the South slavery was not a necessity. For the youthful Quaker, therefore, boldly to attempt to persuade the prominent legislators and merchants of his day that slavery was not only wrong in principle, but was an economic mistake as well, demanded great courage. Yet when Woolman made his first southern tour in 1746, the injustice and cruelty inflicted on the negroes were, as a rule, less than in later years, when the planters of the South perceived the growth of the Abolition sentiment. A patriarchal system of protection was the rule on many plantations, although combined with negligent methods and much economic waste. An important fact in this connection has been pointed out by an eminent writer¹ in a recent volume containing a fine appreciation of Woolman. The Anti-slavery movement was begun and fairly under way before the great industrial revolution was fully developed. Had modern inventions and slave trusts been combined in one great system of industry and manufacture, what power could ever have reformed the evil? What would have happened to the world had Woolman withheld his voice, and choked the utterance of his first feelings of repulsion at finding his fellowmen in bondage?

Between the writing and the publication of this essay, Woolman made five tours through the region about New York and Long Island, and to New England as far as Nantucket, with the plea for the negro as his chief message. Moreover, the year in which he wrote his essay, 1746, saw the importation of slaves into New York reach its climax, with a total of eight thousand nine hundred and forty-one souls.² Woolman was now in the prime of early manhood and devoting himself to the work to which he felt called. In this interval also came his settlement in business, and his marriage.

In preparation for this Woolman in 1747 made two purchases of property. On April 4th, he bought of John Ogborn a brick house and lot of land on Mill street, Mount Holly. This house is still standing, numbered 47. Its appearance was greatly altered

¹ George Macaulay Trevelyan. "Clio, and Other Essays": on "John Woolman."

² In contrast, as this was written, a Pan-African Congress was called to meet in Paris "with the declared purpose of securing the protection of the natives of Africa and the people of African descent in other countries," including Central America, Liberia, and Abyssinia, with the representation of a negro population of 157,000,000.

and modernized by its purchaser of 1795, Samuel Lewis, the architect, who was living in it when he built the Court House. The dormer windows which he added closely resemble those of the Georgian period which adorn that handsome building, and the doorway has been remodeled. Traces of the earlier simplicity, however, are visible at the back of the house, and in the windows not on the street, and the old walls bear witness to their substantial character. Stucco over the exterior and over the extended base beneath the front windows, has taken away the last touch of antiquity which the building still reveals only to the careful scrutiny of the antiquarian.

It has long been the desire of historians, local and other, to discover John Woolman's *shop*, but only now has the search been successful. In the recent settlement of an estate the deeds for this property have come to light, and references in the Larger Account Book go to confirm these. The circumstances point to John Ogborn as possibly John Woolman's "employer," but he never names him, and there is, as yet, no positive proof. Behind this house stood the "Little Meeting House" to which access was had from Mill street through "Meeting House Alley," which is described in the original deed as on John Woolman's line. The meeting house is referred to in several old deeds owned by Burlington Monthly Meeting, but for years its exact site has been forgotten. The building was used as a school house, and there is little doubt that this was also the scene of John Woolman's labors as teacher.

This location was at the time in the centre of trade in the little town, nearly opposite the mills of Josiah White,¹⁸ the enterprising Quaker merchant who came from Salem in 1730, and as preacher and manufacturer, gave a double impetus, commercially and morally, to the town. The shop also adjoined the *Three Tuns* tavern, owned and kept by Daniel Jones,¹ the brother of Woolman's friend, Rebecca Jones, of Philadelphia. Daniel Jones was not a Quaker. The inevitable result of prompt and honest dealing followed, and Woolman's trade so prospered that he feared he might eventually grow rich! He therefore began to reduce the volume of his business, disliking to feel himself involved in too

¹ Daniel Jones (1730-). He remained an Episcopalian, and was a warden of St. Andrew's Church, Mt. Holly.

much "cumber." May 16th, 1753, he sold the Mill street property to his mother, Elizabeth Woolman, and it is not at all unlikely that for a few years before her death, in 1772, she and her unmarried daughter, Rachel, may have lived in the Mill street house together, as her son Asher had a large and growing family.

John Woolman wrote his mother's will "the 11th of 2mo. in the year 1772," not long before he left for England, when she was too feeble to do more than make her trembling mark. In her will she leaves her "brick house in Mount Holly with the framed shop, and all the lot to them belonging," to her daughter Rachel, who held the property for twenty-three years and sold it March 22d. 1795, three years before her death, to Samuel Lewis. The "framed shop" at the side adjoining the house was bought by Josiah White¹⁸ and moved off the premises. Rachel Woolman let out the house, or a part of it, to tenants, and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for September 25th, 1776, contains the following advertisement:

"Mount Holly, September 23, 1776.

John Shields

has opened a new store at the Upper end of Mount Holly (in the house where the late Mr. John Woolman lived) where he proposes to keep a neat Assortment of Dry and Wet Goods, suitable to that Part of the Country, whose Custom he hopes to obtain by the Moderation of his Prices."

John Shields does not appear to have owned the property in the town for his shop, and while the family name is known, his own identity is not established.

The second purchase of property made by John Woolman was on May 20th, 1747, when he bought of Peter Andrews,¹⁷ his neighbor and intimate friend, eleven acres of land which had originally formed part of the great tract which John Haddon of London had taken up as a Proprietary of West Jersey, and which was inherited by his daughter, Elizabeth Haddon,²⁰ afterwards Estaugh, the founder of Haddonfield. She had sold to Peter Andrews¹⁷ this small portion only the year before. The purchase price was twenty-five pounds, "proclamation money."¹

There are not many young men of twenty-seven in John Wool-

¹ The original deed is in possession of the Editor.

man's position in life who are possessed of sufficient means to acquire two such pieces of property, even with the prices of the colonial period. This circumstance is in itself enough to refute the charges of extreme poverty which have been made. To this farm, which was increased to nearly two hundred acres by the time it was sold in 1791 by John and Mary Comfort, John Woolman appears to have retired at some period between 1753 and 1760, and he continued at his home to manage the farm and orchard, at the same time that he pursued his tailoring, for the Account Book shows that he was making leather breeches for his customers within a few weeks of his departure for England.

CHAPTER III

1749

MARRIAGE AND SETTLEMENT

Early marriages were universal in this period of colonial life, since a farming community can easily support itself upon productive land like that in West Jersey. But Woolman's tastes were inclined toward a less laborious means of living, as he tells us himself, and he was besides of a slight and rather frail build. Hence he was twenty-nine years old before he married, and had for six years been a recognized preacher. Settling down to his home life, with his tailoring and conveyancing, his legal duties as occasion called him to draw the will of a dying neighbor, or to lay out the property of an heir or new-comer, John Woolman began what was a happy married life, interrupted only by the absences which took him long distances from home, in pursuance of his duties, and at his Master's call.

Of the wife of John Woolman singularly little is known. The family memoranda of her son-in-law, John Comfort,²⁴ give us the dates of her birth and death. She is sometimes named on her meeting's committees, and she served as the first Treasurer of the Woman's Meeting, when the Monthly Meeting of Mount Holly was separated from that of Burlington in 1775, after her husband's death. A few letters remain to or about her, but none of her own to her husband. A word or two stating the bare fact is all that his Journal tells us of his marriage. "The Lord," says Woolman, "gave me a well inclined damsel named Sarah Ellis,"²⁵ and this is all that he records. They were married at Chesterfield, New Jersey, 8mo. (October) 18, 1749, when he was twenty-nine and she a year younger. Their marriage certificate is well written on parchment, but the name is very curiously spelled throughout, "*Wollman*."¹

¹ See Appendix, original in *Woolman Papers*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Sarah Ellis was the daughter of Benjamin Ellis and Mary Abbott, who were married at Chesterfield, N. J., 9mo. (November) 22, 1720. Her father was the son of Josiah Ellis, of Woodenbury, Chester, England. Josiah Ellis married for his third wife, 7mo. (September) 16, 1697, Mary, the daughter of William Adams, of Monmouth, and widow of Thomas Wilcox, goldsmith, of the Savoy, whom she had married at Westminster meeting, 9mo. (November) 22, 1680. Josiah Ellis had many children and grandchildren, all of his wives having left descendants. Benjamin and his twin sister Mary, eldest children by the third wife, were born 8mo. (October) 16, 1698, in the Savoy.

Upon attaining his majority Benjamin Ellis came to America. The first record of him is his certificate to Great Britain *from* Chesterfield, N. J., dated 6mo. (August) 6, 1719. He brings one from Hammersmith, Middlesex, London, to Philadelphia, dated "29 of 2mo. (April) 1720," and the latter monthly meeting, 7mo. 30 (September) appoints Anthony Morris and Thomas Griffith to prepare another directed to Chesterfield, N. J., "touching his clearness in relation to marriage." At that meeting, 9mo. (November) 24, 1720, he married Mary, daughter of John and Ann (Mauleverer) Abbott.¹ They went to Philadelphia to live, and Mary Ellis's certificate of removal to that place is dated on the records, "y^e 2nd. of y^e 12th mo. (February) 1720." There had been Ellises in Burlington County from the time of William Penn, but they do not appear to be of this family. A George Ellis of Higham, in Derbyshire, sold some land in West Jersey in 1682.²

The day before the birth of their only child, Sarah, Benjamin Ellis requested another certificate to London, "he intending there on business." The minute is dated, "6mo. (August) 25, 1721." The death of Josiah Ellis does not appear on the London records, but this may have been the cause of his son's departure so soon after his arrival and marriage. This is the last evidence of any kind that has been found respecting Benjamin Ellis, and the presumption is that he died, or was lost at sea. There is no clue to the circumstances which had brought together this pair; there

¹ Andrew Bradford is a witness from Philadelphia.

² N. J. Archives, XXI, 429. For facts of Benjamin Ellis' ancestry, the Editor is indebted to Gilbert Cope.

may have been family connections or acquaintance in the earlier generation in England. In a new country courtships were brief, and between the summer of 1720 and the autumn of 1721 Benjamin Ellis had arrived in West Jersey, married, had a child, and departed, with only the record of dates to imply any tragedy compressed into so brief a period.

Sarah, only child of Benjamin and Mary Ellis, was born 6mo. (August) 26, 1721, in Philadelphia. She was but two years old when her mother returned to Chesterfield to live with, or near, her parents; the certificate of removal is dated 11mo. (January) 17, 1723-4. When Sarah was nine years old her mother married again, at Chesterfield, George Williams, Senior (1685-1744), a well-known and highly esteemed resident of Shrewsbury, East Jersey, 9mo (November) 12, 1730, as his second wife.¹ His first wife had been Joanna Wills (1688-1728) whom he had married 11mo. (January) 1708-9. She died "circumspect in behavior" and a minister, 2mo. (April) 1st, 1728,² leaving him with seven children. Mary Ellis Williams "desesed her life" at Shrewsbury, "y^e 6 of 2mo. (April) 1739." George Williams also "desesed his life y^e 15 of 1mo. (March) 1744."³ The Friends said of Mary that "she was well-beloved by her husband's children, and upon her death left a sweet savour behind her."⁴ Her constitution was frail; she was a minister for some years. Two of her step-sons married two of her younger sisters.

There are evidences that if Sarah Ellis was not brought up by her grandparents, John and Ann Abbott, she at least spent much of her time with them. Chesterfield records give the birth date of her grandmother as 2mo. (April) 28, 1678. Ann Abbott was the daughter of Edmund and Ann Mauleverer, of West Aytoun Manor, an ancient family of Yorkshire, tracing their descent directly back to the Sureties of the Magna Charta.⁵ It is interesting to discover that Robert and Alice (Markenfield)

¹ N. J. Archives, XXX, 212. G. W. is described as "a lover of God and man. He kept open house and entertained his friends with cheerfulness"—an elder many years.

² "The Friend" (Philadelphia), Vol. XXIX, p. 252.

³ Shrewsbury M. M. Records. Book II. Marriages, Births, and Deaths. Geo. Williams was the third child of the four sons and five daughters of John and Mary Williams. John died in 1719. His inventory shows him to have had a comfortable estate. It names the family Bible. N. J. Archives, 1st Ser., XXIII, p. 510.

⁴ "The Friend" (Philadelphia), Vol. XXIX, p. 252.

⁵ Charles R. Browning. "Sureties of the Magna Charta."

Mauleverer, of Wothersome, Yorkshire, were ancestors of both Ann Mauleverer Abbott and of Richard Saltonstall, (1610-1694), later of Ipswich, Massachusetts, Deputy and Assistant, whose wife was Muriel Gurdon, and whose fame has come down to us in the Puritan Records. Ann Mauleverer was born in 1678, at Scarborough, Yorkshire, where her father died, and her mother married again, 7mo. (September) 1681, Matthew Watson, chemist, of the same place. The following year, 1682, the family joined the great migration under William Penn to West Jersey, where Matthew Watson became a prominent figure. His step-daughter, Ann Mauleverer, (1678-1754) was married at his house at Chesterfield, 3mo. (May) 26, 1696,¹ to John Abbott (1660-1739), who had removed from Farnfield, Nottinghamshire, in 1684. He died 8mo. (October) 16, 1739, leaving her with ten children. Her death occurred 2mo. (April) 10, 1754.

Much of the nineteen years between her mother's second marriage and removal to Shrewsbury, and her own marriage, was spent by Sarah Ellis with her grandparents at Chesterfield, where she could not have failed to meet John Woolman. His choice is evidence of the purity of her character, but we know nothing of her at this time of her life. They were married in Chesterfield, 8mo. (October) 18, 1749; their certificate is yet in beautiful preservation. On the same day that John and Sarah Woolman had gone over to Burlington Monthly Meeting to "pass," as the declaration of their intentions before the meeting was called, for the second time, i.e., 7mo. (September) 4th.² John's sister, Hannah Woolman and Samuel Gauntt also went through the same ceremony in the same meeting.

Letters to his wife show Woolman's solicitude for her comfort, and we gather that Sarah Woolman was never in very robust health. She led a quiet life, and her husband lived up to his advice on the question of labor, by seeing to it that she had a competent person to assist her in the household tasks. After the death of her husband she was for a time prostrated, but when the separate Monthly Meeting at Mount Holly was established she

¹ N. J. Archives, XXII, p. 650.

² Burlington M. M. Records. Vol. II, p. 182. Same Vol., p. 185, under date "6 day of 9 mo. 1749"—"The Friends appointed to attend the marriages of Samuel Gauntt and Hannah Woolman and of John Woolman and Sarah Ellis report them orderly performed."

became, as has been noted, the first Treasurer of the Women's Meeting, in 1776. Her name occurs on committees and she appears to have taken part in the affairs of the Society. She survived her husband for fifteen years and died at Mount Holly, 3mo. 18, 1787.¹ She is buried beside two of her grandchildren in the Friends' graveyard at the "new" meeting house (built 1775) in lot number twelve, not far from the iron railing on Garden Street; the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia has recently erected a granite marker.

The following letter has come to light among the correspondence of the Morris and Smith families.² It is the only letter in Sarah Woolman's handwriting yet found, and all the persons named by her were members of her own Monthly Meeting, and her intimate friends. She had known "Johny," as his family called him, since his birth, and took alarm when she found the boy was to be placed where he might feel "worldly ambitions." He was the son of John Smith,¹⁰ her husband's friend, and Hannah Logan. John Smith, 2nd, was born in 1761 and was therefore fifteen years old when this letter was written. His father had died in 1771 at the early age of 48, and his mother at his birth. The care of their four orphan children devolved upon the uncles, and it is to Samuel Smith,¹⁴ the historian of New Jersey, and William Logan,⁸ son of James, that Sarah Woolman refers in the letter, which is unfortunately without superscription. John Smith II, married, 1784, Gulielma Maria (1766-1826), daughter of William and Margaret (Hill) Morris of Burlington, New Jersey, and his death, of pulmonary disease, took place in 1803, at the age of forty-two. He was never robust, and his life was chiefly spent upon his farm at "Green Hill," three miles from Burlington, where Samuel Jenings had once lived. John Morris, the brother of his wife, had been a promising young physician, who was one of the many yellow fever victims of the awful summer of 1793 in Philadelphia. Sarah Woolman's fears that his prominent social connections, or his ambitions, if educated to the medical profession, might lead the youthful John astray,

¹ Inside front cover of Larger Account Book John Comfort has written, "Mother Woolman departed this life, 18 day 3 mo. 1787."

² The Gulielma M. Howland Collection. In Library of Haverford College.

⁸ See Biog. Note 59.

were groundless. He chose to devote his time to the cultivation of a highly productive farm, thus following the calling that John Woolman had declared led to the best contentment in life.

[Endorsement] [Mount Holly in 1st mo: 1776.]

Dear friend

a Concern hath rested on my mind in behalf of John Smith Remembering what Innocence his Dear Creator Bestowed upon him and what a Lamentable Case it should be lost or mar^d for want timely Care or Chusing a trade may be most for his Spiritual advantage rather than worldly profit may his friends and near Relations dwell Deep in their mind before him whose dwelling is on high may you seek to be directed by best wisdom in so waty a matter and have a watchfull Care over this Beloved youth for his Incouragement in ye Blessed way now hath my mind been united In near Love & Simpathy in Behalf of this Dear Child and his wellfare this Innocence may not be Lost [for] want of Scilfull management I Remember Several years past a friend Said in my hearing if he lived to be old anuf was Intended to bee a doctor or a lawyer it Gave me a whome Stroke and Sorrow fileth my mind lest it may not prove for his Everlasting advantage aspiring after greatness for allass what is this world and ye pleasures here below when Compared with Eternity Choosing that which may keep his mind most free from Entanglements of any kind and this youth be Instructed in the paths of verty and have time to read Good Books and Seek after Humility of hart and find acquaintance & acceptance with his Creator the Humble he will teach of his ways and the Meek guide in Judgment which is more to be valued than all ye pleasures this world Can afford which is very aluring to youth I would Just Expres those hints that I may be Clear for you know I am a poor Cretor and have had a humbling Season and believe these remarks Simple but looking toward the winding up of time hear below and that I may not feel anguish of mind if things Should not Succeed well hereafter and I Could not well be Silent Except I rite Something [of] this kind now if he Should Chuse to be a farmer and you Could find a Honnest man would it not be best and his mind more at Liberty and Srean in meditation on divinity & ye Divine being and may he rule whose rite it is and worthy to have room in our harts I was Informed by a young man Going to rawway John Smith'[s] 2 unkels Samuel S[mith] & William Login Intended he Should be a docter and the youth rather chose be a farmer young man said was Sorry he Should be a doctor & pityed him to this purpose it caused a fresh Concern in my mind

and now dear friend if thou Enquire and if there be not a Cause then rather this was Concealed I hope thou may allow for weakness and a Stammering [tongue].

farewell S[arah] W[oolman]
rather this had a bee comprised in few words

The only child of John and Sarah Woolman who survived to maturity was Mary,²⁴ born, according to her father's memorandum, "10th mo. 1750." The record of the meeting reads, "10 mo. (December) 18th." The birth of a son, William, is recorded in the meeting minutes and in a collateral family genealogy, on 7 mo. 21, 1754. This child died 9 mo. 30, 1754, at the age of two months.¹ There is always a message for Mary in the father's letters when he was away on his long tours about the country, but we have no other reference to her childhood, or to the tender care certainly bestowed upon her by such parents. She was married at the age of twenty-one, 3rd of 4th mo. 1771, to John Comfort²⁴ (1754-1803), of Fallsington, Pa., son of Stephen Comfort²⁴ of the same place. Their marriage certificate is beautifully written in the clear, legal hand of her father.²

John Woolman built for his daughter the brick house now known as the "Woolman Memorial," at 99 Branch Street, Mount Holly, for which the bills and specifications are fully given in his Larger Account Book.³ It was but just completed when he sailed for England, and Mary's first child John was born about six weeks after, so that John Woolman never saw a grandchild of his own. Of these, however, he had ten, all of them children of John and Mary Comfort. Two of these who died in infancy are buried as we have seen, in the Friends' graveyard in Mount Holly beside their grandmother.⁴ After her death, John Comfort (whose father, Stephen Comfort, died but two months after John Woolman) removed, probably for business reasons, to his former home at Fallsington, where the second daughter was born, and died in a few weeks. Mary was the only other daughter. The six sons who grew up all married and left families,

¹ Burial Records. (Mount Holly) Burlington M. M.

² The parents' names are not given, as was usual.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ These children were: 1. Jeremiah, d. 1778, aged 8 mos. 2. William, d. 1786, aged 6 yrs.

so that John Woolman has today many direct descendants, but none of the name of Woolman.¹

Mary Woolman Comfort died of the scourge of smallpox, which carried away so many of her relatives, leaving her large family with the only daughter but seven years old and the youngest boy aged three. Her husband enters on the index leaf of the Larger Account Book, "My Beloved Wife Departed this life
da mo

with the Small pox ye 6: 4: 1797, about 12 o'clock at Night, Aged 46 and a half lacking 12 days." He married a second time, at the "Falls" Meeting House, 11 mo. 4, 1798, Ann, daughter of Isaac and Rebecca English of Middletown.² There is a memorandum in the Larger Account Book, by John
da mo.

Comfort,—“8 6 1794—Ann English came here.” Her account is balanced and settled on the 28th of 10mo. 1796. She had evidently been assisting in the care of the large family in some domestic capacity, and was probably the natural person to resume the charge of his motherless children. One of these has entered in this same book, so full of the vital interests of this family, “Our endeared Father, John Comfort,²⁴ departed this Life 1 day of 7mo. 1803, about 4 o'clock in the Morning.” He was born 8mo. (October) 5, 1745, and was therefore fifty-eight years old. He left no will; letters of administration were granted by William Hart to his sons, John and Samuel, dated “26 July, 1803,” at “The Falls.”

The house in which John Woolman spent most of his married life stood upon the Old Springfield Road, now Branch Street, originally “The King’s Highway,” on which the early settlers journeyed from New York to Philadelphia, and to Gloucester. This is confirmed by mention in old deeds of the great oak tree, on the “York Road.” This ancient tree, now standing at the corner of Garden and Branch Streets, is the oldest corner named in the local deeds of Mount Holly. It was known as “Cripp’s Oak”³ and Indian treaties doubtless took place under its ample shade. It is carefully guarded by the town. When Garden

¹ See Biog. Note, 24, for the family of John and Mary Comfort.

² Fallington Marriage Record. Book B, 138. There are 25 witnesses.

³ John Cripps was the original owner of the land on which now stands Mount Holly.

[illegible]

William Salvo

Dr. Clark

...

THE

John A. Smith

Rebecca Lippincott

Freemantle Creek, N. S. W.

1000

...the ...

Haarsh. Meep's

Bathfelmabauer

Lydia : Fildon
Harm's Burr

John White

Konow's Mission.

Lin. Composit.

Harry Campbell Smith

W. H. H. H. H. H.

James Brown

1847

381100) 32222

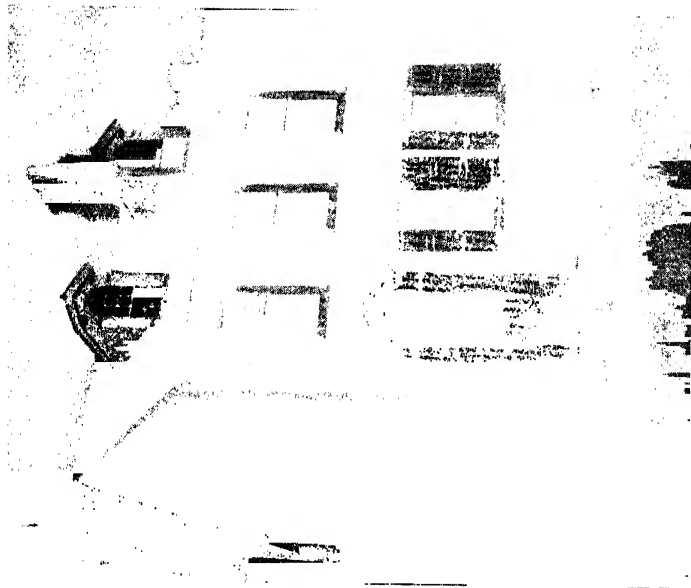
Chemical Control

Ann Morris

Marriage Certificate of Mary Woolman and John Comfort, 4 mo. 3, 1771.

In handwriting of John Woolman.

Original in Possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Number 47 Mill Street, Mount Holly, N. J.
John Woolman's Shop, 1747.

Remodeled, 1796.



"Cripps' Oak." Intersection of Garden and Branch
Streets, Mount Holly, N. J.

street was laid out in 1775, with John Woolman's brother Jonah as a Commissioner, its description was given in one of the old "Road Books" now in the Court House. It was opened from "the Burlington Road" to the "bars of John Comfort's apple orchard." The "Burlington Road" has now become Main, or High, street, and the old tree must have stood in Woolman's time at his orchard bars.

The house is probably represented with reasonable accuracy in the photograph here given of a sepia drawing in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.¹ It stood not far from the present Woolman Memorial, and was built of wood, remaining until 1858 in its original location, when Leander J. Budd, its then owner, removed it to form the front of a stable, after building the house near by, now owned and occupied (1922) by Herbert L. Crippen. The portion which formed the dwelling is still distinguishable from the rest by the cornice which runs about the eaves, and the filled-up blanks in the openings for the upper windows. Within can be traced the marks of the staircase, and the bricks still surround the ancient fire-place, whose early workmanship was known as "*brick-pane*." The house was bought in 1851 by Leander J. Budd, of Reuben Forker who had previously owned and occupied it. Reuben Forker was a son of the Adam Forker who did the glazing in the brick house adjoining, now the "Memorial,"² and who was the first tavern keeper in Mount Holly. The Forkers were a Huguenot family whose several brothers fled from France to Ireland after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and soon removed to America. The name was originally Farquhar, or Fauquier,³ and the Virginia branch had the good taste not to alter the spelling of the name. Descendants of the Forkers are still living.⁴

¹ Collection of Samuel Parrish. Scrap Book, entitled "Quakers and Indians." The same view is crudely illustrated in James Bowden's "History of Friends in America." Vol. II, p. 393.

² See Appendix, "Cost of building a Brick House."

³ The Minutes of Phila. "Mtg. for Sufferings" in 1760 mention William Farquhar, of Virginia.

⁴ The authority for the Editor's statements as to the removal of this house comes from Miss Mary W. Budd, daughter of Leander J. Budd, who lived in it while her father was building the new house. She perfectly recalls seeing it moved and altered into the stable, in 1858. There is at present no proof that the brick house occupying a slight elevation on the old Springfield Road, nearer the stream (lately occupied by G. W. Moore) was John Woolman's residence, although it stood on his farm and was sold by John Comfort to Samuel Stockton in 1791. If the frame house was once

The line of the public road which passed Woolman's house was altered between the date of his purchase in 1747 and the year 1760, when he sold the original eleven acres of land from the rest of his farm to Benajah, son of Peter Andrews,¹⁷ who had died in 1756. This gives a slightly different angle to the road, in the illustration of the house, as shown. He evidently had a "noon mark" upon his floor, and an undated memorandum shows his calculations for drawing "hour lines," which we may be sure he placed for his neighbors as well.

	Lat.	40
		mo.
"11 and 1.....	9"	46
10 and 2.....	20"	20
9 & 3.....	32"	40
8 & 4.....	48"	1
7 & 5.....	67"	20
6	90"	

"A Course directed to the Sun at Noon would be I believe about S. 4. W."¹

Woolman's orchard was his great delight and recreation, and his book shows sales and purchases of apple trees, and the care with which he grafted and trimmed his stock.

John Candler, an English Friend who traveled through the United States in 1841, visited what was supposed to be the house of John Woolman, on May 31st of that year, while he was the guest of John Cox at Oxmead, near Burlington. He thus describes the house at that time: "The habitation of John Woolman was a small farm house with two low rooms on the ground floor, standing in the midst of a green paddock or pasture, close by the roadside, about a mile from Mount Holly.² At the time of our visit it was undergoing repair, and from the alterations and additions about to be made to it, was likely to lose much of its primitive character. We could not survey the spot without some emotion. Here lived one who, with affections strongly

attached to its ancient kitchen, the front and rear portions were of different materials, as was often the case, and they were separated when the brick house was enlarged and improved. This is possible.

¹ Larger Account Book, p. 1.

² The house was about three-quarters of a mile from the whipping post and stocks, which stood on the square in the center of the town, lately occupied by a fountain.

linked to his species, for duty's sake forsook the busy scenes of life, shunning all its encumbering cares, in order that by so doing, he might the more effectually promote the welfare of society at large and serve God in his generation. Contented with little, he lived a life of moderate toil and profitable meditation."¹

John Candler was traveling companion to the distinguished English Quaker preacher and famous abolitionist, Joseph Sturge, who was also present on this occasion, and both they and their host were under the impression that this was the house of John Woolman himself. Later, however, John Cox wrote Joseph Sturge that having learned that the house which they visited was built, but not dwelt in, by Woolman, he had gone to see the only living man, then eighty years of age, who was Woolman's contemporary in Mount Holly, and who had known him well. "He informed me," writes John Cox, "that John Woolman's daughter and her husband resided in the house when her father embarked for London, which was in the year 1772, as recorded in his Journal."² This was therefore the present Woolman Memorial. It stood not far from her father's house, on the adjoining property. The alterations to which the English visitor referred were doubtless the addition of a frame back building with the closing up of the great open fireplace and plastering of the ceilings, which were again done away with when the Memorial was restored in 1915 to its original condition by the Association which is now the owner.

The year after he purchased his little farm, John Woolman drew up the Trust Deed for the lot on which was built the old meeting house on Wood Lane in Mount Holly. This was given to the Friends "in consideration of £5., Proclamation Money," by Samuel Cripps in 1748. Woolman was a Trustee, and his Deed and the Declaration of Trust are elaborate documents, entirely in his own handwriting.

In 1752 (5mo. 23) John Woolman was made Clerk of Burlington Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, succeeding Richard Smith Jr., who died in that year. The books of that meeting are kept in his clear and scholarly hand for the next seventeen years, ending "5th of 6mo. 1769," when failing health

¹ Letter of John Candler. *The British Friend*. Vol. I. No. XII. Glasgow, 12 mo. 30, 1843.

² Joseph Sturge. "A Visit to the United States in 1841," p. 62.

and his prospect of travel to the West Indies united to cause his resignation. His reflections added to the page for 2mo. 22, 1767, have been quoted elsewhere, and are extremely interesting. It is related that Woolman was present as Clerk when a discussion began for which he could not conscientiously make a minute. He therefore rose to leave the room, when a Friend remarked, "The Clerk need not fly from the table." John Woolman turned and quietly replied, "The Clerk hath no wings!"

About this time Woolman was called upon to serve as executor for the estate of Thomas Shinn,²² who, in making his will in 1751, named him in that office with Henry Paxson.²² Thomas Shinn was a Justice, and Assistant Judge of the Burlington Court of Common Pleas, and lived in "Bridgetown" for years, so that his choice of John Woolman for this responsible task was in itself evidence of the latter's skill and ability. Thomas Shinn's house was for many years a headquarters of Quakerism. Thomas Chalkley, writing in his Journal in 9 mo. 1737, says, "From Burlington I went to Mount Holly. Had a large Meeting at the Meeting House and another in the evening at Mount Holly Town, at the house of Thomas Shinn."¹ His will was proved March 10th, 1753.²

Another transaction at this time of Woolman's life has to do with a negro. On the back of an index leaf of the Larger Account Book stands the following memorandum:

da. mo.

"Negro James, bound 2 1 1754, to Serve 21
years, that is till 2d. 1mo. 1775."

James is the negro lad to whom John Woolman referred, when, in 1769, he felt reproached for the long term of service then imposed.³ He states that some persons who could not conscientiously keep a negro as a slave for his entire term of life, compromised by retaining their young negroes in service without

¹Thomas Chalkley. Journal, p. 300.

²Office of Clerk of Burlington County, N. J. Book A. 2, Deeds, p. 151. Recorded 15 July, 1754. Names Henry Paxson and John Woolman as Executors for Thomas Shinn. (See also Archives of N. J.) A collection of the Burlington Co. Common Pleas Court Papers [Histor. Soc. of Penna.] has a writ of Habeas Corpus for George Marple, for £5. 12. 9, owing the Estate of T. Shinn, signed by Paxson and Woolman as executors. Aug. 16, 1753.

³See Journal.

wages until they attained the age of thirty years. If this nine year old boy had been so bound, Woolman felt that the term of service exceeded by nine years the period usual for white boys to serve their apprenticeship, which ended at twenty-one. As one of the two executors engaged in the transaction, John Woolman, therefore, freed negro James of half of the nine years overtime, by executing a bond to pay James' employer a proper sum for the last four and a half years of his service, provided **this could be satisfactorily arranged** either by Woolman or his executors. The employer's name does not appear.

"In the management of my outward affairs, I may say with thankfulness, I found Truth to be my support." With such brief words as to his domestic life, would Woolman fain dismiss the subject. He had recently given up his "merchandizing," as he calls it, having set up a little shop of his own to sell buttons and trimmings in connection with his tailoring. It promised to be so profitable, that the "cumber" involved by proper attention to trade tended to distract his contemplative mind. He therefore told all his customers of his intention to discard this branch of his business, that they might go elsewhere, and, as we have seen, sold the Mill street property to his mother and retired to his farm on the old Springfield road, having settled down to his farming and tailoring. He was a reader of Gilbert Latey and followed the example of that early Quaker tailor, of the days of Charles II, in thus declining a too profitable trade. In 1805 Thomas Shillitoe, another Quaker tailor, gave up business altogether, inspired in part by the examples of Latey and Woolman.

This humble calling brought Woolman contentment. He was "weaned," he says, "from the desire for outward greatness, and learned to be content with real conveniences that were not costly, so that a way of life free from much entanglement appeared best for me, though the income might be small. I had several offers of business that appeared profitable, but I did not see my way clear to accept of them, as believing they would be attended with more outward care and cumber than was required of me to engage in; I saw that an humble man, with the blessing of the Lord, might live on a little, and that where the heart was set on greatness, success in business did not satisfy the craving; but that commonly with no increase of wealth, the

desire of wealth increased." What would he have thought of modern business life? He lived on in the outskirts of the little town, his soul "so environed with Heavenly Light and Consolation" that hard things were made easy to him, and contentment was his portion.

John Cox Jr. is authority for the statement that on his little farm, John Woolman at harvest time watched with tender care over the condition of his livestock, so that when the young lamb or calf was ready to kill for the feeding of the harvest hands, he discarded the usual method of severing the jugular vein and allowing the creature to bleed to death. He kept instead, a great wooden block, upon which, with legs tied, the animal was laid and its head severed from the body with one stroke.¹

The meagre statements of the Journalist, however, are supplemented for us in his Larger Account Book, where we way well be surprised at the busy activities of this man of moderation. The accounts run on steadily until 1764, and after that, with intervals, until he sailed for England in 1772. The entries are in part reproduced here because they furnish, as nothing else can, a vivid impression of John Woolman's daily life:

1748-9

da	mo		£	s.	d.
6:	11:	Samuel Haines's coffin costs.....	1	12	0
		and digging the grave.....	0	6	0
		"Rec'd one moidore"	2	6	6

1753

da	mo				
19:	5:	At Attendance and Clerkship at the Apprais Mt.	0	5	0
		To Transcribing a large Inventory.....	0	2	0
		To Going to Burlington to Carry in ye Inventory	0	4	6
		To Writing Advertisements for Vendue and			
		Clerkship and Attendance at Vendue.....	0	4	0
		To Writing Indentures binding Gamaliel and			
		Aquilla to Trades.....	0	2	6
		To Tracing the lines of the large lot back of the			
		town, allso the lot Budd Bought, & Bargain-			
		ing	0	3	6

¹ Letter of John Cox, Jr., to Joseph Sturge: "A Visit to the United States," 1841, p. 62.

1754

			£	s.	d.
da mo					
31	5	To Going to Burling ^a , by Appointment to meet Robt. Smith, Joseph Scattergood & Thomas Earle on an Affair betwixt Sd. Earle & T. S. Dec'd	0	3	6

da mo					
19	6	To a Second meeting on sd. Affair.....	0	5	0
		To Assisting in Traceing the Lines & fixing Corners to the two parallels land sold Jos. Burr, & going to S. Cripes Concerning quit claim—	0	6	0

da mo					
23	12	To one day attending the Audit of Cōrt on the Affair of Thomas Earle.....	0	4	6

1755

da mo					
2:	2:	To Employing my Brother to go to Borden Town to Speak with Jno. Sykes, Exr. of Matthew Champin, Concerning Wm. Earle's Estate	0	4	0

27:	3mo.	1757 Woolman makes the following note— "To Assisting at ye Signing John Justice's Deed. As it is a Custom in Signing deeds to Sign a Separate receipt at ye bottom of the Consideration Money, So I have done in this Estate of T. Shinn. Sometimes Signed Such receipts, but never rec'd any money: <i>this is Truth.</i>	0	9	0
-----	------	--	---	---	---

John Woolman."

1760

da mo					
15:	11:	The Estate of <i>Negro Maria</i> is charged "For Cash paid Zach. Rossel for the two Children's passage up in ye Mountholly Stage.".....	0	4	0
		Digging ye Grave	0	5	0
		To self and horse two days in ye above Affair..	0	10	0
		To my time one day going to Mother's when Henry Burr took Isabella.....	0	4	0

1761

da mo					
29:	6:	To Going to Burlington to Speak with Samuel Smith Concerning the title of the Land he proposed to buy.			

12. 3 1762. (The Legatees sign discharges, and Estate is closed.)

da mo

27: 12: 1762

Accmpt of my proceeding as Exr. to the last will of my Beloved Friend Peter Fearon dec'd, as Joynt Exr. with Thomas Wetherill.

1763

da mo

1: 9: Attending at Thos. Wetherill's, Conferring about Taking the Opinion of a lawyer, and preparing a *State of the Case* in Writing, for Benj. Chew, whom ye Legatees Chuse to apply to

£	s.	d.
0	3	0

1764

da mo

4: Affairs relating to the Estate of Peter Fearon I believe are all Settled. John Woolman."

The following paragraph closes this Book:

"Memorandum for myself. As the credits upon Book apprais'd at 9: 19: and I suppose ac't of the Debtors will be produced, Against part, and some prove Insolvent, its therefore Necessary to take Notice how much I receive on acct. particulars."

It is evident that the period of Woolman's life between his marriage (1749) and 1760 was one of great activity. He declined his "merchandizing," but his books show that his business as a surveyor and conveyancer was increasing—an employment very much more in accord with his tastes. Deeds exist in which he bought and sold lands within forty-eight hours, evidently to settle estates. Two of these, dated 1mo. 29 and 31st, 1757, are for the estate of his friend, Peter Andrews,¹⁷ who died abroad. The widow and son, Esther¹⁷ and Benajah Andrews,¹⁷ as Executors, sell to John Woolman, who at once makes a second deed of sale to Benajah Andrews, who thus obtains the homestead and clears the title.¹ While Woolman kept closely in touch with the affairs of the Quakers, who as a body were now passing through the greatest crisis of their Colonial

¹ The original deeds, in John Woolman's handwriting, are in possession of the Editor. A similar transaction occurred in 1762 for Thomas Reynolds, to settle the estate of his father, Patrick Reynolds. (Deed in possession of Henry C. Shinn of Mt. Holly.)

history, he also watched the larger course of political events, and their effect not only upon his own religious society, but also upon the Indians, for whom his sympathies had long been aroused. His opportunities for informing himself were unusually great.

The year 1754 opened with the failure of Washington's diplomatic mission to the Indian frontier, and the news was printed in Benjamin Franklin's "Pennsylvania Gazette" for February 5th, in a letter from Virginia. Warlike threats from the French accompanied the news of the young ambassador's return. This copy of the "Gazette" would reach Mount Holly the day after publication, and the despatch from Europe containing the threat of revolution in the Gallican church by reason of the tyranny of the ministers and clergy, taken together with the rumors of war, might well cause the dream which Woolman records as occurring to him the following night. This dream was omitted by the first editorial committee, and their example has been followed by the few who have since collated the manuscript with the original.

It will be evident to the careful reader of Woolman that he lays great importance on the dreams which came to him throughout his life. They are dwelt upon with so much significance, that every previously omitted reference to these "visions of the night," as he calls them, has been carefully preserved in this edition. Alive to all the burdens of the human race, he dwelt upon their sorrows, and in imagination, anticipated the consequences; in the silent hours of the night he saw indefinite warnings and heard mysterious voices, which at once became to him messages of grave import. The Quaker belief in special spiritual communications, sometimes, as with George Fox, accompanied by the gift of healing, has led several writers on Woolman into the declaration that among Woolman's sect a belief in witchcraft was universal. The contrary is true. At a period when intelligent people were still superstitious and observant of omens, etc., the Quakers were distinguished for their sanity and common sense. This dream of Woolman has been called a physical, "distinct pre-vision of the seven years war," but that is claiming too much.¹ The dream of February 6th was followed by the news of the departure of Washington for Western Pennsylvania in

¹See the Editor's "Witchcraft and Quakerism."

the early spring, and in midsummer, by his surrender at Fort Necessity. The next summer Woolman saw in Philadelphia the exiled Acadians whose sorrows are sung in "Evangeline," and to whom his French friend, Anthony Benezet,⁴ at once devoted himself. Soon after came the defeat of Braddock. However Woolman might desire to live retired from all the turmoil of the war then going on, he was too closely in touch with the powerful Friends who were laboring to relieve the situation, to escape the effects of the prevailing excitement, and news of the Lisbon earthquake only added to the general apprehension. Soon the problem came close home.

In 1755 General Braddock was sent to the Colonies as Commander-in-Chief, with two regiments of British troops, for whom Parliament made provision. Two other regiments were to be raised by the Governors, and for payment of these troops the Colonies were heavily taxed. This tax, paid by many Friends with the general tax, John Woolman and certain of the more scrupulous Friends found themselves unable to pay, and an Epistle of "Tender Love and Caution," chiefly written by Woolman, was sent out by them in the summer of 1755. After the death of Braddock, the Earl of Loudoun arrived (1757) as General of the forces; the burden became heavier, and in the autumn of that year the local militia was drafted. A large number of patriotic young Quakers joined the troops. A second call brought out still more, and when the militia of Northampton township began drilling in Mount Holly on the public square, John Woolman's mind was much affected. Only partial relief came to him when the destruction of Fort William Henry released the second draft to return home.

At this time our philanthropist was not confining his attention to affairs at home, but was sharing in the communications with the Friends in England. A "Meeting for Sufferings" was established by the Friends of Philadelphia in 1756, having for its object, like that of London, on which it was modeled, the care of the Society in an official capacity during the intervals of the Yearly Meeting. Its work was to protect the interests of the Quakers with the government at home and abroad. John Woolman was among the first appointed, and under date 9 mo. 18 to 24, 1756, signs a minute stating their reasons for raising the

Yearly Meeting stock in order to aid Friends "in their distressed state on the frontier settlements," &c.¹ A petition to the Proprietaries, Thomas and Richard Penn (5mo. 1765) against the Assembly's militia tax, was the first business transacted by the newly created body.

The minute for 12mo. 17, 1756 contains the Committee's epistle to the corresponding body in London. A paragraph reads:

"One occasion of raising Money hath occurred among us, which we think proper to make some Mention of, which is, that soon after the defeat of the Army sent last year to Virginia (cf. Braddock) Some of the Indians in the Interest of the French having committed Hostilities on the Frontiers of that Province, the Consideration of the Circumstances of those Indians who had been our old Friends and Neighbours, led some of us to think whether we, as a Society in Particular, & this Government in General, had fully discharged our Duty towards them? A little Reflection was Sufficient to convince us there had been a Deficiency, & incited to a Concern to give them some fresh Testimony of our regard, which some of us in our private Stations were willing to Manifest, & Others by their Endeavours to engage the Government to do it in Such Manner as would be more immediately Effectual."

There was some delay, and the second Treaty of the Governor and the Delaware Indians is referred to as having been made; the affair was finally left in the hands of a Committee.² Woolman was on the Committee in 1758, which advised against Military Service, "particularly from voluntarily assisting with ships, Waggon, or other Carriages for transporting Implements of War or Military Stores."³

Meantime, with activities progressing under Loudoun, each colony "was to raise, pay and clothe its quota of men, while arms, stores of war, and provisions were to be furnished at the expense of the Crown."⁴ The requisition called for five thousand troops to defend the southern colonies,—twelve hundred English and thirty-six hundred provincials. New Jersey was included with New York and New England in the northern military

¹ Minutes, Phila. Meeting for Sufferings, Vol. I, p. 27.

² Ibid., I, pp. 49-51.

³ Ibid., for 6 mo. 1, 1758.

⁴ W. Root. "Relations of Pennsylvania and Great Britain, 1690-1765," p. 252.

division, while Pennsylvania, with the southern colonies, formed the southern division. New Jersey, as well as the south, showed no energy in raising men or money. In fact, the failure to produce even half her quota, was due to the presence of the Quakers, according to the greatly angered Lord Loudoun,¹ whose requisition system meeting with complete failure, William Pitt in 1758 recalled him to England.

The "Epistle" for 1759 from Philadelphia to its subordinate meetings "along this Continent" was the work of John Woolman, and deals rather with the "empires and kingdoms of the earth" and the political situation, than with the negroes. The visit of the "Friend who was a Justice of the Peace," heretofore unpublished, shows perfectly Woolman's position in regard to paying a war-tax. Clear and direct, with any shadow of compromise impossible to his almost pellucid soul, he never hesitates. The Epistle would appear to have been written independently and submitted to the use of the meeting later. He had visited the country meetings of Chester and Delaware counties, and had been wearied by their eight-hour-long sittings, where the war situation was endlessly discussed, and the Friends were not in agreement. In Philadelphia, where the coolness of certain of his close friends with large business interests and political entanglements, somewhat distressed him, he was yet apparently able to see that some one must labor in that part of the field for the relief of the entire body; and it was toward these as well as those who still clung to their slaves, that he felt "a sympathy and tenderness." Who was the "Friend of considerable note" that was "cool" toward him, there is no clue. The visit to him, when "things relating to that shyness were searched to the bottom," is entirely characteristic of John Woolman.

While he was at London Grove, Pennsylvania, Quarterly Meeting, held 11 mo. 18, 1758, the incident at Thomas Woodward's [1722-1785] house occurred. There was a large attendance, due probably to the fact that this was the first time the Quarterly² meeting had been held in that place. John Woolman had delivered a powerful sermon against slavery, after which he and other Friends went to Thomas Woodward's for dinner.

¹ C. Kimball. "Correspondence of William Pitt," Vol. I, pp. 41, 43, 63.

² London Grove was set off from Goshen when the latter grew large, and Friends settled at the former place in great numbers. This story comes from Gilbert Cope.

Upon entering the house he observed some colored servants, and learning that they were slaves, he quietly turned and left the room and the house. Thomas and his friends supposed that he would shortly return, but they were disappointed. Thomas Woodward was a man of some standing in the community as farmer, surveyor and conveyancer. He also bound books. Moreover, his position in the Meeting was one of importance, and the incident had a great effect upon his mind. On waking next morning he told his wife that he must liberate his slaves. She asked if all must be set free, adding "Must Bet go too?" even bursting into tears at the thought of losing her faithful servant. But the decree was made and carried out, for Thomas was not willing to keep a house at which his friends could not be entertained. He was afterwards appointed on a committee to visit such as held slaves, and endeavored to convince them of the evil.

The cause of the Negro was meantime gaining in strength, and Philadelphia Friends in 1760 could say, "The growing concern, which hath appeared amongst us for some years past, to discourage the Practice of making Slaves of our Fellow Creatures, hath been visibly blessed with Success."¹

The Monthly Meeting to which John Woolman belonged, in response to the question of the Yearly Meeting of 1755, gave in 1757 a favorable report upon the whole, as to the condition of slaves in Burlington County at that time. The Friends said, "all are clear of importing negroes or purchasing them for term of life; several have been purchased for a term of years. They are generally well fed and clothed. Some are taught to read and taken to meetings, but others are taken little care of in these respects." The freeing of a pair of slaves, David and Dinah, by Caleb Haines, by verbal process, would coincide with this date. A Court opinion later upheld its legality.² The Yearly Meeting referred to had made the *purchase* of slaves a disownable offence. John Woolman himself tells us what was done in 1758. Of this period and of the action taken at Philadelphia by the Friends on what proved to be a really momentous occasion, much has been written. The Journal itself is explicit. The essays

¹ Epistle (Broadside) from Yearly Meeting held at Burlington, 9mo. 27, 1760. In Haverford College Library. John Smith, Clerk.

² See Hall's *Gazette*, 1mo. 17, 1776.

on the slave trade, and his personal labors, had given the impetus to a movement which made the meeting of 1758 a notable gathering in the results of its action on slavery, when the humble-minded preacher moved the large assembly to its depths by his appeal. The Committee upon which for several years he successfully labored, continued its work until 1761, and in 1776 *all* Friends in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting were disowned who refused to manumit their slaves. The system was abolished by law in Pennsylvania in 1780 and in 1803 by New Jersey.¹

Thus far the anti-slavery cause. Woolman's attitude towards another great reform, physical rather than moral, was conservative. His visit to Bucks county in the autumn of 1759 was made entirely with the slavery protest in mind; he returned to find his town in the throes of a visitation of small-pox, the dreaded scourge of the eighteenth century. At this time, however, inoculation was rapidly advancing in favor with the eminent physicians of the day, and the Philadelphia practitioners were using it with marked success. The young Thomas Jefferson had recently made his first visit to Philadelphia to undergo inoculation on the banks of the Schuylkill. A profound impression had been caused in November, 1757, by the deaths of Jonathan Edwards at Princeton, and that of his daughter, the wife of President Aaron Burr, both the victims of small-pox. John Woolman had evidently a great dread of the loathsome disease; and little wonder, for a sensitive and delicate temperament like his must have felt great repulsion towards it, in the days before any sort of suitable antiseptic treatment was known. The patient was usually visited by all his relatives and friends, no matter how great his suffering or how high his fever, and at his funeral—for he usually died—crowds attended at the infected house and grave.

John Woolman's sister had died of small-pox, and he himself, his cousin William Hunt, and his own daughter were to die of it. He mentions it in more than one of his letters, and was in the habit of avoiding those houses where the disease was known to

¹ The slaves of Gloucester County, N. J., were freed with much formality. The owner was obliged to bring his slave before two overseers of the township and two Justices of the Peace, who examined the negro to determine his soundness of body, mind and age, with a view to his ability for self-support. The first record in the Book of Manumissions is for John Gill, Sr., who freed a slave, Nov. 23, 1787. ("Notes on Old Gloucester," p. 65.)

be present. It was in his mind upon going to England, as indeed it was with all persons not immune. When Edward Bass, first Bishop of Massachusetts, went to London for ordination by Bishop Sherlock in 1767, his letter to the officers of the church shows the haunting fear of small-pox which was felt by most American visitors. His sponsor says, "There is one thing in particular in which he desires your assistance, viz. that you will do what you can to dismiss his business speedily, because he has never had the small-pox, which he is fearful of, having proved fatal to many New England men in London."¹

With all this dread John Woolman nevertheless shared the feelings of those ministers of the period who preached from their pulpits against inoculation as an interference with the designs of the Most High. He regarded small-pox as "a Messenger of the Almighty, to be an Assistant in the cause of virtue." But he is too good a doctor and health-commissioner, and too intelligent a citizen, not to see the necessity for isolation. Moreover, he writes, "Had God endowed men with understanding to prevent this disease, by means which have never proved hurtful or mortal, such a discovery might be considered as the period of chastisement by this distemper, where that knowledge extended." A suppressed paragraph shows Woolman's sanctified common sense. "Was no business done, no visits made, nor *any assembling of people together*, but such as were consistent with pure Wisdom, nor *no Inoculation*, there would be a great Alteration in the Operation of this disorder amongst Men." There can hardly be any doubt, as J. G. Whittier suggests, that vaccination would have been welcomed by him: "he almost seems to have anticipated some such preventative." Here, indeed, is the physician, prescribing isolation and quarantine. Thoughts like these invariably arose when Woolman contemplated a tour such as he now felt called upon to make in the interest of the negro.

¹ W. Updike: "History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett," Vol. II, p. 46.

CHAPTER IV

1760

NEWPORT AND THE SLAVE QUESTION. CORRESPONDENCE

John Woolman had long felt that he must again visit the Friends "to the Eastward," and express to them his deep sympathy for those who bore the burden of protest against the slave interests of New England. He had been in Newport and Nantucket in 1747 at the age of twenty-seven, and had then traveled by way of New York and through the "Oblong" country between the Hudson River and the Connecticut boundary. This time in the spring of 1760, with Samuel Eastburn,²⁰ who had recently accompanied him in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, he went more directly toward Newport, all the way under the burden of the effort that he felt he must make to arouse emancipation sentiment in the very stronghold of slavery, of which Newport was one of the largest centres. He was to visit "those whose station in families or in the society was such that their example had a powerful tendency to open the way for others to go aside from . . . the Truth." Here dwelt the Wantons, the Redwoods, and Stephen Hopkins, while Samuel Rodman of Greenwich and Thomas Hazard of Peacedale, with other influential Friends, were all attenders of Newport Yearly Meeting.¹

In preparation for this visit it is evident that his friend, John Smith, had given him some helpful advice as to his conduct among the wealthy Friends he was about to visit and who were known to himself. John Woolman never left home without having made every preparation in case he should not return, and the letter which he wrote John Smith¹⁵ on the eve of his departure not only shows this, but also the intimacy which existed between them. "S.A." is Samuel Allinson of Burlington, New Jersey, a Quaker conveyancer and attorney of note, and a man of influ-

¹ For the influential Friends to whom was John Woolman's message in Rhode Island, see "Quakers in the American Colonies," p. 171 ff, by R. M. Jones.

ence in the meeting. "Mary's" identity is established as the granddaughter of Ebenezer Large, whose estate John Woolman aided in settling. The letter to John Pemberton⁸ was written on the same day.

Belov'd Friend

I rec'd that letter from I.P. at a time when my mind was so Employ'd about endeavouring to put my family and affairs in a condition to leave them with satisfaction; And that, with the Shortness of the Time before me, Seem'd to make it very difficult to me to do anything in it. And meeting with J. Noble, I saw no better way than to send thee the letter.

I understood the hundrd pound to Mary was to be paid in 3 years after her Father's decease, which is not yet Expir'd. I propos'd to Mary some weeks ago to take a bond of S.A. for that Sum that might be due. She seem'd Easie to have it in Samuel's hands till time of payment as Believing it safer, and I was Cautious, as the Money was not due, of moveing anything which might beget uneasiness in the family; but if any one who are more fully acquainted with his Circumstance, think the Case requires it, I Expect he would let her have £100 in Elt. hands at the request of f'rds. So no more at present as to that.

Last night in my Sleep I thought I was in a Room with thee, and thou drawing thy chair nigh mine, did, in a friendly way, tell me of Sundry particular failings thou had observed in me, and Express'd Some desire that I might do better. I felt inwardly thankfull for thy care over me, and made little other reply than to tell thee that I took it very kind.

Allmost as Soon as I woke I remembered it, and though I could see some things in which I had not done so well as I might, yet the particulars thou pointed out were gone from me, nor can I yet remember them.

I am about to leave home under much thoughtfulness, & at times it Seems to border upon distress of Mind. But (I) retain a desire to put my whole trust in Him who is able to help throug (sic) all troubles.

With kind Love to thee and thy Wife, I remain your f'rd
da. mo

16 4 1760

John Woolman.

I hope my Dear Wife will be Noticed by her friends. J. W.

Endorsed: "For John Smith, at Burlington."¹

¹ Ridgway Branch, Phila. Library, Phila. Smith MSS., Vol. V, 1756-1762. For S. Allinson, see note, p. 8.

da. Mo.

Mount Holly — 16: 4: 1760.

Dear Friend

The Matter thou mentioned in thy Letter a few days past I had thought a good deal of and talked with Mary about it, but had not seen a clear way to do anything in it.

I rec'd thine on Second day last, and expect to leave home this day; that as Mary is not here now, there was no Opportunity for me to do anything. Especially as I was thoughtful to put my family in a Condition to leave. As thou mentioned J. Smith as one who might be a Friend to Mary, I knew not how to do better than to Acquaint him with the Care thou had on her Account, which I have done, and so with Kind kind (sic) love to thee & thy Mother and Enquiring f'rds, I remain

thy f'rd,

John Woolman.

John Woolman to John Pemberton.⁸¹

The travelers reached Newport after visiting Long Island. The letter to his wife, quoted in the Journal, was probably sent from the house of Richard Hallett,⁸⁶ a hospitable Friend of Jericho. The three unpublished letters following largely explain themselves. If further evidence of his financial standing were needed, the charge to his wife to "spare no cost" to make her life comfortable should remove the last doubt. Their neighbor, Hannah Foster,⁸⁷ was in a position to know all about the "young woman."

da mo

11: 5: & 1 of week. 1760.

Dear Friend

My Companion and I are now at Newport, and midling well. Was yesterday at the burial of Abram Redwood's Wife,⁸ and Expect if favour'd with health & way opens to be at Boston the latter End of the week and to return from the Eastward to Newport Yearly Meeting.

I shall take it kind if thou'll please to take care of the Enclos'd, & should be glad to hear how my dear Wife and Child are, and f'rds about home, not forgetting the Small pox was brief.(?)

Our Visits in general have hitherto been in weakness, and to me

⁸¹ Pemberton Papers, Vol. XIV. p. 26. Hist. Soc. of Penna., Phila.

⁸ Abraham Redwood, founder of the Redwood Library in Newport, married Martha, daughter of Abraham Coggeshall.

it hath been a time of Abasement. I hope, notwithstanding, our appointing meetings have not been to the dishonour of Truth. My Exercises have, I think, been at least usefull to me, & I am thankfull to the Almighty in that I have seen and felt that He knows best what is for our good, and the good of f'rds where we come.

In some humbling Seasons, I have thought of my dear f'rds about home, and amongst others, thou and thy wife have been frequent in my remembrance.

John Woolman

f'rds here are generally well.
For John Smith at Burlington.¹

da. mo.

18: 5: & first of week, 1760.

Dearly beloved Wife

My Companion and I are now at Lynn in health about fifteen miles Eastward from Boston.

I have wrote Several letters to thee, Expecting thou will be glad to hear that I am well, and I write the oftener, for that I suppose they may not all come directly to thy hands.

It would be Agreeable to me to hear from you, not haveing had any Intelligence Concerning you Since I saw you, nor do I expect any soon as I am continually going from home. But should way open for our Journey I hope to be at the further end of it in less than two weeks, and then return toward Newport Yearly Meeting.

I remember thee and my child often with much nearness of Affection, believing thou art Somewhat lonesome in my Absence, and the most comfortable thoughts I have on the Subjects are That a Good and Gracious GOD Governs the Universe, who makes all things work for good to them that love him, of which number I trust thou art one. My love is to my dear Fr'ds. about home.

John Woolman.²

da. mo.

Newport 14 6 1760

Dear wife

I heard not from home after I left you till two days ago I rec'd thy two letters one Sent by B.A.(?) & other by H.F.³ which were truly Acceptable to me.

I hear by Wm. Lightfoot⁴ thou hast been poorly but at the time of his passing by was better. Thy not mentioning it in thy letters, I

¹ Smith MSS., Vol. V. 1756-1762. Ridgway Branch, Phila. Lib., Phila.

² Original in *Woolman MSS.*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³ Hannah Foster (27).

consider as intended kindness to me by forbearing to contribute to the Increase of my Exercise. I feel a most tender Concern for thee, as knowing thy Condition to be Attended with difficulty, and find at times a disposition to hasten for thy Sake. But Such is the weight of the work I am engaged in, and Such the baptisms with which I have been baptized; that I see A Necessity for all nature to Stand Silent. I know not that I ever have had a Sharper Conflict in Spirit, or better understood what it was to take up the Cross, than of late. The depth of which Exercise is know (sic) only to the Almighty, and yet my beloved Companion Saml.¹ hath been a true and faithful Sympathizer with me. I am humbly Thankfull to My Gracious Father, who has brought my mind in a good degree to be resigned to him.

From Him my being is derived. My life from one minute to another is Sustained by him, All I have are his gifts, and I am endeavouring (though in weakness) to Surrender all to him. My Care about thee and my Child is much greater than any other Care (as to the Things of this life) but my comfort hath all along been that a Greater than I is careful for you, to whose Gracious protection I recommend you.

The frds. from our parts are all here & appear to be well. We have been generally pretty well, have got forward on our Journey. There remains about 14 meetings besides Nantucket which we have not been at. Should we be favoured to get through them we Expect to go for Oblong in York Governm^t.

Spare no cost to make thy life Comfortable as may be. I say so because I heard by H.F. thou wast disappointed about a young woman.

My love is to all my dear frds.

John Woolman.²

In the colonial period, a young woman who was a Friend was often to be found aiding in the domestic life of the Quakers of standing. The "young woman" to whom our Journalist refers was probably the daughter of some Friend in the neighborhood, or in Philadelphia. Mary Woolman would be ten years old at this date, and in the absence of the father, her mother, who was not robust, much needed help in the affairs of the household. There were besides, the business affairs, and the oversight of the

¹ Samuel Eastburn (26).

² This letter, written on both sides of the paper, measures 6½ × 8 inches. Original in possession of Historical Society of Pennsylvania; *Woolman Papers*.

garden and orchard. A negro man was usually employed by John Woolman, and one of them is named in his Larger Account Book as "Primas."

Another letter to John Smith a few days later is in response to his evident request that Woolman collect information and stir up Friends to make suitable memorial records of their deceased ministers and elders. Three great folio volumes, in the large clear handwriting of John Smith,^{15 1} testify to the painstaking care with which he was pursuing this task, not quite completed at the time of his death. John Woolman was the means of having the subject taken up by New England Friends.

Dear f'rd

After I left home I heard not from my family till I came to Newport Yearly Meeting at which I rec'd two letters from thee, dated 18: & 25: 5mo., and how acceptable they were is hard to Express.

Some pt. of thy first and longest letter has had a particular and frequent place in my Consideration, and I think has done me a little good. I was helped with a little help.

The Yearly Meeting is now finish'd. E.S.² & H.F.² are going to Boston and Eastward. J. Storer²² expects to visit some Mo. meetings round about N.Y. M.R.,⁴ S.E.⁵ and I Expect to go to Nantucket Yearly Meeting, if way open.

I find no Memorial in any records in this Y. Meeting, but now at this Seting friends have made a Minute in the Y.M. Book, a Copy to be sent to the Quart^{rs} &c., to do that work.

Thy kindness in sending my letters is gratefully own'd. Truth is the same in all places: it is felt and own'd by Multitudes of people who yet are distinguished by Some Circumstances (Some indēd do not live up to what they see to be right), and the clearer the discovery, the Stronger the Obligation to labour in that Spirit which Suffers long and is kind, thereby if haply to point out the more perfect way.

I have had to Admire that Wisdom who appoints to his Servants their several and respective Employments: and to Adore that power

¹ Now in possession of Haverford College Library. A "Manuscript List of Friends in Great Britain, of whom no Account exists," dated "Dublin, 22, 12 mo. 1763," was sent by Dr. John Rutty to John Smith, to be included in this collection of Memorials. The original, in Dr. Rutty's handwriting, may be seen at the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library. [Smith MSS., Vol. VI. 1762-1765.]

² Elizabeth Shipley (29).

³ Hannah Foster (27).

⁴ Mary Ridgway (30).

⁵ Samuel Eastburn (26).

which hath Supported my Soul and kept me in a resignation through some uncommon Exercises. I remember you often with much nearness, and allsoe my dear f'rds about home.

John Woolman.

da. mo.

Newport. 17 6 1760

For John Smith at Burlington."¹

John Woolman wrote also to his brother Abner, for whom he evidently had a deep affection.² The date is the same as the foregoing:

"Dear Brother

I have remembered (since I left home) thee and thy family very often with much warmth of love.

We are at Newport and expect to go for Nantucket soon, if way open. We have been fellow feelers with the afflicted, nor is any affliction too great to endure for the Truth. This I own, and am labouring daily to be found in that resignation.

I am pinched for time, but wanted to let thee know I often thought of you.

John Woolman.

da. mo.

17 6 1760

For Abner Woolman."

John Woolman does not name the New England Friends who were engaged in aiding him to hold his anti-slavery meeting in the meeting-house chamber at Newport, but a memorandum by Isaac P. Hazard, of Rhode Island mentions the intimacy existing between Thomas Hazard [1720-1798] of Peacedale,³ and John Woolman. The two were exactly the same age, both having been born in 1720, and when Woolman was in the Narragansett country on his first visit in 1747, he had met and visited this young pioneer in the movement in New England. The meeting records contain no mention of his visits. Hazard and Woolman had been awakened to the evils of slavery at almost the same

¹ Smith MSS., Vol. V, 1756-1762. Ridgway Branch Phila. Library, Phila.

² From a copy in the Library of Devonshire House, London. Printed in the appendix to the "Century" Edition of John Woolman's Journal. Headley Bros., London.

³ W. Updike, "History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, R. I." and Edit., Vol. II, p. 68.

moment in their lives at the age of twenty-three.¹ When they met, five years after, each had been consistently laboring in church and civic affairs, to abolish the trade. The Friends of New England were as far advanced on the subject as those of Pennsylvania, so far as their meeting records went. Nantucket has been cited: Sandwich Friends in 1711, disowned a woman who permitted her slave to be beaten with a severity that caused his death,² and the Rhode Island Assembly of 1729 allowed and encouraged manumission, provided the sum of one hundred pounds was also paid to the town, as an indemnity against any charge upon it. Needless to say, few slaves, with such a practical penalty, were freed!³ The efforts were chiefly directed against cruelty. The Yearly Meeting of Newport in 1727 censured the importation of slaves, and in 1743, the year in which Thomas Hazard freed his negroes, the same meeting "agreed" . . . that they ask "of Friends in Pennsylvania an account of what they have done in the matter," knowing the growth of antislavery sentiment in the Colony of William Penn.

The subject, however, was almost at a standstill, when John Woolman and the Friends accompanying him arrived at Newport in 1760. They had five meetings en route in the Narragansett country, (Greenwich Monthly Meeting), where, in addition to Thomas Hazard, whose father was the largest slave owner in the Province, they must have been warmly welcomed by Richard Smith, living over the border in Groton, Connecticut, who had not long before, freed his "negro garl, Jane," as "free as if Shee had been free born." The other ministers who were Woolman's fellow guests at the country Friends' houses, did not feel the same burden, and he alone generally had a private conference with his host on this vital subject. He did not, however, "think hardly" of the other Friends, nor did he repine at his own "unpleasant task" assigned him by his Master, but

¹ Young Hazard visited his father's friend to buy cattle for his new farm, and the old Baptist deacon held many long theological discussions with the young Quaker. Finally the deacon said, "Quakers! They are not Christian people," answering the surprised inquiry of Hazard by adding, "They hold their fellow-men in slavery!" From that moment the abolition of slaves became his chief object in life. The story is well told in Caroline Hazard's "College Tom," p. 42, q. v. for Thos. Hazard.

² Records, Sandwich Monthly Meeting, 3 mo. (May) 30, 1711.

³ Caroline Hazard. "College Tom," p. 45.

"looked with awfulness to Him who appoints his servants their respective employments."

The little party reached Newport in time to attend the burial of Martha Redwood on the 10th of May, and visited Boston and "eighty miles beyond," with Dover, New Hampshire, as their ultimate goal,¹ returning to Newport in time for the Yearly Meeting, where John Woolman's certificate was presented. The opening Minute reads, "Att our Yearly Meeting of Friends held on Rhode Island for New England, Begun at Portsmouth, ye 12 day of ye 6 mo. 1760, for Worship, and on ye 13 in ye Afternoon our Meeting for Church Discipline began at Newport."² John Woolman approached this meeting, he tells us, in great "bowedness of spirit," and as he foresaw, here, as in Philadelphia two years before, were accomplished his greatest public labors against the traffic in human souls. His own account is vivid, and discloses the simple hearted devotion in which he met the wealthy slave dealers of the most cosmopolitan city in America. The Legislature was sitting at the time, and it is to be regretted that he has not preserved the text of the petition which he had prepared to lay before that body. He succeeded in having it read to a number of select Friends, but no official account was placed upon the minutes. He had anticipated this result, and felt relieved that it was listened to even by the few, who were permitted to sign it *out of meeting*. Unable to take the positive action of Philadelphia in 1758, two years earlier, the Newport Friends yet had made some advance when they recorded: "We fervently warn all in profession with us that they be careful to avoid being in any way concerned in reaping the unrighteous profits of that iniquitous practice in dealing in negroes. We can do no less than, with the greatest earnestness, impress it upon Friends everywhere that they endeavor to keep their hands clear of this unrighteous gain of oppression." The records also advise that some religious and secular education be given the negroes. While the action taken does not appear very great, yet the stimulus of Woolman's visit was felt by the whole body of Friends, until in 1744, Thomas Hazard was one of the Yearly Meeting's committee to petition the Legislature of Rhode Island

¹ Dover Records contain no mention of this visit.

² Minutes of New England Y. M., Vol. I, p. 247.

to pass a law abolishing the trade altogether. He lived to see this done and the existence of slavery as an institution terminated in Rhode Island. He was powerfully aided by Moses Brown¹ [1738-1836] who, upon coming into the Society from the Baptists among whom he was born, took the preliminary step in 1773 of freeing all his own slaves.

During this same Yearly Meeting Woolman's protest against lotteries resulted in a "weighty Concern" that Friends "Dicist" from that practice for the future. Lotteries at this time were everywhere used by the Government and by Churches for raising funds, and the strength of the minute on this occasion would appear to have been seized as a way of escape from the greater question of slavery.² Still another activity of this meeting in which Woolman took part, but not noted by him, was his appointment to aid in the revision of the Discipline. The Committee was to "peruse the English Book of Discipline and also that of Pennsylvania Book of Discipline, to extract such parts thereof in order to Joyn with ours as they shall Judge Necessary and lay the whole before this meeting for Approbation . . . together with the Strangers hereunto Entered, John Woolman, Samuel Eastborn, & John Storer, and any Other Friends that may find a Concern to Joyn them."³ . . . "A perigraft (paragraph) in the Yearly Meeting Epistle from London Concerning Negroes to be added." The Committee reported later to the same meeting, "the Rules of our friends in Olde England are sutable for us, . . . with changes Applicable to local conditions."⁴

The strain under which John Woolman had been laboring and the effect on his frail physique are evident in his letter from Dartmouth to Sarah Woolman, written after the Yearly Meeting was over. He was on his way to Nantucket, which is at present about four hours sail from New Bedford. It took the little party two days to reach their destination, spending the night at Tarpaulin Cove on Naushon Island, now well known to yachtsmen.

¹ W. Updike. "Hist. of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett." and Ed., Vol. II, p. 68. Moses Brown founded Brown University, Providence, R. I.

² Records N. E. Y. M. Vol. I, p. 251.

³ N. E. Y. M. Records. MS., Vol. I, p. 248.

⁴ Ibid., p. 250.

da mo

Dartmouth 23 6 1760

Dear wife

da da

I rec'd thy two letters at Newport dated the 19: and 20: of the mo.

5 and how acceptable they were to me is not Easie to Express. I wrote from Newport about a week past and Expecting tomorrow if the wind be fair and way open to Sail for Nantucket, was desirous to leave a few lines to be forwarded by any Opportunity. We have been at five meetings Since the Yearly Meeting and I may say by Experience the Lord is good he is a Strong hold in the day of trouble, and helpeth those who humbly trust in him. E. Shipley² and H. Foster² are gone for Boston and Eastward. A. Gaunt² and M.R.¹ Expect to Sail for Nantucket, J. Storer² is in these parts & all midling well. People in these parts are generally favoured with health. I have heard very little of the Small pox Since I came of (sic) Long Island.

I am not so hearty and healthy as I have been Sometimes, and yet through the Mercy of the Almighty I am enabled to persue our Journey without much difficulty on that Account.

Every Year brings Additional Experience and I think I never more clearly Saw the reasonableness and fitness of Casting all my cares on God than I have Since I left thee.

I remember thee and my Child with Endear'd love and tenderness, knowing how much you miss me.

I remember also that God is wise, he knows what is for the best. He is good and willing to make us as happy, as we are capable of being.

He is strong and nothing is hard for him; that to Love him and Serve him in Sincerity is the best way for us in this world. He is high and Inhabits Eternity, and dwells also with them that are poor & of a Contrite Spirit. Trust him, my dear, and I fear not thou'l do well.

John Woolman.

I name none of my dear Fr'ds. but my love is to them all."²

Woolman was greatly pleased with the simplicity of life which he found on Nantucket, and he contrasts it with the wealth and luxury of Philadelphia Friends. The large meetings which he ad-

¹ Mary Ridgway.²⁰

² This letter, written on both sides of the paper, measures 6 × 6½ inches. Original in *Woolman Papers*, in possession of Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

dressed were probably held in the "Big Shop," where the crowds attending the eighteenth century meetings often assembled. This was a great sail-loft, which stood until recently as two houses, divided after the cessation of the whaling industry. The site was at the western end of the town, on Saratoga street, not far from the old Friends' Meeting house and graveyard. The meeting house would not always hold the great congregations.

The anti-slavery sentiment had always had its upholders on the independent little island. The Registry of Deeds at Nantucket contains some interesting manumissions of slaves. In 1750 Thomas Brock freed his slave Robin by Will. Deeds of Manumission are recorded by Ebenezer Gardiner, 1741, for slave Pompey; by William Swain, 1751, for Boston, and in 1760, the date of John Woolman's second visit, for another Boston, Maria, and their children. In 1771 he frees Essex; and Edward Carey, in 1774, frees Cato.

The New England journey was completed 8mo. 19th, 1760. It is probable that the following winter was chiefly occupied in writing the second part of his "Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," which, for reasons which he makes clear, was published at his own expense. Woolman had hardly returned from nearby visits to Haddonfield and neighboring meetings when he fell ill. This illness brought to a crisis his feelings as to a scruple on the subject of dress.

The impression prevails with most writers that John Woolman wore undyed clothing all his life: it is true of only the last ten years. This was a period of deep trial of soul, and his illness was to him a time of crisis and struggle. He had increasingly felt that the life of the influential Quakers of his acquaintance was too luxurious, and that to his testimony against "customs distinguishable from pure wisdom," must be added a visible and outward sign of protest. Reflecting on this during the watches of the night, while he lay on his bed of pain, he "felt the necessity of further purifying," and there was no desire in him for recovery, "until the design of (his) correction was answered." Resignation came to him and he felt "in an instant, an inward healing" and at once recovered. As a result he gradually dropped one indulgence,—we should call it a necessity—after another. As his clothing wore out, each garment was replaced with one that was

undyed, and after going to the "Spring Meeting" in Philadelphia in 1762, he accomplished the change by getting a beaver hat of the natural color of the fur. White hats were the fashion, and so completely were his motives misunderstood by some Friends, that for a time he could no longer preach. Nor was he at liberty to explain himself, feeling that this was a test of friendship. From now on, little by little, his scruples against many ordinary customs increased. He declined the use of sugar because it was the product of West Indian slave labor. His letters were often written on the smallest possible scrap of paper that would accomplish his purpose, but he did not abandon the use of his horse for riding until 1766, and then only when he traveled out of the province.

To this period—1760—belong two letters which follow. The English Friend to whom the first was written, had recently arrived in Philadelphia, where Woolman had met her; the *Itinerary* of Jane Crosfield¹ shows that on the day that this letter was written she "had a meeting at Ancocas, and rode from thence to Mount Holly and lodg'd at Josiah White's."¹⁸ John Woolman tells us himself (*Journal*) that he was at Buckingham on the date of the letter, which was therefore not written from his own home. "On the 11th of 12th. month, I went over the river, and on the next day was at Buckingham meeting." John Churchman²⁸ was holding a meeting in the "school house near Samuel Eastburn's"²⁶ the night before, and it is likely that John Woolman and he were the guests of Samuel Eastburn, when he wrote the letter to Jane Crosfield. Afterwards, "we visited Joseph White's"²⁴ family, he being in England," adds Woolman. John Churchman mentions this visit also,² and that Joseph White himself was in Europe on a religious tour, but his wife, with whom they made their home, "appeared to be resigned in the absence of her husband, her spirit being sweetened with the truth in innocent quietude." The "H. White" referred to was doubtless

¹ For J. C., see Biog., Note 34. The letter is a copy of the original and with other copies of contemporary correspondence is in the MS. collection of J. D. Crosfield, of Liverpool, as is the *Itinerary*. [*Journal*. Friends' Hist. Soc., London, Vol. III, p. 31, 1906.] It also appears in less perfect form, with incorrect date, in "Friends' Family Library," "Letters on Religious Subjects," &c., Vol. II. p. 56. Ed. Thos. Kite, Phila., 1831. Both copies have been altered. There does not appear to have been any relationship between Josiah White of Mt. Holly and Joseph White of Bucks. County, Penna.

² "Account of the Gospel Labours and Christian Experiences . . . of John Churchman." London, Edit. 1781, p. 276.

Hannah, daughter of Josiah White, of Mount Holly who joined Jane Crosfield as companion—she was then but twenty-one.¹ There is a pleasant human note about this letter, before Woolman became so burdened with the many scruples which taxed his powers later:

“Since I understand thy draft toward New England at this season of the year, I have felt a near sympathy in my mind toward thee, and also thy new companion, H. White.

Looking seriously over the stages and wide waters and thinking on the hard frosts and high winds usual in the winter, the journey has appeared difficult; but my mind was turned to him, who made and commands the winds and the waters, and whose providence is over the ravens and the sparrows.

I believed thou understood his language, and I trust thy ear will be attentive to him, and in that there is safety in the greatest difficulties. “He that believeth maketh not haste,” and there seemed a hint in my mind to give thee, that thou take a sufficient portion of that doctrine along with thee this journey. Should frozen rivers or high winds or storms sometimes prevent thy going forward so fast as thou could desire, it may be thou may find a service in tarrying even amongst a people whose company may not be every way agreeable. I remembered that the manner in which Paul made a visit to the island of Melita was contrary to his own mind as a man; we find, however, that by means thereof, the father of Publius was healed of his fever, and many cured of their infirmities.

Farewell, my dear Friend.

John Woolman.

12th. day, 12th. mo., at night, 1760.

The want of a suitable opportunity this evening occasioned me to take this way.”

This letter has been much *edited*.

The second letter is to Woolman's intimate friend, Samuel Smith,¹⁴ of Burlington, then Treasurer of the Province of New Jersey. The duties of that office and his frequent absences from home as a member of the Assembly, often combined with the severe attacks of gout to which he was subject, to keep him from meetings. In this case, he and John Woolman were on a Committee together.² Woolman writes,

¹ Hannah White married, 1st, Thomas Pryor; 2nd, Daniel Drinker.

² Original in possession of Mrs. James S. Merritt, of Abington, Penna., a descendant in the sixth generation from Samuel Smith.

"Beloved Friend

As the appointm^t at our last meeting was Submitted to, if we prepare no Essay, it will require some Apology, and thou, I expect, art likely to be Absent. As Sending a Short Epistle will, I hope, have no ill tendency, I, on thinking further on it, Seem'd inclined to make an Essay which I send herewith.

If thou art Easie that one Should go, and would be pleased to look over and Alter this as it appears best to thee and Send it back, I would Endeavour to Copy as many as there are M^o Meetings.

I remain thy loving fr^d

da mo

John Woolman.

22: 11: 1761

For

Samuel Smith, Esq.
at Burlington."

This is the only letter that has thus far appeared addressed to the Treasurer of the Province. The *Esquire*, which is the remarkable feature about it, was probably used by John Woolman entirely in a technical sense, precisely as he would have put *J.P.*, indicating a Justice of the Peace. The letter also bears a *seal*;—a deer or gazelle, surrounded by a wreath or line on the edge of the oval.

John Woolman appears to have been at home most of the following winter, and a delightful little anecdote is related of him.¹ A great fall of snow occurred on the night following the meeting of ministers and elders preliminary to the General Quarterly Meeting of the Friends in Philadelphia, in February, 1762. The drifts lay piled high against the door of his friend, Rebecca Jones,² living in Drinkers' Alley,³ who, fearing that it would be impossible for her to leave her house, was no less surprised than delighted, on opening her door to sweep away the snow from her doorstep, to find her pavement already cleared and a path leading down to the next street. A few minutes later, John Woolman entered, remarking quietly that he thought he had earned

¹ "Memorials of Rebecca Jones," p. 36. Ed. W. J. Allinson.

² Drinker's Alley, on a part of and adjoining the property of Henry Drinker, on Second Street, contained several comfortable but very small houses. At number 8 lived Rebecca Jones, where she continued the school for little children started by her mother when the latter became a widow. Rebecca Jones was assisted in teaching by Hannah Cathrall, until they closed the school in 1784. An interesting anecdote of Thomas Harrison who, with his wife, were intimate friends of Rebecca Jones, and the slave girl *Maria*, is given in "Memorials of R. J.," p. 243.

his breakfast. He had spent the night with his cousins, Reuben and Margaret Haines, on High Street, and rising early, had taken with him a shovel and had made a good footway for the ladies all the way to the Bank Meeting House. After breakfast he made another path for the entrance of Rebecca Jones' pupils to her school. The editor of the *Memorials* of R. Jones mentions a letter from John Woolman, dated 4 mo. 20, 1772, which has reference to this visit, but much search has failed to reveal it.

To one of his most faithful friends, who was in the heat of the political struggle in Pennsylvania, Woolman wrote:—

da mo.

Beloved Friend:

Mount Holly; 20: 6: 1762.

As true Love moves on our Minds we find them turned at times toward certain places & particular persons, and yet unable to give any reason why they are turned that way any more than another — and Such is my case at present.

My Mind of late hath been with thee more than usual, & I seem at liberty to open to thee the manner in which I have looked toward thee.

In those small affairs of life which have fallen to my lot to be concerned in, I have at times found that which has appeared difficult to Manage as a Christian, and Looking at thy Scituation Amidst many Affairs, & at the family thou hast the care of, I have felt, as I believe, some degree of thy burthen.

I have had in view the purity of the Heavenly Family. The most Gracious and most tender Visitations of Christ to our Souls drawing them from the mixture and entanglements, that they may Attain true Liberty, and have seem'd in company with thee, looking for and desiring a more perfect Deliverance.

In the Strength of all Temptation and in difficulties which Appear very great, there hath seem'd before me a prospect, a POWER, able and ready to subdue all things to Himself.

In a fresh sence of pure Love I remain thy fr^d

John Woolman.

I send these by Wm. Calvert¹ with request
to deliver them into thy hand.

Endorsed "For Israel Pemberton¹
in Philad'."

¹ This is written on the single side of a large *double folio sheet*—very unusual for John Woolman. Original in Historical Society of Pennsylvania. *Samuel Parrish's Scrap Book*: "Quakers."

Woolman is ever busy with meeting affairs. Ebenezer Large, who was a prominent minister, had married into John Smith's family and had left, in his recently proved will, a bequest to Burlington Monthly Meeting, to which he here refers:

"Beloved Friend

The Corps of an honest Friend being to be buried at our Meeting House today, an inclination to attend the Burial occasions my Absence from Meeting.

I find nothing to hinder a Certificate from being prepared for our Friend, John Sleeper."

I remain thy loving friend,

John Woolman.

da mo

4: 4: 1763

Friends concern'd in the Affair of E. Large's Estate need be under no difficulty in regard to appointing a time on my account. I am at present under no particular appointment on any business that I remember. J. W.

For John Smith at Burlington."¹

This would seem to have been a time of leisure for Woolman, when he devoted himself to family visits about his own neighborhood, and to his school and orchard, and when the town interests nearly affected him.

At this period of Mount Holly's history it had only three shops, but five or six taverns. At one or two of these, all the respectable travelers passing through to Shrewsbury or New York, usually stopped. Daniel Jones, who kept the "Three Tuns," still standing on Mill Street in Mount Holly, was the elder brother of Woolman's friend, Rebecca Jones. The old tavern yards were busy places when the stage came in, and there is a delightful bit of local color in the visit of the juggler to the tavern. [He had been well advertised and was so successful that his show was to be repeated the next night. One sees John Woolman sitting at the entrance, and when the people had gathered, can almost hear his clear and quiet remonstrance, and his sweet invitation to think on higher things.

George Windsor, Innholder, died in 1758, and Daniel Jones,

¹ Ridgway Branch, Philadelphia Library, Phila. [Smith MSS., Vol. VI, 1762-1765.]

Jr. advertises as administrator in the "Pennsylvania Gazette" for May 18, 1758. The same paper for September 17, 1761, advertises a "vendue" to be held at the house of Daniel Jones, Innkeeper, at "Bridgetown," October 10, 1761, and many such were held there for some years.

A glimpse of the route of travel and the accommodations for travelers may make their life more vivid for us if we read the following advertisement of the stage set up not long before: "Notice is hereby given to the Publick, that we, the subscribers have erected a stage Waggon to transport Passengers, etc., from Mr. Daniel Couper's Ferry opposite the City of Philadelphia, to Mount Holly, from thence through the county of Monmouth to Middletown, and from thence to the Bay near Sandy-Hook, where a Boat is to attend to convey Passengers etc. to the city of New York: the said stage waggon will attend at said Couper's Ferry on the second Tuesday in October next, at Seven o'clock in the morning: and the said Boat will attend at the city of New York on the second Monday in said month. Any person inclining to travel in said Stage, may apply to Mr. Martin Ashburn, at the Ferry House in Phila. and Mr. George Cooke, near the Exchange in New York: the said stage will continue to go once a week at present, on said days. Any person inclining to travel to Shrewsbury may depend on being accommodated with a Waggon erected at Middletown for that purpose, by certain humble servants Ed. Taylor and Wm. Taylor at Middletown; Zachariah Rossell and Daniel Jones, Mt. Holly, and John Cox, at Moorestown."¹

¹ From "Pennsylvania Gazette" No. 1603, Sept. 13, 1759. N. J. Archives, XX, p. 379.

CHAPTER V

1763

THE INDIAN JOURNEY

For some time John Woolman had been following the course of Indian affairs both in his immediate neighborhood and in the councils of his Yearly Meeting, where he was increasingly prominent. Injustice to the red man touched him deeply, and equally with the cruelties inflicted upon his black brother, called at his hands for redress. Upon the outbreak of hostilities the New Jersey Indians were found to be more peaceable than those farther west, being in part a subject race. They were represented in 1721¹ as few and quiet:—"There are but few Indians in this Government, & they, very innocent and Friendly to the Inhabitants, being under Command of the Five Nations of Iroquois, and this Plantation not lying exposed, as some other British Colonies, &c., they have hitherto built no Forts."

There were several Indian villages within a short ride of Woolman's home, and the semi-civilized inhabitants came into the nearby towns to trade. All the Delaware Valley savages belonged to the Lenni-Lenape tribes whose *totems* were the wolf or turtle, and whose conversion to Christianity had been attempted by the Swedish Lutheran pastor, Campanius, as early as 1642. Campanius made a resolute effort to acquire their language, and to preach to them in their native tongue, translating the catechism for them into Lenape, in traders' dialect. In view of the far more successful attempt of the Moravians, just a hundred years later, one is led to marvel that no Quaker is on record who ever mastered the Indian language. The Quaker meeting took no steps toward securing the official Indian interpreters whom Governor William Penn in 1699 offered to provide. Both

¹ Report of the Lords' Commissioners of Trade & Plantations, Sept. 8, 1721. N. J. Archives, XIII, p. 20.

William Penn and John Richardson (1667-1753) were moved with missionary zeal toward the native tribes, but the results of their efforts in converting them were more or less ephemeral.¹ When the Presbyterian pastor, David Brainerd,²⁹ John Woolman's neighbor, began his mission in 1742, to the Indians of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, he says that there was not another missionary in either province.² After his early death a year or two later he was succeeded by his brother John Brainerd,²⁹ who for years devoted his life to the welfare of the Indian, and was long the missionary at Indian Mills, near Mount Holly.

Doctrinal controversies appear to have interfered with coöperation in the beginnings of missionary work in Burlington County. The Friends regarded the Indian converts to Presbyterianism as rude and dangerous rioters.³ When Brainerd enjoyed Quaker hospitality he endeavored to convince his hosts of the need of belief in the outward baptism which they rejected; both parties, however, had the good of the Indian at heart. But it was the Moravian who most overcame his own personal prejudice in the effort to bring the simple savage to the Truth. In the twenty years between 1741 and 1761, when the great Moravian missionary, David Zeisberger,⁴⁰ was most actively engaged, five hundred Indians were converted, of whom two hundred and fifty-one were Lenapes.⁴

For over seventy years friendly relations had existed between the early English settlers in the middle colonies and the Indians. Fair trade and justice in treaty-making had been observed with marked success. But in 1754 the trouble brewing in the French and Indian War at last broke out. Frontier struggles, followed by Braddock's defeat along the Allegheny in the summer of 1755 led the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania in the next year to declare war, not only against the French, but also the Delaware and Shawnee Indians, offering a reward of money for Indian scalps, "produced as evidence of their being killed." The decla-

¹ See "Account of the Action of the Society of Friends toward the Indian Tribes." London, 1844, p. 55, seq. *Journal*, John Richardson, 1757.

² "Life of David Brainerd," by Jonathan Edwards, p. 409.

³ N. J. Archives, Vol. VI, 406. "State of Facts about the Riots." The writer is suspicious that the Indians "gather to be taught by one Mr. Brainerd." It was evidently a new occurrence, as is pointed out!

⁴ Heckewelder MSS. Library of the American Philosophical Society, Phila. See Heckewelder, "Indian Nations."

ration of war and the scalp-bounty, reversed the entire Indian policy of Pennsylvania. The Quakers in the Assembly of the Province, already engaged in a struggle to preserve unstained their testimony against taking the oath, were now presented with an even more difficult situation, since any compromise of their testimony against war and fighting was not to be thought of. Friends threw themselves heartily into an effort toward reconciliation, thereby further antagonizing the Governor and his Council, and the acts of the Indians at the Indian Treaties, which they usually attended, were quite often misrepresented, even to their own Meeting in London.¹

Deeply sympathizing with their American brethren, the English Friends sent two of their number, Christopher Wilson^{1a} [1704-1761], and John Hunt¹ [1712-1778] as a delegation from the London Meeting, if possible to dissuade all Friends from holding office in the colonies.² Their counsels prevailed, and the year 1756 saw the withdrawal of the Quakers from all further activities in the Assembly. Quebec was taken by Wolfe in 1759 and the French Empire in America came to an end, although the treaty of peace was not signed until 1765.

In the meantime Pennsylvania Friends had formed the "Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures." Its purpose was to restore good feeling with the neighboring tribes. Through their efforts the great Indian conference was held at Easton in 1756, at which Teedyuscung, the famous Delaware chief, stamping his foot on the ground, declared, "The very soil on which we stand was unjustly taken from us." Yet, through the labors of the Friends he became a Christian and used all his efforts to secure peace.³

The following year, in the neighboring colony, was founded another Quaker organization—"The New Jersey Association for Helping the Indians." Its Constitution was drawn up by Sam-

¹ Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings, Phila. 8mo. 10, 1757.

^{1a} A report was sent to London by the Phila. Meeting for Sufferings on their return home in 1757. See *Minutes* for "5th day of 12 mo. 1757."

³ A. C. Thomas, "History of Pennsylvania," p. 105. In 1759 Charles Thomson, later Secretary of the First Continental Congress, published in London "An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawnee Indians from the British Interests," &c. These, besides trade abuse, he took to be deprivation of lands. The book embodied his notes, taken when serving as private secretary to Teedyuscung at the Treaty.

uel Smith, the historian, and all of its members were Friends. John Woolman's name appears as a founder, with a subscription of six pounds. A conference with the Indians was held at Burlington, August 7th and 8th, 1758, when arrangements were made for the purchase of a tract of land at Edge Pillock (now Brotherton) in Burlington County, three miles from the iron works at Atsion, where many Indians found employment. The deed was completed before the end of the month. A more general conference was also arranged for "at the Forks of Delaware, the next full moon after this." Governor Barnard therefore called another Treaty at Easton from the 8th to the 28th of October 1758. The Indians of the Reservation at Edge Pillock lived there in diminishing numbers, always under the care of the Friends, until 1801, when, at the invitation of a kindred tribe, the Mohicans, they removed to New York near Oneida Lake. Thence they migrated to Michigan and finally became merged in other tribes in the West.

The period of eleven years from 1753 to 1764, which marked the duration of this Indian war in Pennsylvania, saw many companies of savages arriving in Philadelphia both for trade and for conference with the Governor. John Woolman often met the Indians here and at the Treaties, and followed with great solicitude the efforts of Conrad Weiser, Indian Commissioner, and the influential Quakers, notably his friends, the brothers Pemberton,^{3,6,8} and Anthony Benezet,⁴ in favor of peace. In the spring of 1756, while some friendly Indians were in Philadelphia, Israel Pemberton⁶ had waited upon the Governor and asked permission to invite the Indians then in town to dine with a committee of Friends in order that the Indian grievances might be learned and an effort made to bring about peace.¹ The Governor acceded the more willingly in view of the low state of the Provincial exchequer, but stipulated that nothing should be done without his approval. The only other condition was that Conrad Weiser should be present.

Israel Pemberton⁶ made a long speech at the dinner, which greatly pleased the Indians, Scaroyady, an Indian chief, replying cordially. A conference between the Chief and the Quaker,

¹ Joseph S. Walton, "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," p. 327-8. This book contains an interesting sketch of Conrad Weiser's life.

in which the Commissioner joined, proved, however, so conclusively the sympathy of the latter with the warlike and successful Iroquois, that little came of the Quaker attempts to obtain justice for the defrauded Delawares who had lost nearly all their lands. The continuance of the enmity between the two tribes, and its encouragement by the Royal authorities, who failed to understand the Delawares so well as did the Quakers, caused much bloodshed in the decade that followed.

One result, however, of the Quaker peace efforts at the time was the despatch of the Chiefs Newcastle, Jonathan, and Andrew Montour to Wyoming, with a message of peace from their New Jersey and Pennsylvania brothers. Teedyuscung, Chief of the United tribes of the Delawares, had been persuaded to bury the hatchet,¹ and the peace that was patched up was the cause for the redemption of the prisoners held by certain Indians at Wyoming.

We still have the record of "An occasional conversation with several Indians after dinner at Israel Pemberton's on the 19th, 4 mo. 1756." The only reason that we can surmise for John Woolman's absence is that he studiously avoided anything that might seem to savor of a festivity, and we find him joining the conferences at people's houses, but avoiding the dinners, as in this instance. It is worth while to name the persons present.²

Indians.

Scaroyady = Chief
 Kaghsworghtaniyonde = "The Old Belt."
 Kayenquirigoa = "Jonathan"
 Canachtogo = a Cayugan
 Jonathan's wife and son.

Friends.

Abraham Farrington, Joshua Dixon, Israel Pemberton, Mary Pemberton, Owen Jones, Anthony Benezet, James Pemberton.

Interpreters.

Conrad Weiser, Andrew Montour, Daniel Claus.

¹ Joseph S. Walton, "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," p. 232.

² See an "Account of Conferences and Treaties between Sir William Johnson and the Sachems and Warriors, &c." Albany, 1756, p. 65.

A visit to Philadelphia by these Indians in 1760 is on record, and in the autumn of 1761 the famous Munsey chief,¹ Papunahung⁴¹ with many of his people, attended the Indian Treaty at Easton, at the urgent request of the Mingoes. Many Quakers were present throughout the proceedings, and the women also were not absent. Susanna Hatton⁴² and her companion, traveling on a preaching tour, joined the Philadelphia Quakers at Easton and arranged a meeting with Papunahung's wife and eight other squaws. A scattering of braves escorted the squaws to the lodgings of the Friends. There was at the meeting "such a remarkable display of the tendering power of Divine Grace over the Indians that several Friends present declared that they never saw the like before."²

Upon the conclusion of the Treaty, Papunahung despatched most of his followers back to their home at Wyalusing with the other Indians, and proceeded to Philadelphia accompanied by his immediate family and friends. In the party, or close on its heels, came also a few other converted Indians, led by Samuel Curtis, a Nanticoke chief from a spot about fifty miles above Wyalusing. Curtis was a convert of Papunahung and both had been sad drunkards in their youth. A year before this, Timothy Horsfield, a Moravian Justice of the Peace in Northampton County, Pa., had written Secretary Peters from Bethlehem of the contemplated visit: "I . . . inform you of this Troublesome visit of y^e Indian man Papoonham and Companions, 25 in number; they have three white children captives, and some Horses stolen from the Frontiers, which they are desirous to deliver to his Honour" (The Governor).³

The Indians visited the meeting of the Friends, one of their objects in coming to town. During their entire visit they behaved with great decorum. Mary, wife of Joseph Richardson [1711-1784], the Quaker silversmith, wrote her sister Hannah Allen, 19th. of 9mo. 1761, "We have had a visit from ye Friendly Indians: one of them spoke twice in our meeting. He behaved in a manner becoming a public speaker, and seemed full of love. I am informed his subject

¹ The name of this Indian Chief has many variations.

² MS. Account in Boston Public Library [MS. room, Special Libr. G, 41, 17.] The picturesque names of the Indians in Papunahung's party at the Lancaster Treaty of 1762 may be found in Pa. Archives, IV, p. 90. *Nanticoke* signifies "Tide-Water." They came originally from the eastern shore of Maryland.

³ Pennsylvania Archives. Vol. III, p. 741.

was the universal love of God, in that he was no respecter of persons, but had given of His good Spirit to Red as well as White, to instruct them. I was led to query, will not this heathen judge some that call themselves Christians?"¹

An important conference was held at the house of Anthony Benezet,² who lived on Chestnut street near Fourth. Benezet was one of those remarkable Frenchmen, descendants of the Huguenots, whose influence upon the Quakers has been greater than is yet understood. John Woolman was present, and the notes which he took at the time still exist. They furnish the material used by Robert Proud,³ who quotes Woolman verbatim.² Proud was also present. The memorandum written by Sarah Woolman upon these notes, indicates that they had been placed at³ the service of some one, doubtless the historian Proud, for publication. The visitors remained in Philadelphia about a fortnight, and were accompanied on their return by several Friends who traveled part of the way with them. John Woolman may well have been one of these. Manuscript accounts of the entire visit and of the ride back to Bethlehem, embodying also a portion of Woolman's notes, are preserved: one is in the Boston Public Library, while another copy is in the archives of West-town School, Penna. The latter is probably by Anthony Benezet,⁴ while the former resembles the hand of John Pemberton;⁵ both were probably companions of the ride.

The picturesque details of this interview might well offer material to the painter. In the neutral setting of Anthony Benezet's Quaker home, with the dignified and kindly Friends ready to aid and encourage them, stood or squatted the group of gaudily dressed and painted savages, gay in color and solemn of demeanor, after the conclusion of each section of their address, placing with much ceremony in the hands of Benezet or Pemberton, belts of the wampum with which their treaties were always sealed. John Woolman's notes on this occasion furnish the material for the accounts written out *in extenso* later, and copied. The interpreter is not indicated. He may have been Job Chil-away,⁴⁴ Papunahung's companion on most of these excursions, or the Indian Commissioner, Conrad Weiser, usually employed by the Friends.

The Indians did not long remain undisturbed at their Susque-

¹ Juliana R. Wood. "Family Sketches," p. 23.

² Robert Proud. "History of Pennsylvania," II, p. 324.

³ Originals in Pemberton Papers, Historical Soc. of Pa., Vol. XIII, p. 23.

hanna home, for two years later (December 1763) Papunahung and twenty-one of his people came to Bethlehem to share the protection given the loyal Indians upon the outbreak of Pontiac's conspiracy at the frontier. It was, however, in this interval, and not six months before the massacres, that John Woolman made his memorable visit to the Susquehanna country.

Before setting out upon this Indian journey, however, there was one more duty to be performed at home, and the marriage certificate of William and Dido Boen (Bowen) remains as further evidence of his brotherly care over the other dependent race.

Moses Haines of Springfield, N. J., had in his possession a negro slave named William Boen,—a man of excellent character, a faithful attender of meetings, and a convert of John Woolman. By intelligence and industry he had learned to read and write. His master had signed an agreement by which at the end of two years—April 1, 1765—he was to receive his freedom. At this time he was twenty-eight years of age. William's fiancée was a free negress in the employ of Joseph Burr, a cousin of John Woolman, who was a prominent Friend and minister of Chesterfield. The two were very desirous to be married by Friends' ceremony. The meeting accepted no negro members, and William therefore laid his case before the negro's friend, sure of a sympathetic hearing. Woolman at once undertook preparations to carry out the wish of the couple to be respectably married, and wrote out the marriage certificate, with phraseology suitably adapted to the peculiar circumstances, which should make them legally man and wife, after the manner of the Quakers who had been their real friends. The "little meeting at a dwelling house," was undoubtedly held at Joseph Burr's, whose name heads the list of white signers to this unique document. His house was Dido's home. The certificate, entirely in Woolman's hand, is now the property of Mount Holly Monthly Meeting. It is dated "third day of the fifth month," 1763. Both the parties can write their names, but John Woolman signs for London and Catharine, parents of the Ethiopian bride. Below follow the names of those other negroes present, who had enough education to write their own picturesque names—Caesar and Primas, Daphne and Hagar. Opposite are the names of the Friends who attended to help

legalize by their witness, the little ceremony. Both John and Sarah Woolman are among them.¹

This valuable and interesting document is altogether unique. Seldom was any ceremony of marriage gone through with among the negro race, and William and Dido wished to be married respectably. William's later history quite justified Woolman's care. He made an application to be received as a member of the Friends' meeting at this time, and was refused, entirely on the ground of color. He bore no malice, however, and remained a faithful attender, and preached for many years, chiefly to those of his own race. When a Friend asked if he was trying to follow in the footsteps of John Woolman, he quietly said, "I am endeavoring to follow in the footsteps of Jesus Christ." At the age of seventy-nine, in 1814, his patience was rewarded with membership, and he died, much respected, 6 mo. 12, 1824, at the great age of ninety. The Friends of Mount Holly issued a "Testimony" as to William's exemplary life.

No efforts of Woolman were availing during his life time to have suitable Christian negroes admitted as members of Friends' Meetings. In 1828 Thomas Shillitoe visited Mount Holly and relates in his Journal² that he was there told of a minute made in 1763, objecting solely on the ground of color, to the admission of Boen to membership. John Woolman was present, and rising said that it was his duty to declare that because of this partiality, now manifested by the Friends of his own meeting, "a sense was given him that the meeting would dwindle and be much reduced."

In 1796 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting considered the question, never before formally recognized, of the admission of the "blacks" to regular membership. They were allowed to join "provided their conduct was consistent." Martha Routh, an English Friend present at the time, says that the large Committee appointed reported favorably and there was no dissenting voice.³ This delightfully picturesque marriage took place in the midst of Woolman's preparations for departure; within twenty-four

¹ See Appendix. William has added below the births of his two children, Mary and William respectively, in 1764 and 1769. An account of this negro may be found in Comly's "Friends' Miscellany," Vol. I, p. 180, ff.

² Thomas Shillitoe. Journal. Vol. II, p. 283 [London, ed. 1839].

³ Rebecca Jones. Memorials, p. 232. Martha Routh. Journal, p. 458.

hours after the marriage of William and Dido he left for his memorable Indian journey.

Wyalusing, a corruption of the Indian M'hwikilusing, or Ma-hackloosing, "*The Place of the Hoary Veteran*"¹ occupies the site and retains the name of one of the oldest Indian settlements in America. In the time of Woolman, it was reached by the Wyalusing Trail, a great Indian highway or path, not more than two feet wide, cut to the depth of some eighteen inches through the fragrant soil of the primeval forest by the soft moccasined tread of generations of red men. In single file, many a war party had swiftly and silently sped along its windings, while in times of peace, lingering hunters and braves, peeling off the bark from the great hemlocks and birches, had pictured upon the smooth skin of the exposed surface below, histories of Indian prowess in war and the chase, and boasted of their deeds in ideographic history.

The route by which this highway crossed the eastern portion of the state of Pennsylvania was, roughly speaking, almost the bed of the present Lehigh Valley Railroad, running east of the river in the South and west of it on the North, and entering Bradford County several miles west of the southeast corner of the boundary, passing Wyalusing in a northeast and southwesterly direction. The Towanda, the Minisink and the Sheshequin trails were others in the same part of the state, but none were so deeply worn by travel, or so well known, as the Wyalusing Path. The Germans whom Conrad Weiser, on a Commission from Philadelphia to the Onondaga settlement of the Iroquois, in 1737, found trying to buy lands, were probably the first white men who had followed it.² In 1743 John Bartram, the Quaker botanist, with Conrad Weiser and Indians as guides, accompanied the explorer, Lewis Evans, over this same trail, and so far as is known were the first to travel *on horseback* through the "terrible Lycoming wilderness."³

In 1745 the Iroquois, or Six Nations occupying the Genesee country beyond, had been visited by two Moravian mis-

¹ Heckewelder. "Delaware Names of Rivers and Localities in Penna." "Susquehanna" means "Winding River."

² H. C. Bradsby: "History of Bradford County, Pa.," p. 54.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 42. See also L. H. Everts and Co. "Bradford Co.," 14 ff. and *Journal of J. Bartram*.

sionaries from Bethlehem, itself only three years old. These were the Brethren August Gottlieb, afterward Bishop, Spangenberg, and David Zeisberger,⁴⁰ led by the Indian Commissioner, Conrad Weiser, with the Cayuga Chief Shikellamy,¹ his son, and Andrew Montour² as guides. They went on a peaceful mission, with the further object of obtaining permission for their own Indian converts to settle in the Wyoming country. They partially Christianized the Indians at the Munsey village of Sheshequin, a day's journey beyond Wyalusing. Soon after, however, the weaker tribes were exterminated by the powerful Iroquois, and for some years Wyalusing lay in ruins.

In 1752 the Munsey Chief Papunahung, who was a Moravian convert and had spent some time at Nain, the Indian village two miles from Bethlehem set apart for these converts by the Moravians, brought his own and a few other families and rebuilt Wyalusing. The rich corn and grass lands lying near the mouth of the Wyalusing Creek were cultivated by the squaws, and by 1760 there were over forty huts in better condition than was usual with the Indians. John Woolman well describes them. Job Chilaway,⁴⁴ a native West Jersey Indian from Little Egg Harbor, was the sachem's right hand man. Job's fluent English kept him much in demand as interpreter. His wife Elizabeth, was sister to Anthony and Nathaniel,⁴⁵ two native Moravian converts living near Tunkhannock. In the spring of this year—1760—the settlement was visited by Christian Frederic Post, the devoted Moravian missionary. He had substantially aided the Quakers through their Peace Associations, in keeping the Indians friendly with the English. The text for the sermon which he preached to Papunahung and his people that May day so long ago is said to have been S. Luke II, 8-11. The fact that Post calls this settlement one of religious or "Quaker" Indians, is evidence of the intercourse which the Friends had kept up with them and the influence which they had exerted. A letter which Post appears to have sent the Governor at the hands of Papuna-

¹ For over twenty years the great Indian Shikellamy ruled the Iroquois. Together with Conrad Weiser he practically saved the colony from annihilation. A huge boulder has recently been erected over his grave at Sunbury, suitably inscribed to his memory.

² Another Captain Montour was a son of "Madame Montour," the remarkable French woman who settled among the Indians of the Susquehanna, one of whom she married; he was a son of Indian *Deborah*.



David Zeisberger preaching to the Indians. From original drawing for painting by Schussele, known as "The Power of the Gospel."

Drawing in Possession of Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The Substance of some Conversation with Papunahung.
the Indian Chief at AB in presence of John Woolman.

He expressed his sorrow that men should make
so bad a use of the breath of Life which God had
breathed in them which he did mightfully
improve to his honour and the good of people.
He appeared in much tenderness of spirit & spoke
with a passion sweetest of voice and after
some time in long silence he gravely
said he had no more to say on this point.
Subjects to us this afternoon

This writing in my Dear Father's
own hand if friends think it
worth a printing I am willing
if not I desire Content

As compared but
I think a good scholar
may read it
I would hold nothing
back that will be useful

Notes by John Woolman at Interview with Papunahung. Last Page,
with Addition by His Wife, 1761.

In Possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

hung, when the first visit was planning, says, "I do not send these people down; they have long had a desire themselves to go down to see their brothers, the English, so I have thought it proper to send them along." His companion, John Hays, writes in his Journal under May 19, 1760, "Arrived at a town called Quitalosing (Wyalusing); the Governor's name, *Wamphoonham*; a very religious, civilized man in his own way."¹

Awake to the spiritual needs of their converts, the Moravians at the Mother Mission of Bethlehem soon after the departure of Brother Post, appointed David Zeisberger² in special charge of the Indians at Wyalusing, and he spent much of the next two years in residence among them, and in making periodical visits and reports to his superiors.³ The Indians, nevertheless, were for long periods left to themselves, yet Papunahung appears to have been faithful to his trust as "guide, philosopher and friend."

Trade was constant and lively with Philadelphia, and it was in the spring of 1763 that John Woolman met one of the trading parties, who were in town at the time of the Friends' annual "Spring Meeting." Another source of information would also be the arrival of the occasional post from Bethlehem, whose official headquarters was at the house of John Stephen Benezet, (father of Anthony Benezet, the Quaker,) whose daughter was the wife of the Moravian merchant, Thomas Bartow.⁴ The religious awakening at Wyalusing among the red savages, for whose welfare John Woolman had long been solicitous, and who were now his personal friends, aroused a lively desire in his heart to visit them in their home, and he obtained the official approval of his meeting.

There can be little doubt that it was the brothers Pemberton⁵ whose solicitous care sent the messengers to Mount Holly the night before his departure, with the warning that the Susquehanna Indians were again on the warpath. He set out, however, fearlessly, after making his usual careful preparations, on the sixth of June, accompanied by Israel⁶ and John⁷ Pemberton and William Lightfoot,⁸ who did not intend to make the entire journey, and Benjamin Parvin,⁹ his inseparable companion, who shared all the danger and eased the way. There were besides, several Indian guides. They went in

¹ Penna. Archives, Vol. III, p. 742; Vol. X, p. 736.

² David Zeisberger was perhaps the most remarkable of the many devoted Moravian missionaries in the colonies. Bishop de Schweinitz, in his "Life and Times of David Zeisberger" (p. 267, ff.), gives a graphic and interesting account of Pastor Zeisberger's two visits to Wyalusing at this time, the most dangerous period of its history. See also G. H. Loskiel, "History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America." Vol. II, Ch. xv.

company to Bethlehem, the beginning of the trail, and before entering the dense wilderness, John Woolman sent back by John Pemberton,⁸ the following letter to his wife:¹

da mo

8: 6: 1763 about Sunset

I am now at Bethlehem, a Moravian Town, and midling well, in company with John Pemberton,⁸ Wm. Lightfoot²⁸ & Benjamin Parvin.⁴⁶ John Expects to go toward home in the morning (it being now near night). William and Benjamin Expect to go forward to fort Allen on the Frontier. Then William Expects to turn home. And as to Benjamin—His mind at present seems so Engaged that he Shews no Inclination to leave me: I have had Some weighty Conversation with Him and let him know that I am quite free to go alone if his way does not appear clear to Him. My Indian Companions appear friendly & shew I think quite as much regard for me as they did at our first meeting at Philada. There is nothing to me appears aniways discouraging more than what Thou knew of when I was with thee. I am humbly Thankfull to the Lord that my mind is so supported in a Trust in Him that I go cheerfully on my Journey and at present Apprehend that I have nothing in any way to fear but a Spirit of Disobedience, which I Trust through Divine Help I may be delivered from.

That Pure Light which Enlightens every man coming into the World to me appears as Lovely as Ever, To the guidance of which I hope thou and I may Attend while we live in this world, and then all will be well.

With Endear'd love to thee and my Daughter & my Dear friends and Neighbours I conclude thy most Affectionate

Husband John Woolman.

(Note in margin) My Companions Express a Sympathizing Love to thee.

Endorsed,

"For Sarah Woolman."

When William Lightfoot²⁸ had reached home he wrote thus to Sarah Woolman:

Esteemed Friend,

Sarah Woolman

I may hereby Inform thee that I met thy Husband at Samuel Foulk's⁴⁶ last 3d day Evening, and in Discourse Concerning the

¹ Original, with that from Wm. Lightfoot, in *Woolman Papers*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Journey, he exprest a Close Exercise which the News of the Troubles to the Westward had brought upon him. Signifying that in Case the Journey should be attended with Danger from an Enemy, he thought he could be much easier to go alone than to be Instrumental in bringing any into danger, who had no weightier motive to undertake it than to Accompany him, and as I never had resolved on going, it seem'd most easy for me to Decline it. Tho' not much on the account of Danger, having heard these reports some Time before without any great apprehensions of that, and am in Hopes that thy Husband & Benj. Parvin (who is gone with him), may Return safe again. I went with them about 20 Miles beyond Bethlehem and when I parted with them, (which was last 6th. day Morning) they seemed well and Cheerful.

And tho' the journey may (illegible) . . . Occurrence, which perhaps may be a Close Exercise to thee on thy Husband's account, yet I hope thou may be Enabled to bear with Patience and Resignation the Dispensations that Providence may Permit thee to pass through. I conclude thy Sympathizing Friend,

William Lightfoot, Jur.

P.S. B. Parvin not having time to write thee, desired me to Remember his love to Thee.

Pikeland 6th. moth. 13, 1763.

This letter is endorsed by John Woolman: "Letters Relating to the Journey amongst the Indians."

Pastor Zeisberger,⁴⁰ with Anthony⁴⁵ as guide, had reached Wyalusing May 23rd. He found that the Indians had been in council for six days¹ and had determined to embrace the tenets of the first Christian missionary who came to them. He remained at this mission but four days and returned at the end of that time to Bethlehem, with advices. The Moravians may have learned of the Quaker's intention to visit the Indians, for with their customary energy and astuteness, they despatched Pastor Zeisberger, with Anthony's brother, Nathaniel,⁴⁵ to conduct him back to Wyalusing, with authority to receive into the church all of those Indian converts who were really sincere. He set out June 10th and reached his destination on the 17th, having overtaken and passed John Woolman and Benjamin Parvin⁴⁶ who

¹ L. H. Everts & Co., Publishers. "History of Bradford County," p. 19.

had a longer journey to travel and who reached Wyalusing the next day after Zeisberger. There is one letter existing, written in the wilderness:

16: 6. 1763

Dear Fr'd

We are now well near Wahalowsing in Company with Job Chilaway & Several Indians from Wahalowsing and Some from Else where who appear Civil & kind.

John Woolman.

the Company of B. Parvin is Comfortable to me.

My dear and Tender Wife

A Sence of Alsufficiency of God in Supporting those who trust in Him in all the Dispensations of His Providence wherein they may be tryed feels Comfortable to me in my Journey.

My Daily Labour is to find a full Resignedness to Him and m(a)y say with thankfulness he Remains to be my Gracious Father.

To Him I recoñmend thee, my Dear Companion, greatly Desiring thy mind may be Resigned to Him for I Veryly believe if we keep in this Frame all will End well.

I write in Haste but Remember my Dear Daughter & fr'ds.

John Woolman.

(In margin: "Please send this to Wife.")

For

Israel Pemberton

in philada.

to the Care of the

Storekeeper at

Shamokin.

pr. Job Chilaway.¹

The Quakers had set out on the 6th and had spent twelve days on the way. One is better able to follow the hard travel of the little party since John Woolman is more explicit about this journey than any of the others made in America. He recognizes in his own account of the settlement at Wyalusing, the precedence of the Moravians, and does not act, except after consultation with Pastor Zeisberger. For three days the Moravian and the Quaker labored together, and Woolman, who held seven meetings, says, "Although Papunahung had before agreed

¹ Pemberton Papers. Vol. XVI, p. 98. 1762-3. Hist. Soc. Penna.

to receive the Moravian and to join with them, he still appeared kind and loving to us." On the 21st the Indians made their decision in favor of the Moravian faith, after the humble-hearted Quaker had departed, praying for the success of Pastor Zeisberger. Five days later the baptism of converts took place, and Papunahung received the Christian name of John, being thereafter known as John Papunahung,⁴¹ or "*Munsey John*." He was made a *missionary-assistant*, and labored faithfully until his death at Schönbrunnen, May 15, 1775, at the age of seventy.¹

The return journey was rather more quickly made, and Woolman halted for his noonday meal, within seven miles of home, at his friend, John Smith's¹⁵ in Burlington, on the 27th, long enough to seize the opportunity to send a letter to Israel Pemberton,⁶ with the message that he saw *no sign* among the "soberer sort" of Indians of disaffection toward the English. But Pemberton's anxiety for John Woolman was amply justified in the massacres that were so soon to follow.

Dear Friend,

Burlington, 27^{da} 6^{mo} 1763 1 o'clock.

Through the Mercies of the Lord my Belov^d Companion and helpmate B: Parvin and I were helped to perform our Journey to Wahalousing and came back to Bethlehem on Seventh day night was yesterday at the Swamp Meeting and I lodged last night at John Cadwaleders¹⁰⁰ and am now hasting home — Our Journey though attended with much deep Exercise hath been greatly to our Satisfaction. We were at seven Religious meetings with the Indians many of which people I believe were in these troublous times greatly Comforted in our visit and they all appeared kind & Loving to us — I saw nothing amongst any of them in that place which to me appear^d like disaffection to the English — but our Conversation was mostly with the soberer sort. The Moravian Preacher who was there when I went and contin^d there while I stay^d appear^d kind and courteous from first to last and I believe his intentions are honest.

In a humbling sense of His goodness in whom my poor Soul has trusted, I remain with kind Love to thee and family and all my Dear fr^d

John Woolman

For

Israel Pemberton

in Philad^a.³

¹ L. H. Everts & Co., Publishers, "History of Bradford County," p. 19. The Diary of the Moravians who took charge of this Mission is still preserved at Bethlehem, Pa.

² Original in Devonshire House, London. Portfol. 28, p. 95.

A copy of this letter, in possession of Dr. John Woolman Churchman, of Yale University, adds a postscript, "I have the horse with me in pretty good order, & I expect to keep him well a while & send him."

John Woolman reached home the same afternoon, greeted joyfully by his friends "all along" the road from Burlington, but he was careful lest he be "glad overmuch," and sought to remain in an humble frame of mind, thankful for his escape from great danger. Six weeks later Papunahung⁴¹ was fleeing with his companions to Bethlehem for protection, and the friendly Conestogas were murdered at Lancaster by the Whites.

A few days after his return, John Pemberton sought to obtain news of the Indian situation from John Woolman, and his letter to his brother Israel shows, as nothing else does, Woolman's complete detachment.

Burlington, 7mo. 2. 1763

Dear Brother—

Yesterday, Mother & myself Spent with our Friend John Woolman at his house: he looks better for his Journey, & is well satisfied that he went. I asked him Several Questions respecting the Indians, &c. & he gave me what accounts he could, but he found in the Journey his Mind closely engaged to attend to the Concern he was engaged in, & cautious of Questioning the Indians, for Prudential Reasons he Apprehended it might beget some Jealousies in the Minds of some & so Close up his way, or some reasons might be alledged which he was not Qualified to answer to, or that he could not Say anything to, without casting some blame on the English. His companion, B. Parvin, used more freedom, & can give better information. He allowed me the Liberty to preserve his Remarks on his Journey & to inclose them for thy Perusal: with this Request—that thou shew them to no other person, as he intends to Survey them again, &c, & please to return them Speedily: if thou forwards them here, directed to either him or me, they may get to his hands.

Thou wilt perceive that Alarms had been sent among the Indians: they were preparing to leave Wyoming when he got there. Capt. Bull (or *Jacob*), he understood, intended up the Western branch of Sassquehanagh (Susquehanna) & the others proposed to Scatter themselves, some in One part & some in Another. He could not understand of what Nation, or who those Runners were that advertised the Indians near Wyalousin, but to Testify that what they said

was True, they shew some Scalps they had. Job Chillaway expressed much sorrow that he was obliged to be Absent, having to get Intelligence to the Inhabitants to the Westward of those Warriors. The Indians seemed as much Concerned as any of us would be (as Jno: thought) & he tho't would join any Endeavour that could be tho't on to prevent the Spreading this Calamity: he did not apprehend those who generally met Religiously together, would move from their habitations.

On his Return to Wyoming, All the Indians Except an Old Man were gone. He was very Friendly, & asked after thee — but Jno. did not enquire his name. There were about 20 Men & Boys from Connecticut. He did not understand what they proposed in General — One Man Expressed his Intentions of returning & tho't to Set homewards the next Day: he did not Observe nor learn that they had any Satisfaction, but seemed Disappointed that many they had expected to Settle there with them had not come. He did hear (but knows not that it is more than Conjecture), that some Indians had a design to come in their Canows to take them by Surprise.

John told me, if thou desired it, he would come to Town, but as he was particularly Cautious of entering into Enquiries, & heard little, he apprehended his Intelligence would be of little Service, & would rather avoid it. Thou may perceive from the Inclosed that he was fr'dly rec'd. In every place where they understood his Errand, were rejoiced & very kind, & he did not Perceive in any an Evil disposition towards the English. He desired his love to thee.

.
I am thy affectionate Bro.

John Pemberton.

Papuna: Jno: Curtis &c.

Desired Love to the Friends in

Philadelphia.¹

It is interesting to discover evidence of the peaceful character of the New Jersey Indians in a communication to the *Pennsylvania Journal* of September 15th of that year, (1763): "Whereas a report has been spread that the Christian Indians in New Jersey under my care were many of them gone back to join the murdering Indians on the frontiers; this is to inform and assure the public that such report is wholly without foundation; that these Indians evidently discover a great abhorrence of the perfidious and inhuman proceedings of their remote Sav-

¹ Pemberton Papers, Vol. XVI, p. 109. 1762-3. *Histor. Soc. Penna.*

age brethren, and that there is not one of them missing, or that discovers a contrary temper. John Brainerd."

The later history of the Wyalusing Indians is picturesque and brief. Two or three months only after John Woolman's visit, came the massacre at Wyoming and the Lancaster riot. The friendly Indians at Wyalusing were removed to Bethlehem, and some of them accompanied Papunahung⁴¹ to Philadelphia where they were sheltered and fed in the military barracks.¹ The Indians seldom failed, upon these expeditions, to visit *Stenton*, where for years they had been sure of a warm welcome from its venerable owner, James Logan. He had died in 1751, and his son and successor, William Logan, [1718-1776] a member of the Governor's Council, saw and entertained this party, for a letter from him to his brother-in-law, John Smith,¹⁵ dated "9br. 29, 1763" says, "Papoonahal and part of his party came to town last night; they have not as yet been heard by the Governor. Expect when they are, We may hear something Informing of Consequence. . . 20 Indians in all, Men, Women & children. One of y^e Young Children born on y^e Road in y^e Snow, yet y^e Mother traveled on & is Hearty!"²

When peace came after a year and a half, and the Government enforced the removal of all Indians "beyond the limits of lands held by the white man by right of purchase," Papunahung succeeded in obtaining permission to return to their old home at Wyalusing. On April 3, 1765, eighty adults and ninety children set out from Bethlehem under the care of John Jacob Smick and David Zeisberger as pastors, and slowly made the journey in five weeks travel, losing by death on the way a woman and child. The Government gave the Indians aid until the corn harvest, and the Society of Friends also contributed generously.

Upon this second Moravian town the Brethren in Synod had bestowed the name "Friedenshütten," or "Huts of Peace." Here they lived up to their peaceful claim until political complications and the rumblings of the coming American Revolution caused the settlement's abandonment in 1772. On June 11th of that

¹ The British barracks, erected soon after Braddock's defeat, extended from Tammany Court to Green, and from Second to Third streets in a hollow square. At this time they were occupied by several companies of Highlanders. [Tammany Court ran from No. 416 Buttonwood Street, south.]

² Ridgway Library, Phila. Smith MSS., Vol. VI, 1762-1765.

year the chapel, according to Moravian custom, was dismantled to prevent its desecration. The bell was taken down and hung in the bow of Timothy's canoe, at the head of the little water procession, and was tolled by him "until the voyagers into the new Alleghany country to which they were removing, rounded a point of land, hiding forever from view the little village with its fifty-two "Huts of Peace."¹

When General Sullivan's expedition encamped at Wyalusing in 1779 no vestige remained of the old Indian village. The site, however, has in recent years been marked by a suitable stone in the meadow of Judge Salford's farm.

¹ A fuller account of the Moravian Mission at Wyalusing is given by W. C. Reichel in "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," Vol. I.

CHAPTER VI

1766

JOHN WOOLMAN AS SCHOOLMASTER

In the next few years there were journeys south and among the Friends of the counties in New Jersey and Pennsylvania contiguous to Philadelphia. John Woolman and John Sleeper,³⁸ a minister and neighbor, both felt that when they went to the Eastern Shore of Maryland in the summer of 1766, they must travel on foot. Woolman wished to be brought into closer sympathy with the slave in his life of labor, forgetting the negro's more adaptable nature and the tropical climate of his native land. The intense southern heat wore him out and he suffered greatly. But he was "content." This visit had very definite results among the followers of Joseph Nichols,⁴⁰ who believed in the immanence of the Holy Spirit and in testifying against all war. They declined to take an oath, and solemnized their marriages much as did the Quakers. William Dawson and James Harris, two of their neighbors, were the first to emancipate their slaves, and it is chiefly as active anti-slavery workers that they merit consideration in connection with John Woolman. Dawson and Harris were assured by the public authorities of Maryland that there was no provision in the laws of that province or of Delaware, for such emancipation, but it was nevertheless accomplished.

The examples of Dawson and Harris made such an impression upon their fellow-members, that the testimony against slavery was incorporated in their Rules of Discipline and it became a disownable offence even to employ a slave. Joseph Nichols⁴⁰ was the first man in his neighborhood to preach against slave-holding; yet, although the Quakers were otherwise in full sympathy with him and frequently invited him to attend their meetings, they refused to accept his teaching on this vital subject. The matter had reached a critical point at the moment when John Woolman

and John Sleeper,³⁸ in 1766, made their visit to Maryland, going on foot through the *Eastern Shore* region. The Quakers who had before refused to listen to Nichols, received the testimony of the two Quakers from New Jersey, and the public records of that period in Maryland and its borders show a large number of resulting emancipations.

A striking testimony of the "Nicholites" was in regard to plainness, since they refused to employ any *dyes* in their clothing, and would not mix either colors or materials. The women wore capes, the men hats, of undyed or natural, white wool. It would be interesting to inquire just how much this particular "Testimony" was in the thought of John Woolman when in 1762 he had adopted the white fur hat and undyed clothing.¹

The following summer he took the *Western Shore* in the same manner on foot, but without a companion, and the "lonesome walk" tried his frail body but satisfied his spirit. Of this tour, Benjamin Ferris⁵⁰ of Wilmington, Delaware, writes in his Journal:—

"5 mo. 9th 1768 Our friend John Woolman attended our Quarterly Meeting; his testimony there, as well as at our Monthly Meeting in Wilmington, though very close, was edifying and much to my satisfaction. I went to pilot him on his way to Maryland as far as the Head of Sassafras. His company and conversation were very instructive, particularly an account of his exercises and singular trials, which he had a freedom to impart to me. In the 6th mo. he returned from Maryland and I was with him at Kennett Center and Chichester Meetings, in each of which his labour was very close and plain, yet to me it was edifying."²

He seemed to be gradually clearing away the duties at hand, and the incident of the execution of the bond for the negro lad took place near this time, 1769. His efforts and the anti-slavery sentiment of the Quakers were important factors in the attempt of the New Jersey Assembly to provide by law for a duty on imported slaves. In 1769 such a law became active, placing a duty of Fifteen pounds on every imported slave sold in the Province.³ Two letters, which he copies at length in his Journal, one without date and the other on the 9th of 7mo. of this year, appear to have

¹ Friend's Miscellany. IV, pp. 241-267.

² Friend's Miscellany. XII, p. 273.

³ Allison's Laws, p. 315. N. J. Archives, IX, 346.

been written with the weight, always growing on him, of the lack of true simplicity in ordinary life:

"Beloved friend:¹ Since our last Conversation I have felt an increase of brotherly love, and therein a liberty to hint further to thee how at different times for years past, things have wrought on my mind respecting high living.

In some affecting seasons abroad, as I have sat in meetings with desires to attend singly on the pure gift, I have felt that amongst my brethren, grievously entangled in expensive customs, the Lord hath a work for some to do in exempling others in the Simplicity as it is in Christ. II. Corinth. XI. 3. As I have seen that a view to live high hath been a stumbling block, and that what some appeared to aim at was no higher, than many of the foremost rank in our Society lived, there hath been a labour upon me, that in this respect, the way may be cast up, and the stumbling block taken out of the way of the people. Isaa. 57. 14. And here the inexpressible love of Christ in denying himself & enduring grief for our Sakes is often before me, as an example for us to follow, in denying ourselves, of things pleasant to our natural inclinations, that we may example others, in the pure Christian life in our age.

2. In regard to thieves, I have had many Serious thoughts, and often been jealous over myself, lest by withholding from a poor man what our Heavenly Father may intend for him through me, I should lay a temptation in his way to steal, and have often felt a care that no desire for riches, or outward greatness, may prompt me to get that in our house which may create envy, and increase this difficulty.

3. I have sometimes wrote wills for people when sick and expected soon to leave their families, who had but little to divide amongst their children, and I have so far felt a brotherly Sympathy, that their cases have become mine, in regard to a comfortable living for them, and here expensive customs have often made the prospect less clear. Expensive customs on such occasions have often Affected me with sadness.

4. The manner of taking possession of the Silver mines Southwestward, the conduct of the conquerors toward the natives, & the miserable toyl of many of our fellow creatures in those mines, have often been the subject of my thoughts; and though I sometimes handle silver and gold as a currency, my so doing is at times attended with pensiveness, and a care that my ears may not be stopped against further instruction; I often think of the fruitfulness of the Soyl where we live, the care that hath been taken to agree with the former

¹ From Woolman's copy, MS. A, p. 279 ff.

owners, the natives, and the conveniences this land affords for our use: and on the numerous oppressions there are in many places, and feel care that my cravings may be rightly bounded, and that no wandering desires may lead me to so Strengthen the hands of the wicked as to partake of their Sins. I. Timo. 5c. 22v.

5. In conversing at times with some well-disposed friends who have been long pressed with poverty, I have thought that some outward help, more than I believed myself a Steward to communicate, might be a blessing to them; and at such times the expenses, that might be saved amongst some of my brethren, without any real inconvenience to them, hath often been brought to my mind; nor have I believed myself clear with out speaking at times publicly concerning it.

6. My mind is often on the immutability of the Divine being, & the purity of his judgments, and a prospect of outward distress in this part of the world hath been open before me, and I have had to behold the blessedness of a state in which the mind is fully subjected to the divine Teacher, and the confusion and perplexity of such who profess the Truth, and are not faithful to the leadings of it: nor have I ever felt pitty move more evidently on my mind, than I have felt it toward children, who, by their education, are lead on in unnecessary expenses, and exampled in seeking gain in the wisdom of this world to support themselves therein."

da mo

9: 7: 1769.

My dear friend — In our meeting of Ministers and Elders, I have several times felt the movings of divine love amongst us, and to me there appeared a preparation for profitable labours in the meeting: but the time appointed for publick meetings drawing near, a strictness for time hath been felt. And in yearly Meeting, for the preservation of good order in the Society, when much business hath lain before us, and weighty matters relating to the Testimony of Truth hath been under consideration, I have sometimes felt that a care in some to get forward soon hath prevented so weighty and deliberate a proceeding as by Some hath been desired.

Sincere hearted friends who are concerned to wait for the Counsel of Truth, are often made helps to each other, and when such from distant parts of our extensive Yearly meeting, have set their houses in order and thus gathered in one place, I believe it is the will of our Heavenly Father, that we with a single eye to the leadings of his Holy Spirit, Should quietly wait on him without hurrying in the business before us.

As my mind hath been on these things some difficulties have arisen

in my way; first there are through prevailing custom, many expences attending our entertainment in town, which, if the leadings of Truth were faithfully followed, might be lessened.

Many under an outward shew of a delicate life, are entangled in the worldly Spirit, labouring to support those expensive customs which they at times feel to be a burden.

These expences arising from a conformity to the spirit of this world, have often lain as a heavy burden on my mind, and Especially at the time of our Solemn meetings; and a life truly conformable to the Simplicity that is in Christ, where we may faithfully serve our God without distraction, and have no interruption from that which is against the Truth, to me hath been very desirable; and my dear friend, as the Lord in Infinite mercies hath called thee and I (Sic) to labour at times in his vineyard, and hath, I believe, sometimes appointed to us different offices in his work, our opening our experience one to another in the pure feeling of Charity may be profitable.

The great Shepherd of the Sheep I believe is preparing some to example the people in a plain Simple way of living, and I feel a tender care that thee and I may abide in that, where our light may shine clear, and nothing pertaining to us have any tendency to Strengthen those customs which are distinguishable from the Truth as it is in Jesus."

The friendships of our Journalist were warm and permanent. Among these, in Rebecca Jones,³⁶ John Woolman found a most congenial companion, upon whose strength of character and sanctified common sense he had learned to depend. They were both teachers, and her school for girls at 8 Drinker's Alley, in Philadelphia was in great repute. Her brother, Daniel Jones, had remained in the Church of England in which faith both of them were born, and was the leading Inn-keeper at Mount Holly. She was in the habit of spending a portion of her brief summer vacation with him, and with John and Sarah Woolman, for the benefit of the country air. John Woolman was a frequent visitor to Rebecca Jones's school, and often wrote the copies for her in his fine clear hand. "None but a philanthropist is fitted for the office of teacher," is the comment of the editor of her interesting *Memorials*.¹ Many a modern school might profit by her "*Rules of Conduct*", of which one was, "Make all your speeches to your mistress with due respect, observing cheerfully to perform her

¹ "*Memorials of Rebecca Jones*," by Wm. J. Allinson, ed.

directions with despatch, according to your ability. If a stranger should speak to you, give a modest and ready answer, standing up and turning your face towards them respectfully; take your seats again and silently apply to your business."

These two Quaker philanthropists, together with another teacher, Anthony Benezet,⁴ were at this time deeply interested in the proper education of youth. The children of Quakers, especially in the country neighborhoods, were lamentably deficient in their instruction. Many grew up ignorant of reading or writing, and documents of the middle and last quarter of the eighteenth century are often signed by a mark. In 1746 a recommendation was made for the better instruction of Friends' children, but little came of it at the time. In 1750 the same thing happened, but a few Friends were laboring steadily for improved conditions. Among these was John Woolman. It is hardly likely that Woolman did not know Christopher Dock, the famous "Schoolmaster of the Skippack." There was frequent intercourse between the German Baptists on the outskirts of Philadelphia and the Quakers. Dock came to America in 1714 and became a well known teacher. Christopher Sauer, the German publisher, in Germantown, of many Friends' books, persuaded him to write his "Schulordnung" in 1750, but for nineteen years it lay neglected. In 1769 Sauer's son urged him to publish it, and the little book appeared from the Sauer press in 1770. It has been called the *earliest* book in Pennsylvania on the subject of school teaching.¹ Anthony Benezet⁴ opened his school in 1755, and his "Primer" is later, undated. But it is more than likely that Woolman's antedated both. Indeed Benezet's is modeled somewhat upon that of Woolman. A Quaker broadside issued about this time, or possibly in 1759, on the whole subject of education, is interesting in this connection.²

How many people think of Woolman as schoolmaster? Yet for many years, in the intervals of his travels and while carrying on his business as a tailor, John Woolman was teaching. The "Testimony" of his Monthly Meeting says that Woolman "several times" opened a school "for Friends' children *and others*," for nothing exclusive ever found place in his spirit, and these are the

¹ The original is in the Historical Soc. of Penna. Cassel Collection.

² Original in Collection of Quaker Broadside, Haverford College Library.

years when his Larger Account Book tells us clearly how he was engaged. It is the life of a busy man. There are accounts for teaching the children of Aaron Barton, and of his brothers, Asher and Abner Woolman; Thomas Bispham, James Dobbins, John Sleeper,³⁸ John Atkinson and many others.¹ The rate he charged for his pupils may be gathered from a memorandum for a small relative. The bill sent her father, Asher Woolman reads thus:

				da	mo			
"To schooling thy daughter	2	of	1,	1769	till	£	s	d
		da	of	mo				
ye	29	5	1769:	some	diet	2	9
da	mo		da	mo				0
29	5	1769	to	11	9	1769.....	1.	2.
				da	mo			6
Sarah's diet to be reckoned from 11 9 1769."								

At the head of this book stand what at first may seem like some of his own pious reflections, but they are of uniform length. Cannot some of us recall days long ago when we toiled laboriously over our copy-book, vainly endeavoring to get the proper slopes and flourishes on the "T's" and the "G's," for instance, in some such sententious phrase as "To be good is to be happy"; "The child is father to the man?" These lines in Woolman's book, in clear and bolder handwriting, are nothing more or less than his writing-book headings, from which he set copies for his small pupils. They are all original, and these are a few of them:

"If anger burns, stand still.
 Meekness is a pleasant garden.
 Kindness in the heart feels pleasant.
 The wounds of a friend need no plaister.
 A lamb took by fraud is an ill sacrifice
 Religion without righteousness profits not.
 A rose in the Spring smells sweet.
 Let the dainty man try abstinence.
 An Easie Life, a delicious Cook, and the Doctor."

Interspersed among the school accounts we find not only charges for spelling books, writing materials, ink powder and the

¹ These were all well-known citizens of Northampton township.

like, but the same page will contain the cost of grafted trees, hickory wood for the meeting house, and jackets and trousers. For in spite of his remarks in the Journal about his dislike of a planter's life on a large scale, Woolman was an expert nurseryman as well as tailor. There are charges to his brother Abraham Woolman for grafted trees; to Robert Field for ninety-two apple trees at six shillings each, and for eighteen grafts at one shilling each. We find him making leather and "ticken" breeches for his pupils and their fathers, and jackets of cloth for the mothers; while it is evidently little Sallie, boarding at his house, for whom he makes a "thin coat" for four shillings, a pair of shoes for six, which may have been furnished by the itinerant cobbler who in those days made his regular rounds, and mittens for three and six. "The ticken breeches with buttons" for Aaron Barton's boy cost three shillings; leather breeches for his brother Abner were five shillings, and a small pair (probably mended) for little Samuel are one shilling. He charges Abner four and six for an under-jacket, and Abner's son John, "for a jacket and some trims," three and six. His swanskin ones, doubtless his best, are charged at ten and six. Buckskin breeches cost sixteen shillings. Asher's white shirt is seven shillings, and Moses' leather breeches, one pound eight. The proportionate cost of materials may be judged from one charge—"to some Hay, to pay in Buttons," seventeen shillings. The average cost of a pair of leather breeches is one pound six. Note too, that John Woolman is buying and using buttons, when some extremists of his day are "testifying" against them, albeit the testimony was chiefly against their use for ornament, not service. Some of the entries as they stand are as follows:

Wm. Cox, at Ferry	£	s	d
9mo. 1761 By Ferrying at twice.....	0	2	4
1761 Henry Burr, Son of Joseph			
5mo. To writing 2 Small deeds.....	10	6	
<hr/>			
John Wright, Son of Ezekiel			
6mo. 1766 Pair leather breeches	1	10	
Contra			
8mo. 1767 By Ann Morris passage to and from Phila.			
worthe I suppose.....			4

	Samuel Budd	£	s	d
3mo. 28	1767 To Surveying & Sundry writings.....	0	12	3
	(Bro. John Budd to pay part)			

	Thomas Bispham			
3mo. 1768	To Schooling thy children.....	0	10	8

	Wm. Jones			
6 8 1768	To Surveying & Writing a Deed.....	10		

	Joseph Lippincott			
1 4 1768	Apple Trees for thy son Abraham.....	—		

Richard Perry
Made Shoes for Mary & Souled a pair for Wife 8mo. 1768

1769	Abraham Woolman			
	1 doz. Coat Buttons.....	1		
	6 primmers	0	1	3
	& Trees			
14 10 '70	By Cedar Logs at the Swamp as many as made			
	1534 feet board measure.....	2	12	6

	Aaron Smith			
1768	To some Twist			
2 1769	Contra. By Work at Mary's hat.....	0	2	6

	Earl Shinn			
25 4 1769	To schooling thy Child.....	7	6	
		s	d	
	To Measuring 2 lots of rie at 1 6 per lott..	—		
3 4mo.	Contra do. By horse to Burlington.....	1	9	
	“ “ “ Mansfield	1	9	
7 8mo	“ “ “ Burlington	1	6	
25 12mo	“ a fat goose.....	2	10	

	Do..			
21 1	By making a Thing to stop Chimney.....	9		
	“ a day's work of Primus (negro)			

	Natt Julius			
16 7 1769	pd. per wife before ye weding.....	0	5	1½

	Benjamin Ferris Jr.	£	s	d
(No date)	To Cash toward John Griffith's Book.....	1	7	6
	" " " " " "	1	14	
	" 4 doz "Considerations on Keeping Negroes" delv'd to thee			

3mo	1769	James Dobbins			
		To schooling thy son.....	8	2	
14	7	1770 To a pair of leather breeches.....	1	6	0
3	8	1768 By a piece of Offel (offal?) old Iron to put in the oven's mouth, weighed 1lb. 9oz. I think worth			3

John [H]atkinson		
3	1769	Writting a Deed..... 6
4		To Schooling thy children 1 4 8
13	4 1770	To 50 primmers 0 8 4
(There is a memorandum of J. Atkinson as Guardian for the children of Thos. Budd, Estate of J. Atkinson, dec'd, 1770.)		

Josiah White			
5	1769	For schooling Mary.....	5 3
11	1770	To Boards had by thy Tenant (80foot).....	0 6 8
		" more (foot)	11
		" A small house taken from Mother's Lot.....	5 10 0
		By Calamus water & metheglin.....	1 4
21	3	1771 By cash toward House.....	1 10
30	5	" " agen, 7/6. Cash £1.....	1 7 6

Samuel Gaunt
1769
18 8 To 1 Brass Kettle for which it was agreed to pay
forty pounds of cheese..... paid for.

1769	James Southwick			
	Summer Rent of meadow, hay, &c.....	1	0	6
1770				
16 7	To making 2pr. linen breeches.....	0	4	0
	Had corn for it			

	Francis Dawson	
1769	To a pair of leather Breeches for David Jess, for	
8mo	which thou agreed to pay in grain.....	I 10 0
1770	Same	
9 10	By 1850 bricks halled from Rodgerses.....	II

From these homely but most interesting entries one gains, as would otherwise be impossible, a lively impression of the daily life of John Woolman. The last item probably relates to the building of Mary's new house, for which preparations were making. The bill for this house is in Woolman's hand, and it is interesting to find from it, and from these charges, the names of most of the people employed in its construction. For instance, Thomas Conarrow was the mason. Thus we find—

1771

3 12 I paid the bal. due to T. C. to Jonah Woolman on a discompt.
Cr. by 17 Waggon load of Stone computed to be £ s d
20 perch at 6 per perch..... 6 0 0

Adam Forker was another workman. He made the hour-glass, and evidently did the glazing in the new house. William Calvert³⁷ was a tenant for some years of Elizabeth Woolman in her Mill Street house, and John Woolman keeps the account as he receives the rent for his mother. Some of the entries under William Calvert's name run thus:

"William Calvert

da	mo		£	s.	d.
8	3	1769 By 6 yards Camblet.....	0	12	0
12	4	" " 1 Ivory Comb.....	0	1	6
		" 75 Sheets primmer.....	0	3	9
22	4	" 1 Looking-glass	0	5	0
4	9	" 1 Copper Kettle	2	16	0
21	1	1770. To 1 Quarter's rent.....	0	15	0
13	4	1770 To 100 Primers from B. Ferris (forward)			
21	4	1770 To 1 Quarter's Rent.....	0	15	0
21	7	1770 To 1 Quarter's Rent.....	0	15	0

From 21st. 7mo. 1770 Wm. Calvert, by agreement,
to pay 12s. p. Quarter for the Shop

	£	s.	d.
4 10 To 2½ Bush. winter Apples; had worked for y ^m ...	0	0	0
To ye Bricks in ye old Chimney.....	0	10	0
21 10 To 1 Quarter's Rent.....	12		

27 foot long from outside,

17 foot wide ~~from inside~~

2 story high, low stories

cellar all well paved

corner chimney large in Northwest corner
with arch and iron crane

corner chimney 2 1/2 foot wide low
arch, back to lean forward in the South
east corner

corner chimney small above stairs in
Northwest corner

Stairs in Southwest corner and a
door into the cellar under the stairs

Eastmost door port 11 foot from the
east end - to be 2 doors opposite each

4 windows in the front ¹⁶ lights each and
four back side opposite. That is two below
stairs and 2 above stairs long way of
a flight in each gable end in gable
boards slide up as large as glass

cellar door on East side the front door

but hut nut rut
 rex vex fix
 box fox the out
 cry dry fly thy try

The Sun is up my Boy,
 Get out of thy Bed,
 Go thy way for the Cow,
 Let her eat the Hay.

Now the Sun is set,
 And the Cow is put up,
 The Boy may go to his Bed.
 Go not in the Way of a bad Man;
 Do not tell a Lie my Son.

blab crab stab swab fl fl fl fl
 chub club grub snub fl fl fl fl
 bred bled fled snag fl fl fl fl
 brag drag flag trim fl fl fl fl
 brim grim swim scum fl fl fl fl
 crum drum plum plan fl fl fl fl

First Book for Children

Much useful reading being included and every letter explained before they can read. This Book is intended to save unnecessary expense.

By JOHN WOOLMAN

The third Edition enlarged.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N
 O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
 a b c d e f g h i j k l m n
 o p q r s t u v w x y z

Note. When the above Alphabet is desired, this Leaf may be pulled apart the Cover, and the Alphabet on the other Side made use of.

Printed, and Sold by JAMES CROFT, at the Second Street; and by BENJAMIN FERRIS, Stationer and Bookbinder, in Wellington.

				£	s	d
21	1	1771	To 1 Quarter's Rent.....	12		
18	4		To writing small deed.....	4		
21	9		" 3 Quarter's Rent.....	1	16	0
			" About nineteen day's rent.....	2	0	
			" An order on Danl Offley accepted.....	14	9	

John Woolman's brother Abner died. He notes—

				£	s	d
			"To Abner's Estate due to Bal.....	2	12	10
			Paid Earl Shinn for a Coffin to bury the Corps of Abner...	1		
			There is now due to Abner's Estate.....	1	12	10
28	2	1772	I gave Credit on Abner's bond.....	1	2	0
				<hr/>		
				Mary, Abner's Widow		
6	1	1772	To Jacket for Asher.....	0	1	6
			" Sheepskin breeches for do.	0	5	6
				<hr/>		
			Cr. Mary, by some old leather.....	0	7	0
				<hr/>		
				0	0	0

These accounts show the schoolmaster writing deeds, advertisements for sales, or "vendues," as the country folk called them, and measuring grain for the farmers, as well as surveying their lands. He sells stone from his quarry, and in return is carried over William Cox's ferry. Aaron Barton, the weaver, does weaving in return for his child's schooling, and James Dobbins makes the exchange of the piece of "offel" iron for teaching his son. Twenty-eight pounds of flax are delivered to Bathsheba Barton, Aaron's wife, for weaving.

Is it possible to imagine John Woolman in his school? Let us place ourselves for the moment in Mount Holly in the year 1765. These are stirring times in the political and social world. The Stamp Act has stirred the Colonies; Franklin is abroad, striving for relief. Dr. Fothergill, in London, is corresponding vigorously with Woolman's close friends, the Pembertons, on behalf of peace, and incidentally is a founder of the great Pennsylvania Hospital. The religious world has been stirred by the simultaneous visits of George Whitefield in Presbyterianism and Samuel

Fothergill¹ in Quakerism, and the air is full of new ideas, of revolution, of progress. Not a breath do we get of all this in Woolman's remarkable Journal. Like the classic that it is, written for any time or for all time, it notes none of these things, and we may see the gentle, frail teacher in his undyed garments, patiently guiding the childish hand of his little pupils, while, unnoted by each, Revolution is gathering in the air.

There were many country Friends settled about the village on their "plantations," as they preferably called their farms, and great distances were trudged by the small pupils on the hot summer days, for long vacations were not in the minds of the good Friends. We do not know whether the lessons were recited at Woolman's own house, at the meeting house, or at the near-by school. Occasionally perhaps at all three. The charge for Sally's "diet" indicates that she lived for a little time with her uncle. If so, a privileged little girl was she. The gentle school-master is tender and sympathetic, for what he thought of education he wrote down in 1758.² The late William Nelson, of the New Jersey Historical Society, considered Thomas Powell's school in Burlington, 1767, to have been the earliest co-educational institution in America. It is certain that in New Jersey, at least, John Woolman preceded him.

Diligent search has been made for the "Primer" of John Woolman. Thus far the only copy found is in the Friends' Library at Devonshire House, London. This is the *third* edition, undated. The average reader does not associate such a book, with Woolman, who makes no reference to it in his Journal. It is entitled:

"A/ First Book for Children/

Much useful reading being sullied and torn/ by children, in
Schools before they can read,/ this Book is intended to save unnecessary ex/pence. By John Woolman."

This third edition, enlarged, was published in Philadelphia by Joseph Cruikshank, Third St., and sold also by Benjamin Ferris in Wilmington. It is a tiny 48 mo. These are the "Primmers" noted in the Accounts. The date given by Joseph Smith (Cata-

¹ Whitefield's and Fothergill's *Biographies* throw light on this period.

² "Considerations on Pure Wisdom," &c.

logue of Friends' Books) is 1774. This is much too late. Woolman's primers were selling in 1769, as his Account Book shows, and were undoubtedly written some years before. John Comly [1773-1850] says of 1780 in his Journal [Chapman:Phil^a. 1883, p. 8.] "I believe the first book put into my hands was Woolman's or Benezet's Primer." It is curious that no copy of the first edition has survived.¹

This period—the late sixties—finds our Journalist more interruptedly engaged in teaching than at any other time, and we are led to suppose that frail health was the cause. In 1770, he was suffering from what he describes as a "lump on his nose" for which he had been "dieting" himself for several years. We are left to surmise its nature, yet, if it so depleted his system in the evident weakness of the two remaining years, as seems to be the reading between the lines, we cannot help fearing what might have been the result of a modern diagnosis. This may have been one of the causes for that peculiarity of appearance which all his friends without exception, ascribe to him. Yet such a trying "thorn in the flesh" he accepted as a "fatherly chastisement" from his Master. In any case, the long journeys afoot had sorely taxed his strength.

While in this depressed physical state, the thought of another call from home roused his fear lest the "disagreeableness of the prospect" might be likely to deter him. The sale of the negro lad still weighed on him, and the retail trade in West India produce in which he had once been engaged, preyed on his mind. He finally resolved to use the "outward substance" he had thus gained, in paying his passage to the West Indies on a religious visit, and yet,—could he find himself free to engage passage on one of the great traders? The profit all came from the product of slave labor. Hamilton of Pennsylvania wrote that at this period he found "a very great part of the principal merchants of the City (Philadelphia) engaged in a trade with the French Islands in the West Indies."² The wealthy Quakers of Philadelphia were many of them in this trade in sugar, rum and molasses.³ Promi-

¹ Benj. Ferris died in 1771. The date is therefore prior to that.

² W. T. Root. "Relations between Penna. & Great Britain, 1696-1765," p. 8a.

³ News of the passage of the Sugar Act of 1764 had come to the Colonies simultaneously with that of the Stamp Act. Opposition was great, particularly in the northern colonies depending on a flourishing foreign trade. The Sugar Act was a piece of class legislation in favor of the British Sugar Islands.

nent among these was James Pemberton,³ and knowing that his brother John was seeking light on the matter, Uriah Woolman¹³ wrote him that one of the Pemberton traders was in port. In the family papers¹ the following interesting letter has come to light:—

da mo

11 11 1769

Belov'd Frd.

I rec'd last Evening a letter from my brother Uriah wrote at the request of James Pemberton informing me that James hath a Vessel in port which he expects may Sail for Barbadoes the latter End of this month or beginning of next.

I know not but that I may look toward this Vessel for a passage, but am desirous to inform thee of this my information, as thou Exprest a brotherly care for me respecting a passage.

I remain thy

Loving frd, John Woolman.

For

John Pemberton
in Philad^a.

The solicitude of the brothers Pemberton is evident with all three, for a few days later John Woolman is writing Israel Pemberton, under date, "da mo

"17 11 '69 I yesterday saw a Mattress, and have this Morning agreed for some coarse wool, and expect to make one at home. I feel gratefulness toward thee for thy kind offer, but believe to make one may be best for me.

thy loving frd,

John Woolman."*

Reuben Haines,³¹ his cousin, living on High (now Market) Street, near Fourth, in Philadelphia, was his financial adviser, and at his house John Woolman usually made his home when in the city. His private accounts show that a year before this, he had placed in the hands of this faithful friend and relative, a sum of money, increased six months later, to be used for this journey. Following is the record:

¹ Pemberton Papers, Vol. XXI, p. 85. Historical Society of Penna.

² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

1769		Reuben Haines, DR.			
da mo				£	s d
28	3	To cash left in thy Hands to be ready for me when			
		I want it	6	-	-
da mo					
29	3	To Cash left in thy Hands to be ready for me when			
		I want it	4	-	-
da mo					
1	11	To more Cash sent by Wm. Calvert.....	10	-	-
				20	- -
da mo					
25	3	'70 Cr. Cash £2. Note for £18.			

Thus completely ready was the faithful Woolman when he visited James Pemberton³ and handed him his *Testimony* as to the evils of the West India trade. His own account is quite detailed here. The submission, he felt, was accepted of his Master. He returned home, after waiting across the river until the ship had sailed, and even then, became as a "sojourner," he says, in his own family.¹

As the year closed, overtaxed and worn out, he fell ill of pleurisy, and his life was despaired of. He was highly delirious, and in moments of consciousness told those about him that he was quite resigned to die. He was carefully attended, and his friends took turns in sitting up through the night with him. The fourth morning of the New Year (1770), as the dawn broke, his friend Caleb Carr⁵² was sitting beside him. The ill man desired to dictate, and bringing the Larger Account Book, his friend took down the much quoted passage which John G. Whittier regarded as prophetic of the late Civil War. It may rather be considered as a mystical expression of the foolishness of the human mind in supporting injustice. A week after he again dictated, and gave us his classic aphorism on *Prayer* as a precious habitation, etc.

The old Account Book contains many a memorandum, but there is nothing in it more interesting than the following, on a blank leaf, in the hand of John Woolman's daughter, Mary. The occasion was probably a little meeting held in the ill man's bed-chamber:

¹ Compare the almost parallel experience of John Churchman, in 1761, in regard to the Barbados. See *Journal of J. C.*, pp. 205-6.

"I feel a pure and Holy Spirit in a weak & broken Constitution: this Spirit within me hath suffered deeply and I have born my part in the Suffering, that there may come forth a Church pure & Clean like the New Jerusalem, as a Bride Adorned for her husband. I believe my Sufferings in this broken Nature are now nearly Accomplished, & my Father hath Shewed me that the holy Spirit that now works within me, may work in young lively Constitutions & may strengthen them to travel up & down the world in the feeling of pure Wisdom, that many may believe them & the purity of their Lives & learn Instruction"—

"Taken from the Mouth of my Father as he uttered it in my hearing on a first day meeting while (illegible) . . . ing."

John Woolman himself, probably after recovery, has added
da mo

to this the date—"7: 1: 1770," and the comment, "I believe it will be felt by feeling living Members, that that which hath been uttered by my lips has proceeded from the Spirit of Truth, Operating on Mine Understanding, & I meddle not with the Fever." The Journalist, even in his delirium, uttered what, with his recovered balance, he could freely endorse. But the disease progressed, and another watcher writes:

"On 7th. day Morning about ye 3d hour, ye 13th of ye 1st Mo. 1770, John Woolman having for Some time lain like a man a Dying, did then call for Water to Wet his tongue for it was Dry, and he wanted to Use it, and then told us then present, that the forepart of the Same night he had very Great horrors on his mind for Departing from the purity of his Testimony, in relation to the West India traffick.

"Under this Anguish of Soul, Evident to all about him, he Stood up on his feet, tho' week, and with a Lamentable Voice Cryed mightily to God that he would have Mercy upon him, a Miserable Siner for that he had Lately, under Extreame weakness, given up the purity of his Testimony against the West India trade, In partaking freely of rum and Molasses; After long Conflict with these Horrors, he appeared more Easy, as believing God would be gracious to him. He now informed us he had found the mercys of God to be toward him, and that he had an Evidence of Inward Peace, and that God had Excepted of his great conflict with the power of darkness the fore part of this Night.

Uttered by John Woolman's lips and wrote by Aaron Smith."

This is fastened into the English Journal on one of the inserted leaves, and preceded by another page also in the handwriting of Aaron Smith, which is quite different from any other in the book. Below is probably a memorandum of the Friends present at one of the little meetings held in John Woolman's bedroom during his severe illness. It runs—

"the following Friends are
Desired to meet at the house
Of John Woolman at 10: o'clock
Thos. Hatkinson ()
and wife, if well enough
Henry Paxson²⁸ and wife
John Bispham²⁹ and wife
William Calvert and wife³⁰
Josiah³¹ and John White³²
John Sleeper³³ and wife

Aaron Smith was son of Francis and Rachel Smith, of Mt. Holly, and on 11mo. (January) 22 1753 married Mary, daughter of Silas and Mary Crispin of Burlington, at the latter place. (Bur. Rec's., B'k A. 203.) An interesting story is told of the Revolutionary soldiers from whom Henry Paxson rescued the family Bible of Aaron Smith as they were kicking it down the street. He was a member of Mount Holly meeting. The little group that met for worship with John Woolman in his bedchamber were all near neighbors and intimate friends. Thomas Atkinson was William Calvert's father-in-law.

During his convalescence Woolman wrote the following:

da mo

20: 1: 1770 The Customary use of
Silver Vessels about houses hath deeply
affected my mind of late years and under a
living Concern I have frequently laboured in
Families and Sometimes more publicly, to
disswade from the use of those things, in which
there is a Manifest Conformity to Outward shew
and greatness. And this Morning my Understand-

ing being opened in pure Wisdom, I felt a Necessity to write that which is the Council of the Lord to this Generation respecting these things.

He that can receive it, let him receive it. There is Idolatry committed in the Use of these things, and where this is the Case, If they are sold, they may be Idols to others. The example of Jacob is to be followed by such who would come forth in pure Council.

His household had Idols amongst them. The Lord call'd him to a pure Worship at Bethel. He prevailed on his household to put away their Idols, and he hid them under an Oak. Gen. XXXV. 1.

John Woolman."¹

Silver service had become a trial to John Woolman, but the plate still in use in the families of descendants of his intimate friends shows how frequently he must have encountered it. John Smith's¹⁵ own autograph "Account of my wrought silver plate," which included the Logan tea service, is dated 1 mo. 1764, and is a long and imposing list.² It was probably at his house that Woolman wept when a silver goblet was handed him. Dinner was served in those days, in the plainer homes, in one course on loaded tables.

The interval between this illness of 1770 and Woolman's departure for England would be a blank but for the details of the Larger Account Book. This is inscribed "John Woolman's Book, 1769." Within is the memorandum of the purchases of "two leather books," and there is every reason to suppose that they are this quarto, and the large folio into which he copied the Journal, and which has here been uniformly referred to as "Manuscript A." The few dates which precede this appear to be under the names of people with whom Woolman then had a running account, and were repeated from a previous copy.³ During the winter of 1769-'70 and the following year at intervals, Woolman was occupied with the task of copying his Journal in fair hand for the printer. How well he accomplished it not only the world knows, but those whose pleasant task it has since been to examine

¹ From the original, in the Library of Swarthmore College, Pa.

² Smith MSS. Vol. VI. 1762-1765. Ridgway Branch, Philadelphia Library.

³ This copy has just been found. See Appendix, note.

the manuscript and observe his neatness and care. The Account Book gains an added interest from the fact that it is made entirely from the *stamped paper* of the Revolution. There was originally a stamp on every fourth leaf—forty five in all. Few of these have been left, and of them, none are perfect, due to the close trimming for binding, which is still very good. The missing stamps have sometimes been sold. A memorandum in another collection tells us, curiously enough, on the authority of the "Springfield Republican" for February 24, 1888, that a single stamp from this collection fetched twenty dollars in a New York auction!

After his illness, Woolman wisely returned to his garden and orchard. He writes of his nursery,

four days after he had called for his money left with Reuben
 "da mo
 Haines,"⁶¹ 29 3 1770 "Grafted near the Southwest corner of my
 Nursery, about 4 joynts of fence North of the corner, about 30
 Molasses Sweetings."

da mo
 "12 4, grafted 2 short rows of Newark sweeting (a winter apple)
 the north row the longest. Stands about 15 foot from the west side
 of the Nursery (and Extends Eastward) near the Middle of the
 Board fence on the ditch bank." "4mo. Grafted Sundry short rows
 in divers parts of my Nursery with a good Winter Sweeting." It
 may have been at this period that a friend, walking through his
 orchard with him, exclaimed, "That tree is full of caterpillars."
 John Woolman turned, carefully examined the tree, and said, "No,
 not *quite* full!"

In the spring, while visiting at Crosswicks, soon after his recovery, Woolman had a dream which he relates at the conclusion of his Journal. The old smoke-house still stands in excellent condition. The friend, a direct descendant of Thomas Middleton,⁶² who recently visited it with the editor, wondered whether the two ministers had not partaken of the bacon at supper, the night before?

"The Fox and the Cat: A Dream.

On the night between the 28th. and 29th. 5mo. 1770, I dreamed a man had been hunting, and brought a living Creature to Mount-

holly, of a mixt breed, part Fox and part Cat; it appeared active in various Motions, especially with its Claws and Teeth. I beheld, and lo! Many people gathering in the house where it was, talked one to another, and after some time I perceived by their talk that an old Negro Man was just now dead, & that his Death was on this Wise. They wanted flesh to feed this Creature, & they wanted to be quit of the Expence of keeping a man who, through great Age, was unable to Labour; so, raising a long Ladder against their house, they hanged the old Man.

One woman spake lightly of it, and signified she was seting at the Tea Table when they hanged him up, and though neither she nor any present said anything against their proceedings, yet she said at the Sight of the Old Man a dying, she could not go on with Tea Drinking.

I stood silent all this time, & was filled with Extreme Sorrow at so horrible an Action, and now began to Lament bitterly, like as some Lament at the Decease of a friend, at which Lamentation, some smiled, but none mourned with me.

One man spake in justification of what was done, and said that the flesh of the Old Negro was wanted, not only that this Creature might have plenty (sic), but some other Creatures also wanted his flesh, which I apprehended from what he said were some Hounds kept for hunting; I felt Matter on my Mind, and would have spoke to the Man, but Utterance was taken from me and I could not speak to him. Being in great distress, I continued waiting till I began to wake, and opening my Eyes, I perceived it was Morning.

And when I got up, I told this Dream to my Beloved Friend, Thomas Middleton,⁵⁴ at whose house I lodged; who then told me that this same Night he dreamed that being with his Wife on the further side of a Run of Water which is on his Plantation, they were coming toward the house and the Run had overflowed its Banks, but they came over on a Log, and then he saw a Ruinous old House, which he had not seen before. He observ'd some Iron Hinges on the Door, which, as it stood on his Land, he thought of getting; but on an Examination, found they would not answer his purpose, and left them. And looking into the House, he saw a great quantity of Bacon & understood this House was a Smoak-house, built by a Merchant, since dead, and that the Bacon belonged to some Persons now living; He observed one whole Creature with its hair all taken of (sic) and thought it had some resemblance of Bacon, yet it appear'd to stand upon its feet, and there was in it some resemblance of a living Creature.

He said he examined the Bacon and found it was tainted.

(Note on the margin): "A Fox is Cuning; A Cat is often Idle; Hunting represents Vain Delights; Tea Drinking, with which there is Sugar, points out the Slavery of the Negroes, with which Many are oppressed to the Shortening of their Days."¹

An examination of the charges for building the brick house for his daughter Mary, in 1771 shows a negro called "Primas" in Woolman's service. It is a coincidence in names to find, early in the Account Book of Thomas Hazard of Narragansett, R. I., the entry:

"Priamus, a Negro Boy, Came to live with me at my House the week after ye General Election Held at Newport for General officers of the Colony of Rhode Island in the year one Thousand Seven Hundred and fifty seven being six years old the October following the s^d Election which was held in the May before."

This boy lived in Narragansett until he came of age, when his life of adventure took him to sea, and he was in Philadelphia at the time of the British occupation. This Primas was befriended by John Pemberton, whose letter to his former master, Thomas Hazard, still exists.² John Woolman's "Primas" had a happier fate than his New England namesake. On the records of St. Michael's and Zion Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, for February 15, 1778, stands the marriage by Heinrich Mühlenberg, of "Primus," and "Polly" Head, negro servants." As it was the custom for the slave to take the family name of the master, Polly probably belonged to John Head, the shipmaster and merchant.

Quietly, however, all this time, in John Woolman's mind was taking shape the plan for his departure from home on the journey from which there was to be no return, although as yet, he only felt that it must be done when the right time came. Meanwhile he is arranging his affairs, is building Mary's house and collecting money due him. He made an arrangement with his brother Asher for a nursery of trees. The land was laid out and the survey is described. Asher is "to have the ground the trees grow on for

¹ MS. A., pp. 223, 224.

² The original letter is in possession of ex-President Caroline Hazard, of Rhode Island, who quotes it in her "Thomas Hazard, son of Robert," called "College Tom," p. 82. The memorandum by John Comfort in the Larger Account Book shows a *Primas Williams* employed by him in June, 1777.

4 years from the 25 of 4mo. 1771, to pay me for them six Pounds ten shillings in two years from the above date. The trees to stand at owner's risque." A note on the margin reads: "Asher agreed to buy trees out of my nursery, and give up this distant bargain." Was it prophetic, this cancelling of the "distant bargain"?

During this summer came a visitor from England whose presence was likely to confirm any feeling that led John Woolman toward Great Britain at this time of profound social unrest. Samuel Neale⁵⁵ (1729-1792) of Dublin, a well-known minister, was in the neighborhood and his Journal, under date "7mo. 23, 1771," contains the following:

"I was at Rancocas meeting. . . . Here I saw John Woolman for the first time. I take him to be a sweet, clean-spirited Friend; his unity with the true Seed may be felt by his savoury conversation and pious, self-denying life.

24th. Went to Mount Holly meeting, where very many Friends assembled from different meetings. . . . I was much afraid of this meeting, as they have had great privileges by favoured instruments: here lived Abram Farrington," and to this meeting belongs that worthy, exemplary Friend, John Woolman, whose life and conversation shines in Christian piety. His concern is to lead a life of self-denial: pomp and splendor he avoids; does not choose to use silver or useless vessels that savour of the pomp of this world. His house is very plain, his living also; and yet he enjoys plenty of the good things that are necessary for Christian accommodation; we dined with him, and were kindly entertained."

Finally, in the late winter of 1771-2 John Woolman first publicly announced his intention of visiting England by requesting a certificate from his Monthly Meeting at Burlington. This was granted and after the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings had taken similar action, he set about his final preparations. On 10mo. 19, 1771 he closes his account with his apprentice, William Lee, who is released. The last memoranda in the Account Book are:

da mo

14	4	1772	To cash left in my hands when I paid poor tax	3	10
14			To 4 Apple trees by Timothy.....	3	8

¹ Life of Samuel Neale, in Series. "Biographical, Narrative, Epistolary and Miscellaneous." Edited by John Barclay, London, 1845. Vol. VIII.

Many of the accounts are closed and marked "settled." On the first page, in a blank space, is this last and touching entry:

"All due to me from people on Accompt I commit to the Care of John Comfort to him to collect the same in a neighborly way and apply it to the use of my Wife and his Wife and the rest of our Family, as he may find Occasion. John Woolman."

Now was written his farewell "Epistle" to Friends in his native land. He evidently submitted it, as had been the case before with his writings, to his friend Israel Pemberton,⁶ for the following letter in acknowledgment of one from him, probably refers to Israel Pemberton's information that a vessel is in port. He writes:

"Beloved Friend

Thine by J. Comfort came to hand. It would be agreeable to my mind that the piece be handed to James, & if no objection arise, to its being after opened to the Meeting for Sufferings that it be also opened there.

As my mind hath been more particularly drawn toward the Northern parts of England, I do not yet feel Settled to sail for London; but know not what may be as to that.

thy loving frd.

John Woolman."⁷

da mo

15: 4 1772

There is no day of the month noted on the letter, also to Israel Pemberton, which follows, but there must have been a very short interval between them. Joseph White³⁵ lived in Bucks County, across the river, and the message may well have been urgent, for time grew short. Yet the visit was made. The elder man had himself returned but recently from England and probably had advice to give. John Woolman was at Reuben Haines,⁵¹ in Philadelphia, when he wrote:

"Beloved friend

I believe I may endeavour to see Joseph White soon. If thou and Such in this City who are careful to look over writings propos^d

³ The original is in the Pemberton Papers, Vol. XXIII, 114. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

to be printed, and to amend what may be imperfect, would employ a little time in correcting that piece, and afterwards let me see the prepar^d alterations, it would be acceptable to me to look over them.

Though I know not how it may be as to the sailing in this Vessel, I am in care to Endeavour to be in readiness soon.

Seventh day morning.

John Woolman."¹

Soon after this, and while he was still in Philadelphia, Woolman learned of the intention of Samuel Emlen,⁷ Jr., to sail for London on the "Mary and Elizabeth." The Journal tells us explicitly of his scruples about the cabin, and why he felt obliged, despite his friends' remonstrances, to travel in the steerage.² The interview with John Head⁵⁶ took place at the latter's house on Second Street, nearly opposite Christ Church.

Having made all his simple arrangements, taken passage in the steerage, and put aboard the mattress which had remained at Reuben Haines', and which he had made with his own hands for the West India voyage, he spent two days at home, taking leave of his family. In this interval he drew a Trust Deed, leaving his property in the hands of his son-in-law's father, Stephen Comfort, of Fallsington.²⁴ The existence of this document in the Record office at Trenton, New Jersey, explains perfectly why John Woolman's *will* has never been forthcoming, and also why there is no deed for the properties on which he, and also his daughter and her husband, lived. No such instrument was required until the sale of the house and land by John and Mary Comfort, in 1791. The absence of such records was said to have been the reason that the state of New Jersey gave up its proposed intention to buy and preserve the present Memorial, several years ago. The wisdom shown in this quiet and simple method of disposing of his property is entirely characteristic, and beyond all praise. The instrument is dated 27, 4mo, 1772.³

One or two letters remained on his mind, for there was to be left no anxiety or thought of things worldly, or that bore with the least weight on his conscience. He remembered that his

¹ Pemberton Papers, Vol. xxiii, p. 117. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² The first two paragraphs are not in Woolman's manuscript. They are hardly likely to have been lost, and appear rather to have been inserted by the first editorial committee.

³ See Appendix.

intimate friend Elizabeth Smith,¹⁶ the maiden sister of Samuel¹⁴ and John,¹⁵ had intended to travel abroad with him and her companion. Her certificate had been signed in the meeting by him and many Friends, and she was then laid upon a bed of sickness which proved to be her deathbed. Yet there was a hesitation lest he had not been "clear" when he put his name to the paper. The Smiths were people of wealth and standing. Elizabeth had family furniture and silver; were these consistent? So he wrote, calling her his "beloved sister," and told her gently of his "tender feeling" with her in her outward afflictions, and some measure of the same in her "inward exercises." He continues—"In the pure and undefiled way, that which is not of the Father but of the world is purged out. Christ of old time taught the people as they were able to bear it, and I believe, my dear friend, there are lessons for thee and I (sic) yet to learn. Friends from the Country and in the City are often at thy house, and when they behold amongst thy furniture some things which are not agreeable to the purity of Truth, the minds of some, I believe, at times are in danger of being diverted from so close an attention to the Light of Life as is necessary for us.

I believe, my dear friend, the Lord hath weaned thy mind in a great Measure from all these things, and when I Signed thy Certificate, Expressing thee to be exemplary, I had regard to the State of thy mind as it appeared to me; but many times since I Signed it, I felt a desire to open to thee a reserve which I then, and Since often felt as to the Exemplariness of those things amongst thy furniture which are against the purity of our principles. I Trust the Great Friend and Keeper is near thee, in Whose Love I am thy friend.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

da mo

28: 4: 1772

I desired my Wife to keep this letter for thee when she might see thee."

Such was the gentle reproof of a sincere friend! The certificate, the letter and the furniture are now cherished together.¹

¹ They are all in possession of the editor, to whom they have come by inheritance. The chairs have only a shell on the back and knees, and, except for their graceful shape, are absolutely without other ornament.

Another letter written on the same day gives a parting blessing to John and Mary Comfort.²⁴ Their first child was born six weeks later.

Dear Children:

I feel a tender care for you at this time of parting from you, and under this care, my mind is turned toward the pure Light of Truth, to which if you take diligent heed I trust you will find inward Support under all your trials.

My leaving you under the trying Circumstances now attending you, is not without close exercise and I feel a living concern, that under these cares of business, and under bodily affliction, your minds may be brought to a humble waiting on Him who is the great Preserver of his people. Your loving parent

da. mo.

John Woolman.

28: 4: 1772.¹

Two more days in Philadelphia, after parting from his family at the early dawn, were occupied with final preparations, and one may fancy how his friends were troubled at his quiet persistence in selecting quarters which proved to be far more uncomfortable than he had known. Doubtless, as he carried with him, at his own charges, all the food and furnishings necessary for the voyage, the Friends placed for his comfort some of the provisions and remedies with which they desired to allay the discomforts and inconveniences before him. There are on record many long lists of the provisions taken abroad in the vessels of that day by traveling Friends. They are curious and interesting, but space will not permit an example here; there is no list of John Woolman's.

Vessels in those days sailing from Philadelphia usually dropped down to Chester to take aboard their final cargo and passengers. After attending Darby Monthly Meeting, his last in America, where, as often, his tender heart yearned over the young people, John Woolman spent the night with his friend William Horne,²⁷ at Darby² and he and Samuel Emlen⁷ joined the ship next

¹ Endorsed "For John Comfort." Size 5½ × 7 inches. (Original in *Woolman Papers*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

² Even during this brief stay, John Woolman found time to write a letter to Israel Pemberton, which he left with William Horne to deliver with his own hands. After a fruitless attempt to do so, when John Pemberton was not at home, W. Horne finally

Beloved Sister - I have often had a tender feeling with thee in
thy inward Afflictions, and I trust in some measure with thee in thy
inward exercises. I believe our afflictions are often permitted
by our heavenly Father, for our more full and perfect refining.

The Truth my dear Sister, hath been precious in thy Sight, and
I trust new ones to be to thee: precious as ever.

In the pure and undefiled way, that which is not of the
Father but of the world, is purged out.

Christ of old time taught the people as they were able to
bear it, and I believe my dear friend, there are lessons for thee
and I yet to learn. — Friends from the Country are often at

thy house, and when they behold amongst thy Furniture some thing
which are not agreeable to the purity of Truth, the minds of some

at times are in danger of being diverted from so close an
attention to the Light of life as is necessary for us.

I believe my dear friend, the Lord hath weaned thy mind
in great measure from all these things, and when I signed thy Letter
- friend, I presumed thee to be exemplary, I had regard to the State
of thy mind as it appeared to me; but many times since I signed
it I felt a desire to open to thee a reserve which I then, and since
often felt as to the ~~deplorable~~ ^{deplorable} state of these things amongst thy
Furniture which are against the purity of our principles.

I Trust the Great Friend and helper is near thee

in whose Love I remain thy friend John Woolman

28th 1772

I desired my wife to keep this letter for thee, when
she might see thee.

page

All due to me from people on account. I commit to the care
of John Gifford for him to collect & to come in a fortnightly as
and apply to the use of my wife and his wife, and the rest of
our family a new fine occasion John Gifford -

4th 1772

L O N D O N,

The SHIP
MARY and ELIZABETH,

JAMES SPARKS, Master;
SHE is a good ship, and has excellent accom-

modations for passengers, part of her cargo
ready to go on board, will sail with all conve-

nient speed. For freight or passage apply to JOHN H. & A. D.,
the master on board the ship at Duke's wharf, or at the Lincoln
Coffee-house.

September 19.

morning. The "Mary and Elizabeth"¹ was a fine vessel of one hundred and eighty tons, built in Philadelphia, and owned by Daniel Mildred⁵⁵ and John Roberts⁵⁶ both of London, and John Head,⁵⁶ the prominent shipping merchant, of Philadelphia. Her Captain, James Sparks,² had taken over many traveling preachers among the Quakers, in both directions, in the fifteen or twenty years in which he had sailed to London.

James Pemberton, writing soon after to his business correspondent, David Barclay [1728-1809],³ in London (5mo. 16) says—

... "Our friend Jno. Woolman embarked with Capt. Sparks on a religious visit to some parts of your Island. He is a Friend in good Esteem among us, of blameless Life, a good understanding, and deep in Spiritual Experience, tho' Singular in his Dress & deportment. Is not a Censorious Mind, & I believe apprehends it his real Duty to appear as he does.

Saamy Emlen also Embarkt in the same Vessel on the like business; he is known well among you."⁴

Thus departed from his native shores, one whose meek spirit was greatly burdened with the weight of the whole social structure. One wonders how much longer he could have kept up his increasingly strict manner of life. He finally trod among his fellows a solitary path, abstaining from dyed garments because of the increased labor in their manufacture, and a mistaken idea as to cleanliness; from the use of sugar and all other foods that

wrote on the 16th of 5mo. that he was enclosing the letter. William Horne's is among the Pemberton Papers, Vol. XXIII, p. 138, Pennsylvania Historical Society. John Woolman's has disappeared.

¹ "Ship Registers of the Port of Philada." Penna. Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. XXVII, p. 495.

George Vaux, a descendant of John Head, made the suggestion that the ship was doubtless named for the first and second wives of the American owner, who built her!

² Captain Sparks was well known in Philadelphia. His name occurs as a Warden of Christ Church in that city.

³ David Barclay was grandson of the famous apologist, and had joined Dr. Franklin and Dr. Fothergill in an effort (1705) to avert the American Revolution.

⁴ Pemberton Papers. Vol. 23, p. 164. Historical Society Pennsylvania.

A letter preserved in the Devonshire House Library, London, from Thos. Carleton, of Kennett, Pa., to his cousin, Elizabeth Shackleton, of Balletore, Ire., 6mo. 19, 1772, says—"... Robert Willis and William Hunt have been on a visit to your Nation, and three other Friends left us lately on the same account, viz.: Sarah Morris, John Woolman and Samuel Emlin. ... Tho' there may appear something of singularity in some of them, yet Wisdom is justified of her children."

were then the products of slave labor; from riding or driving horses, in an endeavor to sympathize with the poor and persecuted wayfarers, and writing little when abroad, and then only on scraps of paper, that the post-boy's labor might be light. Singular and abstemious, allowing himself but little comfort, there is no doubt that when he sailed, extreme anæmia was wearing his life away.

CHAPTER VII

1772

THE VOYAGE, ENGLISH JOURNEY, AND DEATH

This edition reproduces the Journal of the voyage to England in its original form, and as thus given, it largely explains itself. The little blue, paper-covered book, worn by being carried in the pocket, evidently made by himself and stitched together for convenient size, presents a vivid picture of John Woolman's experience at sea. The ship's company numbered about thirty. None of the fellow passengers whom he names were strangers to him. Sarah Logan,⁵⁹ whose maid accompanied her, was the young widow of William Logan, Junior (1747-1772), returning to her home in England and leaving a young child behind her to be brought up under the care of the grandparents, William and Hannah (Emlen) Logan. Young Doctor Adams⁶⁰ was returning to his home in Bristol, where he was doubtless intimate with the Logans there, and he and Samuel Emlen,⁷ who was a relative, served as her escort. No other woman is named, and we hear no more of the young widow of only three months. James Reynolds⁶¹ may have belonged to the Bristol (England) family of Reynolds, but is more likely to have come from Mount Holly, where John Woolman had been conveyancer for several of the family of that name. If so, he was a brother-in-law of John Bispham,⁶² who was Woolman's intimate friend and neighbor. John Bispham is not named in the English Journal as his accredited companion—indeed it does not appear that Woolman had any—but he was in London with him, and was sent for when Woolman lay dying at York, and remained with him to the end.

Although it is probable that the sailors on this ship under Captain Sparks were superior to the average seamen of the eighteenth century, as they are described by Defoe and Smollett, nevertheless their surroundings were unspeakably bad, and their

habits were coarse and brutal beyond belief. Woolman deeply sympathized with the sailors in their discomforts, holding meetings with them and gaining their confidence in private conversations. He labored to teach the men a due regard for their fellow creatures, and yearned over the five lads—three of them educated as Friends—who were learning the trade, as though they were his own children. "How lamentable," he wrote at sea, "is the corruption of the world."

Always observant of natural phenomena, Woolman describes the nightly phosphorescence on the waves, and writes of the *corposant* at the mast head. He studies the direction of the winds, and notes the changes of the vessel's course. But his chief concern is with his fellowman, and his heart yearns over the tribulations of the sailors. The little Essay "On a Sailor's Life" was written at sea.

They sighted land on the second of June and took their pilot on the fourth. Unwilling to post with Samuel Emlen⁷ from Dover up to London, John Woolman remained with the ship until she reached her dock, and then hastened to the Yearly Meeting not long after it had gathered. Head winds had delayed them up the Thames, and it was "Fifth day, the eighth of the sixth month," after a fair voyage of five weeks, that he landed. It is remarkable that he left on shipboard the mattress which he had made, and some other articles, to be taken back on the return voyage to his cousin Reuben Haines⁵¹ in Philadelphia, as though he knew that they would not again be required.

The Yearly Meeting was sitting at Devonshire House, and knowing that he would be late, he hurried to reach the first session. His unannounced entrance and his peculiar appearance were doubtless startling to the cultivated and conventional London Friends. Their alarm may be better understood when we recall how often in the past they had been obliged to deal with itinerant enthusiasts. A hasty toilet in the crowded steerage, with little manifestation of his customary scrupulous cleanliness, had emphasized the peculiarity of his undyed clothing, made by his own hand; and one needs no effort of the imagination to understand why this curious-looking late comer should have met with a cool reception. The presentation of his certificate from his own Meeting and the Friends in America did not remove their doubts,

and some one remarked that "perhaps the stranger Friend might feel that his dedication of himself to this apprehended service was accepted, without further labour, and that he might now feel free to return to his home."

John Woolman was profoundly moved, even to tears, at this cold reception, for which, after much sacrifice and long travel in the love of the Gospel, his sensitive and innocent mind was quite unprepared. After sitting long in silence he rose and stated that he could not feel himself released from his prospect of labour in England. Yet he could not travel in the ministry without the consent of Friends, nor would he be at any cost to them under those circumstances. He could not return home; but he was acquainted with a mechanical trade, and while the impediment continued, he desired that he might be given employment, that he might not be chargeable to any. During the deep silence which followed the gentle stranger's touching words, he again rose, and the powerful sermon which he preached removed the last lingering doubt as to the authority for his message. The Friend who had advised him to return, rose, confessed himself in error, and expressed his full approval of the stranger. There was a general agreement and sympathy with him and at once "welcomed and owned by his brethren, John Woolman passed on to his work."¹

The Meeting endorsed him before its close as follows:

"Minute of Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, London

Second Day Morning the 8th of 6th mo. 1772.

A Certificate from the Monthly Meeting of Burlington for New Jersey in America dated the 6th 1st Mo. last on behalf of our Friend John Woolman backed at the Quarterly Meeting held at the same place the 24th 2nd Mo. last also a Certificate from the Spring Meeting of Ministers and Elders held at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania & New Jersey in the 3rd Mo last on behalf of our said Friend addressed to Friends in Yorkshire or elsewhere in Great Britain, Ireland, or Holland, were read, importing said Meetings unity with our said Friend as a Minister & under his present concern."

This Yearly Meeting, in Woolman's presence, passed a minute against holding negroes in bondage.

¹ The poet Whittier, from whose account the above anecdote is taken, vouches for its accuracy. His authority, William J. Allinson, as editor of the "Memorials" of Rebecca Jones, had many opportunities for obtaining the facts. In an interview later, Woolman is said to have remarked, "he had better go as he was."

Letters from several Friends who were present and witnessed John Woolman's reception in London, have come to light and are of much interest. John Kendall wrote John Pemberton afterwards, "15 of 7mo. 1772. It will be pleasing to thee to hear that our Yearly Meeting was held to good satisfaction. . . . Many valuable Friends were present from most parts of the nation, and no less than seven from America, whose company was truly acceptable."¹ While the sessions were going on, Dr. John Fothergill wrote his brother Samuel, on the ninth, "John Woolman is solid and weighty in his remarks. I wish he could be cured of some singularitys. But his real worth outweighs the trash."² Daniel Mildred,³ an owner of the "Mary and Elizabeth," wrote J. Pemberton on the first of July, enclosing a copy of the Yearly Meeting's "Epistle" to Friends, and said: "We were favoured with the company of several valuable Friends from your parts,—William Hunt,⁴ Sarah⁵ and Deborah Morris, Samuel Emlen,⁶ and John Woolman. The last two just reached it in time. . . . John Woolman is gone northward. His peculiar Habit may render him disagreeable to some few, but there is that, I think, which attends his Words, both in Testimony and Private Converse, which will make its Way wherever he goes."⁷ The same hand writes for the firm, adding to business correspondence, in the more leisurely fashion of the earlier day, a line or two of news: "London, 16 of 7 mo. 1772. Our worthy Friends, John Woolman and Samuel Emlen⁷ arrived safe & have been very acceptable here and since our Yearly Meeting. John Woolman went for the north, and William Hunt⁹ and companion¹⁰ (Th. Thornborough) intend for Holland, where our worthy Friend Sam¹ Emlen intends to accompany them.

(Signed) Mildred and Roberts."⁴

The Diary of Elihu Robinson⁵ for 1772 gives an account of the Yearly Meeting of that date, and some idea of the sub-

¹ MS. Letter of John Kendall. Friends' Library, Phila. George Vaux Letter-Book.

² MS. Letter, Friends' Library, Devonshire House, London. For Fothergill, see *Life*, by Dr. R. H. Fox.

³ Pemberton Letters. Vol. XXIII, p. 163. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁵ Elihu Robinson (1734-1800), A Friend of Eaglesfield, Cumberland. Meteorologist. Married, 1757, Ruth Mark. MS. Diary in Devonshire House Library, London.

stance of Woolman's sermons. "Our Fr^d John Woolman from Jersey made some pertinent remarks in this Meet^t as in many others, and tho y^e singularity of his appearance might in some Meet^{ts} Draw y^e Attention of y^e Youth and even cause a Change of Countenance in some, Yet y^e simplicity, solidity and Clearness of many of his Remarks made all these Vanish as Mists at y^e Sun's Rising. He made sev^l beautiful rem^{ks} in this Meet^t with resp^t to y^e benefit of true Silence, and how Incense ascended on y^e Oppening (sic) of y^e 7th Seal, and there was Silence in heaven for y^e space of half an hour, &c. . . . 1st. Day Week. At 10 At y^e M. for W(omen) at Devon^e appeared J. Woolman, from America, in a lively Testimony, observ^g Divine Love was yet able to cleanse from all Filthiness of Flesh and Spirit, which must in Degree be witnessed before we could Experience an Union with y^e Divine Nature, for God did not Unite with any (thing) Contrary to his Nature,—Christ with Belial, Nor y^e Temple of God with Idols, desiring all might endeavour after that purity (of) Heart so necess^y connected with our Happiness."

One feels grateful to those "sincere-hearted Friends" in whose company Woolman writes his wife that he had been "comforted." In the four months of service before him he was to win over the great majority of those who most strongly objected to his remarkable singularity of appearance and behaviour, which in another would have interfered with the reception of his message. The authority for that message could have had no higher testimony. There was quite a group of English Friends in London at this time who had met Woolman at home, and had visited him. None knew better than these his sincerity and influence, and they extended to him invitations to visit them on the northern journey upon which he was setting out. Many of these were accepted, as the itinerary will show.

Some years after his death a Minister of Devonshire House Meeting, London, John Horn [1738-1805] wrote a friend who made a rationalistic interpretation of the New Testament, "Thou mentioned John Woolman. I think, if I understood thee right, thou thought Fr'ds should look favorably toward thee in dissenting in belief from them, as John Woolman had some singularities. I

acknowledge he had some, yet I believe he had been building on a sure foundation.”¹

During his brief stay in London, John Woolman's home was with John Townsend,⁶⁴ a hospitable Friend, as humble-minded as his guest, who followed the trade of pewterer, and lived in Prescott Street, Goodman's Fields. While here Woolman wrote several letters home to America. The first of these was to his wife:²

“Dear Wife

Through the mercies of the Lord I arived safe in London on the 8 da. 6mo. I was mercifully helped to bear the difficulties of the Sea, and went strait from the water Side into the yearly meeting of ministers and elders after it was Settled in the morning: And the meeting of business was first opened the same day in the Afternoon. My heart hath been often melted into contrition since I left thee, under a Sence of divine goodness being extended for my help and preparing in me a Subjection to his will. I have been comforted in the company of some Sincere hearted Friends. The yearly meeting of business ended about three hours ago, and I have thoughts of going in a few days out of this Citty towards Yorkshire: taking some meetings in my way, if Strengthened thereto.

The tender concern which I have many times felt for thee, and for Mary and for John, and even for Betsy, I may not easily express. I have often remembered you with tears; and my desires have been that the Lord, who hath been my helper through many Adversities, may be a Father to you, and that in his love, you may be guided Safely along.

Rob^t. Willis,⁷⁵ Sarah Morris⁶⁸ and Companion, W. Hunt⁹ & Companion, and S. Emlen,⁷ all here and midling well. Robert, going, I expect, for Ireland, and W. Hunt & companⁿ, I expect, for Holland. Several friends rememb^r kind love to thee. My kind love is to my dear friends.

da mo

John Woolman.”

13: 6:

Next day he wrote to his cousins, Reuben and Margaret Haines,⁶¹ of Philadelphia:³

¹ Contributed by Dr. R. Hingston Fox, of London.

² Original copy in MS. A., p. 288.

³ See Biog., Note 51. The original letter has not appeared. This copy is taken from Friends' Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 9, where John Comly's note says it was written on one-eighth of a sheet of foolscap writing paper. It is said of John Woolman that once, being appointed by Burlington monthly meeting to pre-

Cousins Reuben and Margaret,

"da mo
14 6 1772

I am middling well, in London, and believe I may go northward in a few days. Your care for me toward parting hath felt inwardly gathering toward the true union in which I hope we may at last unite.

My heart hath been often contrite since I saw you; and I now remember you with tears.

John Woolman.

My friend Suse, and my little cousins, I remember you all."

John Woolman, *Junior*, to whom the third letter¹ was addressed, was the son of his brother Abner Woolman, who had died a year before, leaving a wife and several young children. Abner was a sweet-spirited young man to whom John Woolman was tenderly attached. He had given especial care to the widow, and to her children, whom he had taught in his school. The terms *nephew* and *cousin* at this time were interchangeable.²

da mo
"London 14: 6: 1772

"I have often felt tender desires that my cousin, John Woolman, may be preserved in a watchful frame of mind, and know that which supports innocent young people against the Snares of the Wicked.

The deep Tryals of thy Father and his inward care for you are often in my remembrance, with some Concern that you, his children, may be acquainted with that inward life to which his mind, whilst among us, was often gathered.

John Woolman.

For John Woolman, Junr."

But Woolman's call was to the North, and he did not linger in London after the close of the Yearly Meeting. On the fifteenth began his long walk into Yorkshire; his itinerary is not fully out-

pare a certificate of removal, he used a piece of paper of smaller size than usual. Taken to task for his parsimony therein, he modestly answered, "I never found any better rule than *enough*."

¹ The original of this letter is in the Library of Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

² John Gardiner, of Burlington, N. J., in his will, Nov. 9, 1694, divides his real and personal property between "my young *cousins*, the children of my brothers & sisters." N. J. Archives, XXII, p. 178.

lined in the Journal. Writing John's brother, Uriah Woolman,¹ on the 21st, William Hunt,² then at Colchester, said of him, "We parted from dear cousin John Woolman two days since. He was then as well as usual. He has great and acceptable service here. The singularity of his appearance is not only strange, but very exercising to many valuable Friends, who have had several opportunities of conference with him. Some are still dissatisfied; others are willing to leave it. The purity of his ministry gains universal approbation. I hope he stands on that Foundation which will bear him through it all. He is now gone toward Yorkshire."³

Not all of the Friends, however, whom Woolman visited could cast off the feeling of doubt induced by his peculiarities of dress and manner, and his visits have been recorded in singularly few of the meetings which he attended. The Quarterly Meeting at Banbury was an exception:

"Oxfordshire Quarterly Meeting held at Banbury, according to appointment, this 30th. day of y^e 6th month, 1772 We were favoured with the Company of our Friend, John Woolman from America who produced a certificate from the Monthly Meet^e of Burlington in New Jersey endorsed by the quarterly Meet^e of y^e same province & likewise another from y^e General Spring Meet^e of Ministers and Elders held at Philadelphia dated the 21st of the 3rd Month 1772, which Certificates as well as his Visit to us were very acceptable." He went into the women's meeting and preached them a moving sermon, which they thus record—

"39th. 6mo. 1772. We have had a very comfortable visit from our Friend John Woolman from America, whose tender advice and exhortation to Friends in General and the Youth in particular will, we earnestly hope, remain sealed upon the minds of all present."⁴

It took Woolman about six weeks to reach the borders of Yorkshire, and he appears to have rested for a time at John Haslam's,⁵ at Handsworth Woodhouse. From this refuge are dated three more of Woolman's brief notes to his friends. He writes his former host in London, under date: ⁶

¹ "Friends' Miscellany," Vol. I, p. 190.

² Oxfordshire Quarterly Meeting Book, at Reading. Private letter, kindness of Wm. C. Braithwaite.

³ The original is in Friends' Library, Devonshire House, London.

"da mo
31 7 1772

Beloved Friend:

I am now at John Haslam's on the edge of Yorkshire, midling well in health. Sarah Morris and her companion were midling well here yesterday. If thou wilt keep the within letter until thou hast convenient opportunity to send it, it will be acceptable to me. I feel contented as to hearing from the family I left in America.

With true love to thee and thy wife and children

I remain thy frd.

John Woolman.

For John Townsend "

Pewterer, in Prescott street, Goodman's Fields, London."

The letter which was enclosed was undoubtedly the following to his wife, since it bears the same date: ¹

"My dear wife,

Though I feel in a good degree resigned in being absent from you, my heart is often tenderly Affected toward you, and even to weeping this morning, while I am about to write.

The numerous difficulties attending us in this life are often before me, and I often remember thee with tender desires that the holy Spirit may be thy leader, and my leader through life, and that at last we may enter into rest.

My journey hath been through inward watchfulness, I see but a little way at a time, but the Lord hath been gracious to me, and way opens for my Visit in these parts.

Thy loving Husband

John Woolman.

about 160 miles northward from London

da mo

31: 7: 1772

For Sarah Woolman."

The third letter was to his cousins Haines ⁵¹ in Philadelphia, under the same date: ²

¹ Original in *Woolman Papers*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is written on a very small sheet, measuring only four by six inches.

² The original is probably lost. Text is from Comly's "Friends' Miscellany," Vol. I, p. 9.

"da mo

31: 7: 1772

Beloved Cousins,

I am now at our ancient friend, John Haslam's, whose memory is much impaired by the palsy; but he appears to be in a meek, quiet state; about one hundred and sixty miles northward of London. My journeying hath been through much inward watchfulness. I cannot see far before me; but the Lord, in tender mercy, hath been gracious to me, and way opens for my visit among Friends.

Friends from America, on visits here, were all midling well lately.

I send no letters by post here, nor do I want any sent to me by post.

I feel a care that we humbly follow the pure leadings of Truth, and then, I trust, all will work for good.

Your loving cousin,

John Woolman."

From John Haslam's⁶⁵ Woolman pursued his way through the West Riding of Yorkshire, making a *détour* into Westmoreland with the evident desire to examine for himself conditions in the neighborhood of the great manufacturing centres. The *enclosure* of the English commons was producing the disastrous results which are familiar today to students of the history of economics; while the introduction of machinery into the great mills of England was to result in the riots among the laboring classes, some intimations of which must have been familiar to Woolman, even before he left home. His "concern" had been altogether toward the northern counties, and especially Yorkshire. That he was familiar with the history of the labour disturbances is certain. Many members of his home meeting and of others among his neighbors had come from that county, and had kept in close touch with relatives at home. The Stacys, Prouds, Smiths—to name but a few at random—were fully informed of the situation, and Woolman was too deeply filled with sympathy for the village laborer, that obscure individual, on the subject of whose wrongs history is so strangely silent, not to feel drawn toward the scene of his trials.

Reference to his Essays, and to the observations he makes in his Journal upon the cost of living among these people, show that he was continually studying the conditions under which the poor were struggling. One feels sure that he had read the writings

of the Quaker economist, John Bellers,¹ whose pamphlets were in the libraries of which we know that he made such good use. Bellers wrote, "The poor are like rough diamonds; their worth is unknown. . . . Regularly labouring people are the Kingdom's greatest treasure and strength. Without labourers there can be no Lords. . . . Land without people is of no worth. And this Treasure are the Poor; but the polishing of these rough diamonds, that their Lustre may appear, is a subject highly worth the Consideration & endeavour of our greatest Statesmen and Senators."

John Woolman had always advocated an agricultural life for most men, although he acknowledged the necessity for the learned callings, and those interests which placed the manufacturers in groups and the statesmen in centralized municipalities. He could not learn of the dispossession of the ancient, self-maintaining families of respectability, living for centuries in the English dales or on their small homesteads where the interest of the little community in the soil had become vital, without a pang of grief at their helpless condition when turned loose upon the cold world of trade. The *Enclosure Act* took over a large part of the common lands.² The isolation of the poor was to become more and more pronounced, and the English peasant, a part of the soil and backbone of England, with his communal interests, and ancient independent rights, was to deteriorate into the English laborer in the factories, owning not a foot of soil out of which early ownership, integrity and independence seemed to grow, and roaming about from one crowded town to another, seeking work wherever were paid the highest wages, and quite irresponsible in his personal conduct, which was of the worst.

Nothing could have more strongly appealed to the Quaker philanthropist than these conditions. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, toward the end of the eighteenth century, there were five hundred broadcloth and blanket factories, and "over thirty thousand families whose livelihood depended upon the trade in wool."³ For generations Woolman's own family had been weavers

¹ John Bellers, Quaker economist, wrote his "Proposals for Raising a College of Industry" in 1696. He gave Thomas Budd, in 1685, a Power of Attorney to take up 5,600 acres in Burlington County, and town lots for 10 families.

² Johnson, "Disappearance of the Small Landowner," says that nearly twenty per cent of the total acreage of England had been enclosed by the end of the 18th century.

³ G. O. Trevelyan, "George III and Charles James Fox," Vol. II, p. 14.

and he knew, as none of his wealthier companions in the ministry, then in England with him, could know, what were the privileges of the independent weaver at his own loom, with the ownership of a few acres of soil to support a family. His "Conversation between a Rich Man and a Laboring Man" was his most recent production, and his sound mind was engaged upon a problem which was fundamental. Never willing to take at second hand what could be come at by his own personal effort, one can readily understand John Woolman's desire to go to Yorkshire and learn for himself the true facts in the case.

No one who has enjoyed the keen pleasure of journeys afoot in foreign lands, before the horrors of the Great War ruined the face of many a peaceful landscape, can fail to comprehend the rare opportunities which must have offered themselves to Woolman as he followed this ideal method of first-hand study. Chats at the well-curb and in the byre and about the hearth at nightfall, gave him opportunity to gain the facts he sought, and to drop a word of Gospel cheer and comfort or warning, in his own inimitable, gentle way. He loved the "clean country" as he called it, and suffered correspondingly when, in the densely built and filthy alleys of the cloth factories of the towns, and near the fields where the dyes had drained away, he was obliged to step carefully when "travelling in dirtiness," assailed by smells and sights and sounds offensive to every one of his senses. He knew what the cottagers ate and wore, and the cost of living to the poor, and at the end of the six weeks which he thus spent, had his statistics ready. One cannot doubt that a very important object of his journey to England was what now would be called a study of its economic conditions. Had he lived, he certainly would have written of his impressions more fully than in the few paragraphs which are preserved in his Journal.

He reached the hospitable home of the Crosfields,⁸⁴ where his hostess was no stranger, on the twenty-third of August, and remained in and about Kendal for a week. His letter to Rachel Wilson,⁸⁵ another well-known Friend whom he had met at home in America, was written from here, "30th. of the 8mo."¹ From Kendal he returned to Yorkshire. Through Greyrigg, and the

¹ This letter is given in the text of the Journal, where it was copied by Woolman himself.

beautiful Wensleydale, home of the Fothergills, calling at the little towns and villages with a message of cheer for the small meetings, Woolman came to Richmond, where a shock awaited him in the news of the death from smallpox of his cousin, William Hunt.⁹ Again came the feeling of dread at the fell disease, which was always lurking near and so often breaking out when given any opportunity.

The middle of September found his thoughts turning homeward, and he wrote to the family of his son-in-law, who had several brothers and sisters. He dates his communication from the old home of his Philadelphia friend, Robert Proud,¹⁰ the historian,¹ who was at the time teaching the Friends' school, now the William Penn Charter School, in that city. Doubtless he carried messages to the family. We have seen that Stephen Comfort of Fallsington, Pennsylvania, was the father of John Comfort,²⁴ who had married Woolman's daughter Mary. He writes:

"To the Children of Stephen Comfort ²⁴ of Bucks County.

da: mo:

I am now, this 16th 9th, 1772, at Robert Proud's in Yorkshire, so well as to continue travelling, though but slowly.

Yesterday, as I was walking over a plain on my way to this place, I felt a degree of Divine love attend my mind, and therein an openness toward the children of Stephen Comfort, of which I believed I should endeavour to inform them. My mind was opened to behold the happiness, the safety and beauty of a life devoted to follow the heavenly Shepherd; and a care that the enticements of vain young people may not ensnare any of you.

I cannot form a concern, but when a concern cometh, I endeavour to be obedient.

John Woolman."²

The Prouds lived at Thirsk, and during the following week he resumed his walk, now more slowly, toward the goal which had ever been before his mind, when he declared his "draught" to be entirely toward the north of England. He approached the old city of York wearily, but with satisfaction. He had been asked

¹ The Robert Proud at whose house he stayed had been in America, 1761-2. He was a relative of the historian of the same name, whose sister had married Richard Brown, a Yorkshire man.

² From John Comly's text, "Friends' Miscellany," Vol. I, p. 11. The original is not forthcoming.

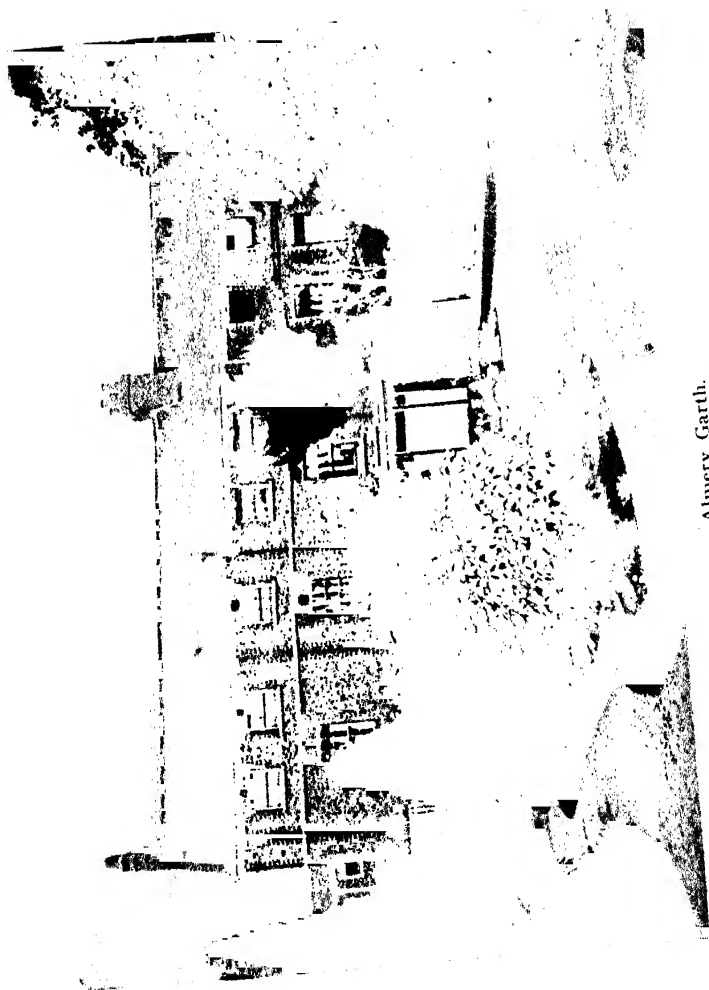
whither he was bound from thence, but answered, "York looks like home to me."

There were solicitous Friends in York who had been apprised of his coming, and as he approached the town he was met on the road by a youth of eighteen, Henry,⁶⁷ son of William Tuke,⁶⁸ who had been sent by his father to meet and guide him to his own home. This hospitable host entertained nearly all the traveling Friends who visited York. One can never know how much the younger philanthropist's life was influenced by the gentle spirit of the frail guest, who was to grow so near to them, and who was so kindly and characteristically welcomed. Henry Tuke afterward spoke many times of this walk with John Woolman, "of the indescribable sweetness of his company, and the pleasure with which he remembered it."¹

William⁶⁸ and Esther Tuke,⁶⁸ "the princess," whose home was so cordially offered to the stranger, lived at Castlegate. He was a prominent tea merchant and his home was in the midst of the life and stir of a large city. The bustle and movement which here surrounded John Woolman, fatigued with long travel and already ill with a fatal disease, added to his weariness, and he found it hard to endure. He therefore modestly made his situation known and requested a more quiet and retired home whilst in York. The circumstances of his choice would appear almost prophetic. It could not have been more wisely selected if the events of the next fortnight and the need for isolation had been clearly before him.

A little way out of the city, in what Woolman called "the clean country," still stands in Marygate, a most attractive old house, known as Alмеры Garth; the city has since encroached upon its quiet. Here lived in 1772 Thomas Priestman,⁶⁹ a Friend with whom the Tuke family were intimate, and who was well-known for his hospitality. It is due to the courtesy of his great-great-grandson, Malcolm Spence, late owner, and to his sister, Ellen Spence, the present occupant, that we can verify much as to John Woolman's last days. Drake, in his "History of York" in 1736, has the following: "North of Marygate is a spacious piece of rich ground, yet called Alмеры Garth, which name it takes from

¹ Charles Tyler, "Life of Samuel Tuke." S. T. was a son of Henry Tuke.



Almery Garth.

Photograph by Malcolm Spence.
Courtesy of "Wesleyan Methodist Magazine," London.



Window of room, Alмеры Garth, in which John Woolman died,
10 mo. 7, 1772.

*Photograph by Malcolm Spence.
Courtesy of "Wesleyan Methodist Magazine," London.*

the French *Aumonier*; [Latin, *Eleemosynarius*]; and was formerly the place where the Convent kept their cattle which were ready for killing, and also put in what was charitably bestowed upon them. The ground has been all walled in, except on the side next the river: in it were the Abbot of St. Mary's fish-ponds, the traces of which appear at this day."

Thomas Priestman's daughter Rachel⁶⁰ [1765-1848] who inarried in 1790, William Tuke, Jr., son of William Tuke, was a child of seven when John Woolman died. She was in the habit of relating to her grand children the tales of early association with Almerly Garth. One of these grandchildren, Mrs. Alfred H. Spence, wrote for her own descendants a history of the ancient house and of its inhabitants. From this the editor is permitted to quote her charming description of the place. "The situation was a very pleasant one. Thomas Priestman's house was outside the city walls, close to the principal gateway of the ruined Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary's, hence the name of Marygate. It stood in a sunny garden, surrounded by walls on which ripened peaches, nectarines, and apricots; in the middle was the flower garden where roses and lavender blossomed in profusion. There was nothing between this garden and the river except a low lying meadow, called the Ings, which had anciently formed part of the Almerly Garth, the pasture land of St. Mary's Abbey; across it flowed a narrow stream, bordered by pollard willow trees, and near the adjoining tanyard with its dull red coloring, stood a row of tall picturesque poplars. This field in spring was a brilliant yellow, when its marsh marigolds and buttercups were in flower. On another side lay the orchards, in which, surrounded by green banks and overhung by old apple trees, was the only remaining pond of the many, where the monks in the olden time had kept their fish. From the window of the house, nothing could be seen on both banks of the river as far as eye could reach, but an expanse of pleasant meadow land. In the far distance in front, might be seen among trees, the roofs of the villages of Acomb and Holgate, with the twirling sails of their adjoining windmills. On the left the houses of York were hid from view by the White City¹

¹The stone of which York fortifications is built is famed for its pure whiteness. It is limestone from Tadcaster.

walls on their high greensward embankments.¹ The prospect on every side was quiet, peaceful and happy." It was a spot after John Woolman's own heart.

Received by his new friend, Woolman asked the privilege of choosing his room. A visitor of 1842² describes the one he selected. At that time David Priestman, son of Thomas, was the owner, and had blocked up the exit which led from his own residence, next door, into the historic room of the adjoining house, and retained an entrance by means of a back staircase. When he took his visitor into the room, the latter thus described it: "D.P. enquired if I should like to see the room. I caught at it, and we went with a lantern. The entrance is from the lane by the door marked in the accompanying sketch. . . . Woolman asked if he might choose a room, and fixed on this as being very quiet and retired, there being no thoroughfare at the back of the house except a footpath. It is just such a room as one might expect him to have chosen—whitewashed and without cornice or ornament of any kind—the chimney piece of oak plainly moulded—and the firegrate of the very simplest construction, being merely the front bar and bottom let into brick work. At the time of his death there were two beds in the room, one, if not both, with undyed hangings."

The illustrations here given were made in 1870 when the apartment had been restored as a bedroom; it was a lumber room in 1842, although the furniture, antique and interesting, has no connection with Woolman.³ The little chamber measured twelve by seventeen feet and its ceiling is nine feet high. The door has been restored near its old position.

In this "prophet's chamber" our Journalist rested, weary in body and mind. From here two letters were written, the first to John Wilson,⁴ son of his friend Rachel Wilson,⁵ of Kendal, to whom he had become much attached when she was in Philadelphia in 1769. It is dated:

¹ The embankments are the old earthwork entrenchments constructed by the ancient Britons: the stone work on the top dates only from the 14th century.

² Sylvanus Thompson, to his father. Letter dated York, 2mo. 25, 1842. Friends' Library, Devonshire House, London. (Gibson MSS. Vol. II, p. 171.)

³ These pictures, by the late owner, are given by permission, and with the consent also of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, where they first appeared in an article by A. Dickinson, entitled "A Visit to John Woolman's Grave," June 1910.

"York 22: 9: 1772.

da mo

Beloved Friend

When I followed the Trade of a Tailor, I had a feeling of that which pleased the proud mind in people; & growing uneasie, was strengthened to leave off that which was superfluous in my Trade.

When I was at your house, I believe I had a sense of the pride of people being gratified in some of the business thou followest, and I feel a concern in pure love to endeavour to inform thee of it.

Christ our leader is worthy of being followed in his leadings at all times. The Enemy gets many on his side.

O! that we may not be divided between the two, but may be wholly on the side of Christ.

In true love to you all I remain thy friend

John Woolman."¹

The last from his pen was to his cousins Reuben and Margaret Haines,⁶¹ a tiny epistle measuring five and three quarters by three and one half inches, and referring to his remarkable disposal of his bed and belongings when he arrived in London:

da

"Beloved Cousins:—I am now at york at a quarterly meeting 23: mo

9: 72 So well in health as to continue travelling I appoint a few meetings, but not so fast as I did some time ago. I feel quiet in my mind, believing it is the Lord's will that I should for a time be in this part of the world. I often remember you, and friends in your parts, as I pass along in this journey, and the Truth as it is Separate from all mixture. The Truth as it is in Jesus was never more precious to me than I feel it in this my Sojourning; in which my mind is often deeply affected with that which is not of the Father but of the world. I hear that dear W. Hunt departed this life with the Small pox 9: 9: 72 and that some of his last words were The Truth Is Over All. The rest of the America friends on the visit were lately living, and mostly midling well so far as I hear.

I left my bed and Some things on board the Ship I came in, directing the people to convey them to you if they arive safe at philad^a.

John Woolman."²

¹ This letter is found in the back of the *Journal of the Voyage to England*, in John Woolman's hand, and is the copy made by himself.

² Original in possession of the Editor

He was "quiet in his mind" and attending the Quarterly meeting, at which he was present until the last sitting. His text has been preserved in the memorandum of Thomas Priestman; "Every plant that is not of my Father's planting shall be plucked up by the roots." But he was not well, and thought the fever and ague to which so many in his own neighborhood were then subject, was coming upon him. Two days, however, after his little letter to Margaret Haines was written, he was taken seriously ill and within twenty-four hours the smallpox, his most dreaded enemy, appeared. He had probably been exposed to it somewhere in the manufacturing centres which he had recently visited, and thus became truly a sacrifice to the life-long desire of his soul to ameliorate the sufferings of the laboring classes.

During the next few days were enacted the closing scenes of this saintly life. Woolman had met Esther Tuke⁶⁸ while in London and must have received kind attentions, as their guest in York, from herself and her husband. The depth of the impression made on the delicate mind of the invalid by one who has been called a "princess in Israel" from the grace and dignity of her Christian demeanor, is sufficiently witnessed by the fact that when he discovered the seriousness of his illness, he asked that she come to him and remain "until there was a change." Esther Tuke,⁶⁸ therefore, took up her temporary abode at Thomas Priestman's⁶⁹ at Almersley Garth, and to the end bestowed upon the ill man the accomplished skill in nursing which she possessed. William Tuke⁶⁸ was present during much of the time, and he and Thomas Priestman⁶⁹ made careful record,—"*minuted down*," as they put it,—all that the dying man said. Although the disease was so virulent and contagious, the young daughter of the Tukes, Sarah,⁷⁰ afterward well-known as a minister, and as the wife of Robert Grubb, was frequently present to wait upon the patient, whose sweet spirit made a deep impression upon her young mind. It was to her that Woolman said, "My child, thou seems very kind to me, a poor creature. The Lord will reward thee for it." She was about eighteen at the time.¹

As the disease progressed John Bispham,⁶⁸ who must have been somewhere in the neighborhood, was sent for and remained

¹ See "Account of the Life and Religious Labors of Sarah Grubb," p. 3, Trenton, 1795.

with his old friend to the end. Sometimes Woolman desired pen and paper, and feebly and patiently wrote a few lines himself, with dictation of brief portions to insert in the Journal.¹ With his usual care he gave directions as to his burial, observing the law as to the use of *wool* in wrapping the corpse,² according to the statute enacted in 1678 and still in force in 1772, in order to encourage the woolen industry. His mind appears to have been clear until the very end. Only four hours before he died he painfully wrote, with blinded eyes, "I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ; I know not as to life or death." Unable to lie in bed, he was helped to a chair, and even crossed the room assisted on each side. But finally, exhausted, he lay down again, and shortly the weary body was at rest. The chair in which he sat is reverently preserved.³

No time was lost in writing to London. A letter⁴ from William Tuke⁶⁸ to John Elliot,⁷¹ announcing the death of John Woolman, was sent the same day:

"York, the 7th of the 10th Month, 1772.

Our Friend Thos. Thornburgh informing Thee from hence that our dearly beloved Friend John Woolman had taken the smallpox, it is with sorrow on account of the Churches loss of so great a preacher of Righteousness both in Life & Doctrine I now inform Thee, that after many conflicts of Body in which He was supported with the greatest patience, Resignation & Fortitude I ever beheld, He quietly finished his Course this morning a little after the sixth hour, without sigh, groan, or struggle. Many sweet comfortable & instructive expressions were uttered by him during his illness, which I hope will not fall to the Ground."

John Woolman died a few minutes after six o'clock on the morning of the seventh of October. Two days after, on the ninth, a large meeting was held in the meeting house, at which were present several of John Woolman's American friends, among them John Pemberton,⁸ John Bispham,⁵³ and Thomas Ross.⁷² He was buried in the Bishophill graveyard at York. At the grave

¹ These are noted in the text as they occur.

² Original in possession of Joseph B. Braithwaite of London.

³ In possession of the Society of Friends, Devonshire House, London.

⁴ Devonshire House Library, London. See Reynolds MSS. p. 190.

the Methodist minister, who was probably John Nelson, then in charge of that congregation, preached a most acceptable sermon. The Quaker conventions were at that time so rigid that they did not permit themselves to tell the minister how grateful were his words. Woolman's grave may be identified in the illustration. No stone was placed upon it for some years, and when it was marked, fear lest a few feet variance from the exact spot might have occurred, led to the inscription,

Near this Stone
Rest the Remains of
John Woolman,
of Mount Holly
New Jersey, North America,
Who died at York
7th of 10th Month 1772
aged 51 years.

Within the church wall of St. Marys, close by, is the tomb of his wife's ancestor, James Mauleverer, who died in 1664.

The Leeds "Mercury" for Oct. 13, 1772, had the following:—

"DIED, on Wednesday last, at York, of the smallpox, JOHN WOOLMAN, of New Jersey, in North America, an eminent preacher amongst the people called Quakers. His life exhibited a very singular, and striking example of self-denial; adorned with an amiable sweetness of disposition, and affectionate good will to mankind universally.

His feelings for the bondage and oppression of the poor enslaved negroes, were so exquisite that he conscientiously refused every accommodation, both in diet and apparel, which was produced by their labour. He was upon a religious visit to his friends in this nation, and has left a wife and family in America."

The few effects which Woolman left were disposed of by William Tuke in accordance with his expressed wishes. The clothing was too peculiar to be acceptable even to the gravedigger, who, however, took the shoes. After copies had been taken of the Essays, and selections from the Journal, the originals were sent to London to Samuel Emlen⁷ who brought them, together with the Journal of the Sea Voyage and a few possessions which had been left at John Townsend's, back to America

with him when he returned that autumn, placing them in the hands of Sarah Woolman. Samuel Emlen was accompanied on the return voyage by Thomas Thornburgh,⁸³ who had also in his charge the effects of William Hunt.⁹ At a Meeting for Sufferings held in London, 20th 11mo., 1772, "A Bill was brought in for the Passage and Accommodation of Our Friends, Samuel Emlen & Thos. Thornburgh to New York, amounting to £63."¹

In sending these articles to Samuel Emlen in London, Esther Tuke accompanied them with the following letter, which gives an admirable impression of the way in which John Woolman had won his entrance into all hearts.

"York, 14th of 10th. mo. 1772.

Dear Friend:

Under the humbling dispensation we have lately passed through, my mind hath many times been drawn near to thee; and after the departure of our dear friend, John Woolman, there seemed a strong inclination to salute thee with a few lines to let thee know a little how he was in the course of his painful affliction; and though it may seem rather a repetition, as several accounts have been sent to London, yet, as no one was more with him, nor had greater opportunity to observe the state of his mind, a few hints concerning him, with a copy of some expressions dropped at sundry times,² I believe will not be unacceptable.

He was exceedingly afraid from the first of giving needless trouble to any; but his disorder increasing so much that constant attendance was necessary, he desired I would not sleep out of the house until I saw an alteration, which I very willingly complied with; and though it was exceedingly trying to see him labour under unspeakable affliction, and could render so little relief, yet I have many times been thankful in being favoured to attend him; for as I never saw one bear so much before, so I never beheld the like fortitude, patience and resignation—his hope and confidence were so strong and firmly fixed, that the greatest storms of affliction were not able to move him, or even cause him to utter an impatient word, indicating that he thought anything too hard; and though he was not free to take much medicines, yet he attended so much to the progress of the disorder, and his own feelings as to what was suited for healing or cooling nourishment, &c. that our apothecary (a man we think of

¹ *Journal Friends' Historical Society* (London), Vol. III, p. 18.

² Some of these were separately printed in London in 1773, as "Remarks on Sundry Subjects of Importance."

singular judgment in that complaint, not a Friend) said he did not know he could be better ordered than he ordered himself; except towards the last, he seemed to feel the need of something more cordial, which he was not unwilling to take; but his throat was then so closed that he could not swallow, but with the greatest difficulty, and often strove, when it was distressing to see him, under his great weakness, and the pain it occasioned; and at times he quietly said, "I believe I must in a little time give it over and try no more," and it seemed twice wholly closed up.

But as a further detail of these painful circumstances cannot be of use, and exceedingly painful to me to relate, I shall leave them and say, though he appeared to us in some things singular, and the path he trod straiter than the liberty some of us have thought the truth gives, yet I say to thee, that I cannot help thinking it was the way truth led him. Though it is not for us to endeavour to step in the same strait way, except from the like call, yet we may be thankful we are allowed more liberty, and can in a more comfortable manner enjoy the temporal blessings afforded us; and, looking at this, and at the little comfort he had, it was cause of humbling to my mind and brought an enquiry, what returns I had made, and whether I had walked answerable to what I enjoyed beyond merit; and I sometimes thought his singular and abstemious way, so striking and conspicuous, may be a means to draw divers others to the like examination; and I know nothing in this luxurious and licentious age more likely to begin a reformation than a solid consideration of this sort; for do we not see how pride, superfluities in meats, drinks, and apparel, abound amongst us, and like a torrent, seem to carry all before them, and I think, cry aloud for a stop. For my part, the prospect is often so distressing, on account of training up our own children, and the like difficulties other religious parents labour under, that my life is frequently a life of mourning and lamentation, for it seems scarce possible to bring them up in the way we would have them walk; and if we could, there seems little probability, without something extraordinary, that they would be kept in it, such is the example—such the giving way in general, and with sorrow it may be said so, of many that should be leaders.

And if this good man's example in life and in death, should have a tendency, (as I hope it may) to draw some to consider and inspect a little closer than they have hitherto done, we should be careful how we take off the weight by blaming a singularity, which, if compared with our holy pattern, we shall find, I think, not far out of the way.

And now I hope, though we are pretty much strangers to each other as to the outward, thou wilt be sensible that my thus commu-

nicating my private thoughts is in that love in which there is freedom, and with a hope thou wilt treat me in like manner, and am far from supposing thou hast judged hardly of John Woolman; but I believe some hereaway will, and would be glad, perhaps, to find flaws in his singularity, to cover themselves, and stave off a narrower scrutiny and retrospection into their own conduct and example. I am far from mourning that he is gone, believing his day's work is finished, and his measure of suffering filled up. And I scarce ever expected his recovery during his sickness, though there were many favourable symptoms; for looking at the path, the unspeakable difficulties that would have attended his travelling, &c., it seemed often clear to me that he would either be delivered from it by death, or have some more liberty in his mind respecting the use of some things. I have sometimes thought there might be a providential hand in his taking and dying of the small-pox; for if he had gone off in almost any other disorder, we might have feared his manner of living and the hardships he was exposed to had caused it; but in this disorder, his manner of living might be a fit preparative; and the apothecary (so skilful in it) said, before he saw him, that no person living as he understood he had, could be much afflicted by having a great load of small pox; but he found his mistake, and diligently attended him, expressing an anxious solicitude for his recovery; and divers times, with tears in his eyes, expressed his astonishment to see, as he said, such a perfect and upright man upon the earth.

John Woolman frequently conversed with him, with great openness, and when he differed in his judgment from the doctor, he gave him such reasons as were to him satisfactory. He attended his funeral, and said afterwards, he could scarce forbear giving testimony concerning him to the audience, but forbore, knowing it would be an intrusion upon us. Indeed, a Methodist preacher did, in a few words at the graveside, with which divers of us were well satisfied, tho' not prudent to tell him so. I think now to conclude, being afraid of being tedious, after saying we were truly sorry to be disappointed of seeing thee here. But as thou intended it, I hope we may yet see thee before thy return, which would be a little reviving in these drooping days to thy sincere friend and poor little fellow-traveller, in the hope and fellowship of the Gospel.

Esther Tuke.¹

(Postscript)

My husband's dear love to thee, and our dear love to John Eliot² and his wife, and please to lend the enclosed paper to Thomas

¹ A long extract from this letter is given by John Woolman's cousin, John Hunt, in a letter to a friend on the subject of Joshua Evans' beard. "Friends' Miscellany," Vol. I, pp. 247, 251.

Corbyn¹⁴ to take a copy. We thought one would do for both. If thou have leisure and freedom, a few lines will be very acceptable, and to mention whether our beloved friend Robert Willis¹⁵ be returned from Ireland.

John Woolman desired my husband in case of his decease, to write to Reuben Haines,¹⁶ which he intends to do, and Send him a Copy of his Expressions by John Bispham,¹⁷ if he Returns this fall; but if he should not, Would be obliged to thee to let him know what way else thou thinks he may best send.

(Endorsed, "A Coppey of a Letter from Esther Tuke to Samuel Emlen, Concerning the death of John Woolman."¹⁸)

Esther Tuke wrote another Friend whose name does not appear:

"The state of his mind throughout the whole of his unspeakable affliction was one continued calm; a firm trust in the Lord, with perfect resignation to his disposal, appeared throughout the whole; patient beyond description; his hope and confidence so firmly fixed, that no outward distress seemed to be able to discompose or ruffle him.

I think it a favour we had the privilege of attending him. He could bear but a low voice, nor seldom more than one or two in the room at a time, and mostly without shoes; his head at times being violently bad, he said the lifting up of a door latch, or stepping hard on the floor, was as if we had beat him with hammers; and yet throughout, his understanding was perfect; could bear to speak but little, but when he did, about his nursing or anything needful, it was so expressive, that every word seemed a sentence, and carried frequently deep instruction with it.

The day before he died, his throat was closed up, that he could scarce speak intelligibly, which distressed me much, but he in great measure removed this difficulty by asking for pen and ink, which we got and held the paper, and he wrote the words very legibly, though he was quite blind, and had been so for some days; twice his throat was quite closed, that he could not swallow one drop of anything, and we had the most distressing prospect that he might continue some days in that situation. The Doctor syring'd his throat, but at last

¹ From an original copy in the Scrap-book of Samuel Parrish, entitled "Quakers, Indians and Slavery," p. 293, Hist. Soc. of Penna., Philadelphia. The letter, without the postscript, is given in the Century Edition, Headley Bros. of London, from another copy in Friends' Meeting House, Brighton, England. It was customary to circulate manuscript copies of such letters on meeting or social matters of general interest, and it is possible that other copies still exist.

gave it up the night before he died, and said nothing could be done; but my husband, who will never give up using means as long as there is the least relief, set on to foment, with his consent; and continued it for two hours. He had the great satisfaction to find it open again, and he swallowed better than he had done for some days before, and we were ready to flatter ourselves with hope; but it was of short duration. For though he got a little ease in that respect, yet he was for several hours exceeding bad, and could not lie in bed. Was got up in a chair, and towards morning had on some of his cloaths, and with leaning on two, walked over the room; but wearied out, was laid down again upon the bed, and after some time, fell asleep; waked about the sixth hour, and breathed a few times, and departed without struggle, sigh, or groan.”¹

With the small package sent home to America went the following letter from John Townsend⁶⁴ of London, to Sarah Woolman in Mount Holly:

(No date)

Dear Friend

. Woolman

Feeling my mind drawn towards thee in near love and tender sympathy for thy great loss of so near a bosom friend thy dear husband. The church's loss is great for which the hearts of many are deeply affected and mourn. But thine and children's loss is much greater I trust and believe that gracious hand which called him forth into the harvest field will sanctify and sweeten this bitter cup of which thou hast to drink even to the fulfilling of that gracious promise that all shall work together for good to those who love and fear God.

He lodged at my house when in London. His company and self-denying example were truly profitable to me and family. I doubt not but he has gone to reap the reward of the faithful labourer who loved not the world but was made truly willing to lay down his life in his heavenly master's cause, in that he might be made helpful to any poor soul or souls. He divers times told me that he had not had the small pox, and desired I would tell Friends that was the reason why he did not go to their houses, but if he was spared to return again to this City, he believed he should have liberty to visit them. He frequently said he was resigned to the will of Providence. He was not afraid of the disorder, and if he catch'd it in going to meet-

¹ From the copy in Brighton, England, Meeting House, given in Century Edition, Headley Bros. London, p. 297.

ings and in the way of his duty he should have no cause to reflect upon himself. He left a few things at my house which we have now forwarded by our dear friends Samuel Emlin and Thomas Thornborough who are able to give thee further information of the last days of thy dearly beloved Husband, to whom I refer thee, hoping that Divine providence will be with thee and thine and help you with that helping which maketh truly rich, and adds no sorrow with it. So wisheth and so prayeth thy sincere Friend,

John Townsend.

P.S. I shall be truly glad to hear from thee. Please direct for me, pewterer, in London.”¹

This sketch of one of the most remarkable men of the eighteenth century cannot be more fittingly closed than in the words of John G. Whittier, which occur in a now little read volume of the last century, to which he wrote the introduction:²

“Woolman’s saintliness was wholly unconscious. He seems never to have thought himself any nearer to the tender heart of God than the most miserable sinner to whom his compassion extended. As he did not live, so neither did he die to himself. His prayer upon his deathbed was for others rather than for himself; its beautiful humility and simple trust were marred by no sensual imagery of crowns and harps and golden streets and personal exaltations; but tender and touching concern for suffering humanity, relieved only by the thought of the paternity of God and of his love and omnipotence, alone found utterance in ever memorable words: “O Lord my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered about me, and covered me all over, and *I saw no way to go forth; I felt the depth and extent of the misery of my fellow creatures, separated from the Divine harmony, and it was greater than I could bear*, and I was crushed down under it; I lifted up my hand, I stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me. . . . In the depth of misery, O Lord, I remembered that Thou art omnipotent; that I had called thee Father, and I felt that I loved thee.”

¹ Original in Devonshire House Library, London.

² This passage is found in the introduction to “The Patience of Hope” by Dora Greenwell, published anonymously by Ticknor & Fields in 1863, and introduced to its American publishers through the efforts of the Quaker poet.

I have often felt a sensation of God's presence
experience of the goodness of God, and pursuant
to 16 years of my age I began this work. I was born
in West Jersey in the year of our Lord 1720
when I was seven years old I began to be acquainted with
Divine Love.

Through the care of my Parents I was taught to read and
I was capable of it, and as I went from that one
place to another with my companions used to play, I
went forward out of sight, and sitting down I read the
first chapter of the Revelations. He showed me a vision
that as I stepped, I was out of the throne of God
and in reading it my mind was lifted to see
One Habitation, which I then believed God had prepared
for me. The place where I was at the time that attended
my mind, remains fresh in my memory. This and the like
visions I experienced had their effect upon me, that when boys of
the language it builds me, and through the continuance of
it I have been able to do it. The pious instructions of my
Parents were often fresh in my mind when I happened to
be alone, and was of use to me.

My Parents having a large family of children after frequent
fast days after meeting to put us to read in Holy Scripture
some Religious Books, one after another, the rest being by with
much conversation, which I have often thought was of
great use. I am what I have read, I believe there had been
and are people who walked in upright ways before God
and are living any that I know, a kind of unbroken
impression of their being life standing and firm
even in this age than in past ages, often seen
and

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS

CHAPTER I

1720

I have often felt a motion of Love ¹ to leave some hints of my experience of the Goodness of God: and pursuant thereto, in the 36 year of my age, I begin this work.

I was Born in Northampton, in Burlington county, in West Jersey, in the year of our Lord 1720 ² & before I was seven years old, I began to be acquainted with the operations of Divine Love. Through the care of my Parents, I was taught to Read near as soon as I was capable of it,³ and as I went from School one seventh-day, I remember, while my companions went to play by the way, I went forward out of sight, and seting down, I read the twenty second chapter of the Revelations: "He showed me a pure River of Water of Life, clear as Crystal, proceeding out of the Throne of God and of the Lamb," &c. and in the reading of it, my mind was drawn to seek after that Pure Habitation, which I then believed God had prepared for his servants. The place where I sat, and the sweetness that attended my mind, remain fresh in my memory.⁴

This and the like Gracious Visitations, had that effect upon me, that when boys used ill language, it troubled me, & through the continued Mercies of God, I was preserved from it. The pious instructions of my Parents were often fresh in my mind ⁵ when I happened to be among wicked children, and were of use to me.

My Parents haveing a large family of children, used frequently on first-days after meeting, to put us to read in the Holy

¹ MS. C "a desire."

² MS. B "A. D."

³ MS. C "and it was even then of use to me."

⁴ MS C (erased) "as tho' the time since was much shorter."

⁵ MS. C "The Pious Instructions of Parents I esteem a Great Blessing—their care over me was often fresh in my Mind when I came Amongst wicked Children, And was of use to me,"

Scriptures, or some religious books, one after another, the rest sitting by without much conversation, which I have since often thought was a good practice.¹ From what I had read, I believed there had been in past ages, people who Walked in Uprightness before God in a degree exceeding any that I knew, or heard of, now living: & the Apprehension of their being less Steadiness and firmness amongst people in this age than in past ages, often Troubled me while I was still young.

I had a Dream about the ninth year of my age as follows: I saw the Moon rise near the West, & run a regular course Eastward, so swift that in about a quarter of an hour, she reached our Meridian, when there descended from her a small Cloud on a Direct line to the Earth, which lighted on a pleasant Green about twenty yards from the Door of my Father's House (in which I thought I stood) and was immediately turned into a Beautiful green Tree. The Moon appeared to run on with Equal swiftness, and soon set in the East, at which time the Sun arose at the place where it commonly doth in the Sumer, and Shineing with full Radiance in a Serene air, it appeared as pleasant a morning as ever I saw.

All this time I stood still in the door, in an Awfull frame of mind, and I observed that as heat increased by the Rising Sun, it wrought so powerfully on the little green Tree, that the leaves gradually withered, and before Noon it appear'd dry & dead. There then appeared a Being, Small of Size, moving Swift from the North Southward, called a "*Sun Worm*."

[Tho' I was A Child, this dream was instructive to me.] ²

Another thing remarkable ³ in my childhood was, that once as I went to a neighbour's house, I saw, on the way, a Robbin sitting on her nest, and as I came near she went off, but having young ones, flew about, and with many cries expressed her Concern for them. I stood and threw stones at her, till one striking her, she fell down dead. At first I was pleas'd with the Exploit, but after a few minutes was seized with Horror, as haveing in

¹ MS. C The rest of the paragraph appears in MSS. A & B; not in C.

² MS. C This dream of his childhood, the first of many referred to or described by John Woolman, must have made a strong impression, since it is given in full in all three of the manuscripts, with no change except the omission of the last line in A and B.

³ MS. C "While I was a little boy."

a sportive way kild an Innocent Creature while she was carefull for her young. I beheld her lying dead, & thought those young ones for which she was so carefull must now perish for want of their dam to nourish them; and after some painfull considerations on the subject, I climbed up the Tree, took all the young birds, and killed them supposing that better than to leave them to pine away and die miserably: and believ'd in this case, that scripture proverb was fulfilled, "The tender mercies of the wicked are Cruel." I then went on my errand, but, for some hours, could think of little else but ¹ [the Cruelties I had committed, and was much troubled.]

Thus He whose tender Mercies are over all his works, hath placed that in the Human mind which incites to exercise goodness towards every liveing creature and This being singly attended to, people become tender-hearted and sympathizing; but being frequently & totally rejected, the mind shuts itself up in a Contrary disposition.

About the twelfth year of my age, my Father being abroad, my Mother reproved me for some misconduct, to which I made an Undutifull reply & the next first-day, as I was with my Father returning from Meeting, He told me he understood I had behaved amis to my Mother, and Advised me to be more carefull in future. I knew myself blameable, and in shame and confusion remained silent. Being thus awakened to a sense of my Wickedness, I felt remorse in my mind, and geting home, I retired and prayed to the Lord to forgive me; and I do not remember that I ever after that, spoke unhandsomely to either of my Parents, however foolish in some other things.

Having attained the age of Sixteen, I began to love wanton company: and though I was preserved from profane language or Scandalous conduct, Still I perceived a plant in me which produced much wild grapes. Yet my Merciful Father forsook me not utterly, but at times through his grace I was brought seriously to consider my ways, and the sight of my backsliding affected me with sorrow: but for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of Instruction, Vanity was added to Vanity, and Repentance. Upon

¹ MS. C "My conduct toward the poor old bird, which thoughts were very afflicting—I mention this to Shew how God, the parent of all creatures, hath placed that [MS. B "a principle"] in the Human mind which doth instruct and incite to Exercise Goodness toward All his creatures."

the whole my mind was more and more Alienated from the Truth, and I hastened towards Destruction. While I meditate on the Gulf towards which I traveled, and reflect on my youthful Disobedience, my heart is affected with Sorrow.¹

Advancing in age, the number of my Acquaintance increased, and thereby my way grew more difficult. Though I had heretofore found comfort in reading the Holy Scriptures, and thinking on heavenly things, I was now Estranged therefrom. I knew I was going from the flock of Christ, and had no resolution to return, hence serious reflections were uneasie to me, and Youthfull Vanities and Diversions my greatest pleasure. Runing in this Road I found many like myself, and we associated² in that which is reverse to true Friendship: but in this swift race it pleased God to Visit me with Sickness, so that I doubted of recovering: and then did Darkness, Horror and Amazement, with full force seize me, even when my pain and distress of body was verry great: I thought it would have been better for me never to have had a being, than to see the day which I now saw. I was filled with Confusion, & in great affliction both of mind & body, I lay and bewailed myself.³ [I had not confidence to lift up my cries to God, whom I had thus offended; but in a deep sense of my great folly I was humbled before Him,] & at length that Word which is as a Fire and a Hamer, broke and dissolved my rebellious heart, and then my Cries were put up in contrition, and in the multitude of His mercies I found inward relief, and felt a close Engagemment, that if he was pleased to Restore my health, I might walk Humbly before Him.⁴

After my Recovery, this Exercise remained with me a considerable time,⁵ but, by degrees, giving way to youthfull vanities, they gained strength, and geting with wanton young people I⁶ lost ground. The Lord had been verry Gracious, and Spoke

¹ MSS. B & C "for these things I weep; mine Eye runeth down with Water."

² MSS. B & C "were united."

³ MS. C "my misery:" the rest of sentence, to "at length," is wanting.

⁴ MS. C "I might serve him faithfully."

⁵ MS. C "And I had hopes of Standing."

⁶ MS. C "let go my hold of Gods covenant. He had Spoken peace to me in a time of Bitterness, Yet I now Most Ungratefully turned again to folly. I felt sharp and Cutting Reproofs at times, But did not get low Enough to Cry for help, for I loved Folly to that Degree that I had no resolution to leave it. I was not so hardy as to Comit things Scandalous, but to Exceed in the Art of foolish Jestng, &c."

peace to me in the time of my distress, and I now most ungratefully turned again to folly, on which account, at times, I felt sharp reproof, but did not get low enough to Cry for help. I was not so hardy as to commit things scandalous, but to Exceed in Vanity, and promote myrth, was my chief study. Still I retained a love and esteem for pious people, and their company brought an Awe upon me. My Dear Parents several times Admonished me in the fear of the Lord, and their admonition entered into my heart, & had a good effect for a season, but not geting deep enough to pray rightly, the tempter when he came found entrance.¹ I remember once having spent a part of a day in wantonness, as I went to bed at night, there lay in a window near my bed a Bible, which I opened, and first cast my eye on the Text, "we lie down in our shame, and our confusion covers us." This I knew to be my case, and meeting with so unexpected a reproof, I was somewhat Affected with it, and went to bed under remorse of conscience, which I soon cast off again.

Thus time passed on, my heart was replenished with myrth and wantonness, while pleasing scenes of Vanity were presented to my Imagination,² till I attain'd the age of Eighteen years, near which time I felt the Judgments of God in my soul like a consuming fire, and looking over my past life, the prospect was moving. I was often sad, and longed to be deliver'd from those vanities; then again my heart was Strongly Inclined to them, and there was in me a sore conflict. At times I turned to folly, and then again sorrow and confusion took hold of me. In a while I resolved totally to leave off some of my vanities, but there was a secret reserve in my heart, of the more refined part of them, and I was not low enough to find true peace. Thus for some months, I had great troubles and disquiet, there remaining in me

¹ MS. C "when he came, conquered me."

² MS. C "I most grievously Abused the Mercies of God, Forsaking him who had helped me in my Distress; with Abasement of mind I mention it. Still he Cast me not off utterly. Being turned of Eighteen years I felt a fresh Visitation; And his Judgments in my Soul were like consuming fire. And looking over my past life, the Prospect was moving, I was often Sad and longed to be delivered from those Vanities. Again at times my heart was so strongly Inclined toward them that the conflict was Sharp. Sometimes I turned to my follies, & tho the Lord was near me as A most Righteous Judge, yet I rebelled against him; then I found Sorrow and confusion take hard on me; In a while I resolved to leave of some of my follies; yet as to the more refined part of them, I said in my heart, in this thing the Lord pardon me; which resolve Spoiled All my Religion"—

an unsubjected will, which rendered my labours fruitless, till at length, through the Mercifull continuance of Heavenly Visitations, I was made to bow down in Spirit before the Most High. I remember ¹ one evening I had spent some time in reading a pious author, and walking out a lone, I humbly prayed to the Lord for his help, that I might be delivered from those vanities which so ensnared me. . . .² Thus being brought low he helped me, and as I learned to bear the Cross, I felt refreshment to come from his Presence: but not keeping in that Strength which gave victory I lost ground again, The sense of which greatly afflicted me and I sought Desarts and lonely places, and there with tears did confess my Sins to God, and humbly craved help of HIM, and I may say with Reverence he was near to me in my troubles, and in those times of Humiliation opened my ear to Discipline.

I was now led to look seriously at the means by which I was drawn from the pure Truth, and I learned this. That if I would live in the life which the Faithful servants of God lived in, I must not go into company as heretofore in my own will, but all the cravings of Sense must be governed by a Divine principle. In times of sorrow and abasement these Instructions were sealed upon me, and I felt the power of Christ prevail over all selfish desires, so that I was preserved in a good degree of steadiness, and being young and believing at that time that a single life was best for me, I was strengthened to keep from such company as had often been a snare to me.

I kept steady to meetings, spent first-days in the afternoon chiefly in reading the scriptures and other good Books, and was early convinced in my mind that true Religion consisted in an inward life, wherein the Heart doth Love and Reverence God the Creator, and learn to Exercise true Justice and Goodness, not only toward all men, but also toward the Brute Creatures. That as the mind was moved by an inward Principle to Love God as an invisible, Incomprehensible Being, by the same principle it was moved to love him in all his manifestations in the Visible world. That as by his breath the flame of life was kindled in all Animal and Sensible creatures, to say we Love God as unseen,

¹ MS. C "And now I come to a Winter Evening which to me is Memorable."

² MS. C "I found help in my distress, and through faith, Mountains were removed."

and at the same time Exercise cruelty toward the least creature moving by his life, or by life derived from Him, was a Contradiction in itself.

I found no narrowness respecting Sects and Opinions, but believe that sincere upright-hearted people, in Every society who truly love God were accepted of HIM.

As I lived under the Cross, and simply followed the openings of Truth, my mind from day to day was more Enlightened, my former acquaintance were left to judge of me as they would, for I found it safest for me to live in private and keep these things sealed up in my own breast. While I silently ponder on that change which was wrought in me, I find no language equal to it, nor any means to convey to another a clear idea of it. I looked upon the works of God in this Visible Creation, and an awfullness covered me: my heart was tender and often contrite, and a universal Love to my fellow Creatures increased in me. This will be understood by such who have troden in the same path.

Some glances of Real beauty is percieveble in their faces, who dwell in true meekness. Some tincture of true Harmony in the sound of that voice to which Divine Love gives utterance, & Some appearance of right order in their temper and Conduct, whose passions are fully regulated, yet all these do not fully show forth that inward life to such who have not felt it; but this white stone and new name is known rightly to such only who have it.

Now tho' I had been thus Strengthened to bear the Cross, I still found myself in great danger, having many weaknesses Attending me, and strong Temptations to wrestle with, in the feeling whereof I frequently withdrew into private places, and often with tears besought the Lord to help me, whose gracious ear was open to my cry.

All this time I lived with my Parents, and wrought on the plantation, and having had schooling pretty well for a planter, I used to improve winter evenings, and other leisure times, and being now in the Twenty first year of my age, a man in much business at Shopkeeping and Baking, asked me if I would hire with him to tend Shop and keep books. I¹ acquainted my Father with the proposal, and, after some deliberation it was agreed for

¹ MS. C "told my Father of the offer."

me to go. [I had for a considerable time found my mind less given to Husbandry than heretofore, having often in view some other way of living.¹]

At home I had lived retired, and now having a prospect of being much in the way of company, I felt frequent and fervent Cries in my heart to God the Father of Mercies, that he would preserve me from all Taint & Corruption. That in this more public Employ, I might serve Him my Gracious Redeemer, in that Humility and self Denial with which I had been in a small degree exercised in a verry private life.

The man who employed me furnished a Shop in Mountholly, about five miles from my Father's house & Six from his own and there I lived alone, & tended his Shop. Shortly after my settlement here, I was visited by several young people, my former acquaintances, who knew not but vanities would be as agreeable to me now as ever,² [and at these times I cryed unto the Lord in Secret for wisdom and Strength,] for I felt myself Encompassed with difficulties, and had fresh Ocasion to bewail the follies of time past, in contracting a familiarity with a Libertine people. And as I had now left my Fathers house outwardly, I found my Heavenly Father to be mercifull to me beyond what I can express.

By day I was much among people, and had many tryals to go through, but in evenings I was mostly alone, and may with thankfulness acknowledge, that in those times the Spirit of Supplication was often poured upon me,³ . . . under which I was frequently exercised, and felt my Strength renewed.

[In a few months after I came here, my Master bought several Scotch men-servants, from on board a Vessel, and brought them to Mountholly to sell & having sold several the rest were left with me,] ⁴ one of which was taken sick, & died. The latter part of his sickness, he, being delirious, used to curse and Swear most sorrowfully, and after he was buried, I was left to sleep alone the next night in the same chamber where he died. I perceived in me a Timorousness: I knew however I had not

¹ MS. C This sentence occurs in MSS. A and C, but is wanting in B.

² MS. C "At these times I looked to the Lord for help, for I felt myself very weak."

³ MS. C "And I called upon the name of the Lord, the Everlasting God."

⁴ MS. C This sentence is found in MSS. A & C; not in B.

injured the man, but had assisted in taking care of him according to my capacity, and I was not free to ask any one, on that [occasion,]¹ to sleep with me: nature was feble, but every tryal was a fresh incitement to give myself up wholly to the service of God, for I found no helper like Him in times of Trouble.

After a while my former Acquaintance gave over Expecting me as one of their company, and I began to be known to some whose conversation was helpful to me. And now, as I had Experienced the Love of God, through Jesus Christ, to Redeem me from many polutions, and to be a constant succour to me through a Sea of conflicts, with which no person was fully acquainted, and as my heart was often enlarged in this Heavenly Principle, so I felt a tender compassion for the youth² who remain'd entangled in the same snares which had entangled me. From one month to another, this Love & tenderness increased,³ [and my mind was more strongly engaged for the good of my fellow-creatures.] I went to meetings in an awfull frame of mind, and endeavoured to be inwardly acquainted with the language of the True Shepherd, and one day . . .⁴ being under a Strong Exercise of Spirit, I stood up, and said some words in a meeting, but not keeping close to the [Divine opening,]⁵ I said more than was required of me & being soon sensible of my error, I was afflicted in mind some weeks, without any light or comfort, even to that degree that I could take satisfaction in nothing. I remembered God, and was troubled and in the depth of my distress he had pittty upon me, and sent the Comforter. I then felt forgiveness for my offence, and my mind became calm and quiet, being truly thankfull to my Gracious Redeemer for his mercies. And after this, feeling the spring of Divine Love opened, and a Concern to Speak, I said a few words in meeting in which I found peace; this I believe was about six weeks from the first time, and as I was thus humbled and disciplined under the Cross, my understanding became more strengthened to distinguish the language of the pure Spirit which inwardly moves upon the [heart,]⁶ and

¹ MS. C "Account."

² MS. C "young people."

³ MS. C "and I found it too strong and forcible to be much longer Confined to my own breast."

⁴ MS. C "till one day, feeling the Word of the Lord in my heart."

⁵ MS. C "True Opener."

⁶ MS. C "Intellectual 'deep,'"

taught me to wait in Silence sometimes many weeks together, until I felt that rise which prepares the creature to Stand like a Trumpet, through which the Lord Speaks to his [flock.] ¹

From an inward purifying, and stedfast abideing under it, springs a lively operative desire for the good of others. All faithful people are not called to the publick ministry but whoever are called to it, are called to minister of that which they have tasted and handled spiritually. The outward modes of worship are various, but wheresoever [men] are true Ministers of Jesus Christ, it is from the operation of his Spirit upon their hearts, first purifying them, and thus giving them a [feeling] sense of the conditions of others. This truth was early fixed in my mind, and I was taught to watch the pure opening, and to take heed least while I was standing to speak, my own will should get upermost, and cause me to utter words from worldly wisdom, and depart from the Chancel of the true Gospel Ministry.

In the management of my outward affairs I may say with thankfulness I found Truth to be my Support, and I was respected in my Masters Family who came to live in Mountholly within two years after my ² going there [1742.] . . .

About the twenty third year of my age I had many fresh and heavenly openings, in respect to the care and providence of the Almighty over his creatures in general, and over man as the most noble amongst those which are visible, and Being clearly convinced in my Judgment that to place my whole trust in God was best for me, I felt renewed engagements that in all things I might act on an inward principle of Virtue, and pursue worldly business no further than as Truth open'd my way therein.

About the time called Christmas I observed many people from the Country, and dwellers in Town, who resorting to publick houses, spent their time in drinking and vain sports, tending to corrupt one another, on which account I was much troubled. At one house in particular there was [much disorder,] ³ and I believed it was a duty laid on me to go and speak to the master

¹ MS. C "people."

² MS. C "As my mind was often inward, Meditateing on God's Providence, Manifested in the Visible world, I was more and more Confirmed in my Judgment that to place my whole trust in him was best for me, and laboured from one month to Another to come into that condition of Trusting in God with all my heart, and not to lean to my own understanding."

³ MS. C "uncomon Reveling."

of that house. I considered I was young, and that several Elderly friends in Town had opportunity to See these things, and though I would [gladly] ¹ have been excused, yet I could not feel my mind clear. The Exercise was heavy, and as I was Reading what the Almighty Said to Ezekiel, respecting his duty as a watchman, the matter was set home more clearly, and then with prayer and tears, I besought the Lord for his Assistance, who in loving kindness gave me a Resigned heart. Then at a suitable Opportunity, I went to the publick house, and Seeing the man amongst a company, I went to him and told him I wanted to speak with him, so we went aside, and there in the Fear and dread of the Almighty I Express to him what rested on my mind, which he took kindly, and afterward showed more regard to me than before. In a few years after he died, middle-aged, and I often thought that had I neglected my duty in that case, it would have given me great trouble and I was humbly thankfull to my Gracious Father.² [who had supported me therein.]

My Employer having a Negro woman sold her, and directed me to write a bill of Sale, The man being waiting who had bought her. The thing was Sudden, and though the thoughts of writing an Instrument of Slavery for one of my fellow creatures felt uneasie, yet I remembered I was hired by the year; that it was my master who [directed] ³ me to do it, and that it was an Elderly man, a member of our society who bought her, so through weakness I gave way, and wrote it, but at the Executing it I was so Afflicted in my mind, that I said before my Master and the friend, that I believed Slavekeeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian Religion: this in some degree abated my uneasiness, yet as often as I reflected seriously upon it I thought I should have been clearer, if I had desired to be Excused from it, as a thing against my conscience, for such it was. [And] some time after this a young man of our Society, spake to me to write [an instrument of Slavery], he having lately taken a Negro into his house. I told him I was not easie to write it, for though many [people] kept slaves in our society as in others, I still believed the practice was not right, and desired to be excused from

¹ MS. C "feign."

² MS. C "that by his aid I had discharged what he lay'd upon me. Within a year after my Coming to Mountholly, my Master——"

³ MS. C "bid."

doing the writing. I spoke to him in good will, and he told me, that keeping slaves was not altogether agreeable to his mind, but that the slave being a gift made to his wife, he had accepted of her. . . .¹

¹ MS. C "from some of her friends, and so we parted."

CHAPTER II

1743

My Esteemed Friend Abraham Farrington,¹⁹ being about to make a Visit to Friends¹ on the Eastern side of this Province, and having no companion he proposed to me to go with him, and after a conference with some Elderly friends, . . .² I agreed to da mo

go so we set off on the 25. 9. 1743; had an Evening Meeting at a Tavern in Brunswick, a Town in which none of our society dwelt. The room was full, & the people quiet. Thence to Amboy, and had an Evening meeting in the Court-house, to which came many people, amongst whom were several Members of Assembly, they [being]³ in that town on the publick affairs of the Province. In both these meetings my Antient Companion was Enlarged in the Love of the Gospel. Thence we⁴ were at Woodbridge, Rahway, Plainfield and had six or seven⁵ other meetings in places where Friends meetings are not Usually held, being made up chiefly of Presbyterians & my beloved companion was frequently Strengthened to hold forth the word of life amongst them. As for me I was frequently Silent through the meetings, and when I spake, it was with much care, that I might speak only what Truth opened; my mind was often tender, and I learned some profitable lessons; we were out about two weeks.

[Near⁶ this time being on some outward business in which several families were concerned, and which was attended with difficulties, some things relating thereto not being clearly stated, nor rightly understood by all, there arose some heat in the minds of the parties, and one valuable friend got off his watch. I had

¹ i.e. to preach. [Ed.]

² MS. C has an erasure, probably of the names.

³ MS. C "then Siting there."

⁴ MS. C "to Woodbridge and thereaway."

⁵ MS. C "twelve."

⁶ MS. C This entire paragraph is wanting.

a great regard for him, & felt a Strong inclination after matters were settled to speak to him concerning his conduct in that case; but I being a youth, and he far advanced in age and Experience, my way appeared verry difficult, but after some days deliberation, and inward seeking to the Lord for assistance, I was made subject, so that I Expressed what lay upon me in a way which became my youth and his years: and though it was a hard task to me, it was well taken, and I believe was usefull to us both.]

Having now been several years with my Employer, and he doing less at Merchandize than heretofore, [I was thoughtfull of some other way of business,]¹ perceiving Merchandize to be attended with much cumber, in the way of trading in these parts.

My mind through the power of Truth was in a good degree weaned from the desire of outward greatness, and I was learning to be content with real conveniencies that were not costly; so that a way of life free from much Entanglements, appeared best for me, tho' the income was small. I had several offers of business that appeared profitable, but saw not my way clear to accept of them, as believing the business proposed would be attended with more outward care & cumber than was required of me to engage in. I saw that a humble man, with the Blessing of the Lord, might live on a little, and that where the heart was set on greatness, success in business did not satisfie the craving; but that comonly with an increase of wealth, the desire for wealth increased. There was a care on my mind so to pass my time, as to things outward, that nothing might hinder me from the most steady attention to the voice of the True Shepherd.

[My Employer though now a Retailer of goods, was by trade a Taylor, and kept a servant man at that business, and I began to think about learning the trade,]² Expecting that if I should settle I might by this trade and a little retailing of goods get a liveing in a plain way without the load of great business. I mentioned it to my Employer and we soon agreed on terms, and then when I had leisure from the affairs of merchandize I worked with his man. I believed the hand of Providence pointed out this business for me, and was taught to be content with it,

¹ MS. C "what way I should take for a living In Case I should settle"—(i.e. marry).

² MS. C "My business in the Shop growing Slack, it came to my mind to learn the Taylor's trade."

though ¹ [I felt at times a disposition that would have sought for something greater.] But through the revelation of Jesus Christ, I had seen the happiness of Humility, and there was an earnest desire in me to enter deep into it, and at times this desire arose to a degree of fervent Supplication, wherein my Soul was so environed with Heavenly Light and Consolation, that things were made easie to me which had been otherwise.

In the year []² my Employer's wife died. She was a virtuous Woman, and Generally beloved of her neighbours, and soon after this he left off shop-keeping and we parted. I then wrought at my trade as a Taylor, carefully attended meetings for worship and discipline, and found an Enlargement of Gospel Love in my mind, and therein a concern to visit friends in some of the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia, & being thoughtfull about a Companion I exprest it to my beloved Friend Isaac Andrews,³ who then told me that he had drawings there, and also to go through Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. After considerable time pass't, and Several conferences with him, I felt easie to accompany him throughout if way opened for it. I opened the case in our Monthly Meeting, . . .³ and Friends Expressing there unity therewith, we obtained Certificates to travel as Companions, his from Haddonfield, and mine from Burlington.

da mo

We left our own province on the 12. 3. 1746. had several meetings in the uper part of Chester County, and near Lancaster, in some of which the Love of Christ prevailed, uniting us together in his service. Thence we crossed the River Susquehannah, and had several meetings in a new settlement, called Red Lands, the oldest of which did not exceed ten years. It is the poorer sort of people that comonly begin to improve remote Deserts: with a small stock they have houses to build, Lands to clear and fence, Corn to raise, Clothes to provide, and Children to Educate. That Friends who visit such may well sympathize with them in their hardships in the wilderness. [And though ⁴ the best entertain-

¹ MS. C "it was reverse to the creaturely will."

² A blank is left in MS. for date. There is no clue as to the master's name.

³ MS. C "exactly as it was."

⁴ MS. C "But to Express uneasiness at Coarse Entertainment, when in Good will they give us their Best, does not become the Disciples of Christ."

ment such can give, may Seem coarse to some who are Used to Cities or old Settled places, it becomes the Disciples of Christ to be content with it.] Our hearts were sometimes enlarged in the love of our Heavenly Father amongst these people, and the sweet Influence of his Spirit supported us through some difficulties. To Him be the praise.

We passed on to Manocquacy, Fairfax, Hopewell, and Shenando,¹ and had meetings, some of which were comfortable and Edefying. From Shanando we set of in the afternoon for the old Settlements of Friends in Virginia, and the first night we with our pilot lodged in the woods, our horses feeding near us, but he being poorly provided with a horse, and we young and having good horses, were free the next day to part with him and did so, . . .² in two days [besides the first afternoon] we reached to our friend John Cheadles,³ in Virginia.

We took the meetings in our way thro' Virginia; were, in some degree, baptized into a feeling sense of the conditions of the people,³ [& our Exercise in general was more painfull] in these old Settlements, than it had been amongst the back inhabitants. But through the Goodness of our Heavenly Father, the well of Living Waters was at times opened to Our Encouragement, and the refreshment of the sincere hearted. We went on to Perquimans River in North Carolina, had several meetings which were large, and found some openness in those parts, and a hopefull appearance amongst the young people. So we turned again to Virginia, and attended most of the meetings which we had not been at before, Labouring amongst Friends in the Love of Jesus Christ, as ability was given: and thence went to the Mountains, up James River to a new settlement, and had several Meetings amongst the people,⁴ [some of whom had lately joined in membership to our society.]

In our Journeying to and fro, we found some honest-hearted friends, who appeared to be concerned for the Cause of Truth among a backsliding people. We crossed from Virginia, over

¹ Shenandoah.

² MS. C "Once in a while, we met with a house and Enquired, And for our Money took such refreshment as the people had."

³ MS. C "The pure Lamb-like Nature of Jesus Christ being too much departed from by many of them; and our Exercise in genrall was Somewhat painfull."

⁴ MS. C "some of whom had professed our way but A short time."

the river Patowmac,¹ at Hoe's ferry, and made a general Visit to the meetings of Friends on the Western Shore of Maryland and were at their Quarterly meeting. . . .² We had some hard Labour amongst them, Endeavouring to discharge our duty honestly as way opened in the Love of Truth, and thence taking sundry meetings in our way, we passed homeward, where, through
da mo

the Favour of Divine Providence we reached y^e 16. 6. 1746. And I may say that through the assistance of the Holy Spirit which mortifies selfish desires, my Companion and I traveled in harmony and parted in the nearness of True Brotherly Love.— [We Travelled, by estimation, fifteen hundred miles and were out three months and four days.]³

Two things were remarkable to me in this journey. First, in regard to my Entertainment. When I eat drank and lodged free-cost with people who lived in Ease on the hard toyl of their slaves I felt uneasie, and as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found, from place to place, this uneasiness return upon me at times through the whole visit. Where the masters bore a good share of the burthen, and lived frugally, so that their Servants were well provided for, and their labour moderate, I felt more easie; but where they lived in a costly way, and laid heavy burthens on their Slaves, my exercise was often great, and I frequently had conversation with them in private concerning it. Secondly, This trade of importing [them]⁴ from [their native country]⁵ being much Encouraged amongst them, and the white people and their children so generally liveing without much labour was frequently the subject of my serious thought, and I Saw in these Southern Provinces, so many Vices and Corruptions increased by this trade and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess hanging over the Land, and though now many willingly run into it, yet in future the Consequence will be grievous to posterity. I express it as it hath appeared to me, not at once, nor twice, but as a matter fixed on my mind.

Soon after my return home I felt an increasing concern for

¹ Potomac.

² MS. C "At Herrin(g) Creek."

³ MS. B This sentence omitted.

⁴ Slaves.

⁵ MS. C Guinea.

da mo

Friends on our Sea coast, and on the 8. 8. 1746, with the Unity of Friends, and in Company with my beloved Friend and Neighbour Peter Andrews,¹⁷ Brother to my before mentioned companion, we set forward and Visited the meetings generally about Salem, Cape May, Great and Little Egg Harbor, and had meetings at Barneget, Manahockin, and Squan,¹ and so to the Yearly Meeting at Shrewsberry. Through the goodness of the Lord way was opened, . . .² and the Strength of Divine Love was sometimes felt in our assemblies, to the Comfort and help of those who were rightly concerned before Him. We were out twenty-two days, and rode by Computation 340 mile. [At Shrewsberry³ Yearly Meeting, we met with our Dear Friends Michael Lightfoot⁷⁷ and Abraham Farrington,¹⁹ who had good service in that great Assembly.]

The winter following died my Eldest Sister, Elizabeth Woolman,¹² Jun^r of the small-pox, aged 31 years. She was from her youth of a thoughtful disposition and very compassionate to her acquaintances in their Sickness or distress, being ready to help as far as she could. She was dutifull to her parents, one instance whereof follows. It happened that she and two of her Sisters, being then near the Estate of young women, had an inclination one first-day after meeting to go on a visit to some other young women at some distance off, whose company I believe would have done them no good. They expresst their desire to our Parents, who were dissatisfied with the proposal, and stoped them. The same day as my Sisters and I were together, & they talking about their disappointment, Elizabeth expressed her Contentment under it, as believing it was for their good. . . .⁴

A few years after she attained to mature age, through the Gracious Visitations of God, she was Strengthened to live a self-denying, exemplary life, giving herself much to reading and meditation.

¹ Manasquan.

² MS. C "in the Meetings, to the comfort of them who fear And Serve God."

³ MS. B Not in C.

⁴ MS. C "Elizabeth expressed her Satisfaction In being put by, as believing it to be best for them, Adding this Ryme—

Such as thy companions be,
So will people think of thee."

The following letter may ¹ [show in some degree] her disposition.

da mo

"Haddonfield, 1. 11. 1743.

Beloved brother John Woolman

In that Love which desires the welfare of all men I write unto
da mo

thee I rec'd thine, dated 2. 10. last with which I was comforted. My spirit is bowed with thankfulness that I should be remembered, who am unworthy, but the Lord is full of Mercy, and his goodness is Extended to the meanest of his creation, therefore, in his Infinite Love, he hath pitied and Spared, and Shewed Mercy, that I have not been cut of nor quite lost; but at times I am refreshed & comforted as it were with the glimpse of his presence, which is more to the Immortal part than all which this world can afford. So with desires for thy preservation with my own I remain thy affectionate sister

ELIZ. WOOLMAN, Junr."

The fore part of her illness she was in great Sadness and dejection of mind, of which she told one of her Intimate friends, & said, When I was a young girl I was wanton & airy, but I thought I had thoroughly repented for it; and added, I have of late had great satisfaction in meetings. Though she was thus disconsolate, still she retained a hope, which was as an anchor to her, and some time after the same friend came again to see her, to whom she mentioned her former Expressions, & said It is otherwise now, for the Lord hath rewarded me seven fold, and I am unable to express the Greatness of his love manifested to me. Her disorder appearing dangerous, and our mother being sorrowfull she took notice of it, & said, Dear mother, weep not for mee; I go to my God, and many times with an audible voice uttered praise to her Redeemer.

A Friend comeing some miles to see her the morning before she died, asked her how she did; she answered, I have had a hard night, but shall not have another such, for I shall die, & it will be well with my soul & accordingly died the Next Evening.

The following Ejaculations were found amongst her writings; wrote I believe at four times:

¹ MS. C "give the Reader some Idea of."

1. Oh that my head were as waters & mine eyes as a fountain of Tears, that I might weep day & night untill acquainted with my God.
 2. O Lord that I may enjoy thy presence, or else my time is Lost, & my life a Snare to my Soul.
 3. O Lord that I may receive bread from thy Table, and that thy Grace may abound in me.
 4. O Lord that I may be acquainted with thy presence, that I may be Seasoned with thy Salt, that thy grace may abound in me.
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Of late I found drawings in my mind to Visit Friends in New England and thereaway; and having an Oportunity of joyning in company with my Beloved Friend Peter Andrews,¹⁷ we having obtained certificates from our Monthly Meeting set

da mo

forward on y^e 16. 3. 1747 and reached the Yearly Meeting at Long Island at which were our Friends, Samuel Nottingham⁷⁸ from England, John Griffith,⁷⁹ Jane Hoskins,⁸⁰ and Elizabeth Hudson⁸¹ from Pennsylvania, and Jacob Andrews⁸² from Chesterfield, several of whom were favoured in their public exercise, & through the goodness of the Lord we had some Edefying meetings. After this Samuel, John and Jacob went toward Rhode Island, and my companion and I visited [the Meetings of] Friends on Long Island, and through the mercies of God we were helped in the work. Besides going to the settled meetings of Friends, we were at a General Meeting at Setocket,¹ chiefly made up of other Societies, and had a meeting at Oyster Bay, in a Dwelling house at which were many people: At the first of which there was not much said by way of Testimony, but it was I believe a good meeting at the latter through the springing up of Living waters it was a day to be thankfully remembred. Having visited the Island we went over to the main, taking meetings in our way to Oblong, Nine Partners, and New Millford.

In these back settlements we met with several people, who, through the immediate workings of the spirit of Christ in their minds, were drawn from the vanities of the world, to an inward acquaintance with Him. They were Educated in the way of the presbeterians.²

¹ Setauket, L. I.

² MS. C ends at this point. It contains forty-eight quarto pages, and in style has the freshness and vivacity of the younger man.

A considerable number of y^e youth, members of that society, were used often to spend their time together in merriment, and some of the principal young men of that company being Visited by the powerful workings of the Spirit of Christ, and thereby led humbly to take up His cross, could no longer joyn in those vanities: and as these stood steadfast to that inward convincement, they were made a blessing to some of their former companions, so that through the power of Truth several were brought into a close Exercise concerning the Eternal well being of their Souls: these young people continued for a time to frequent their public worship, and besides that had meetings of their own, which meetings were a while allowed by their preacher, who sometimes met with them, but in time their judgment in matters of religion disagreeing with some of the Articles of the presbeterians, their meetings were disapproved by that society; and such of them who stood firm to their duty as it was inwardly manifested, had many difficulties to go through. Their meetings were in a while dropped, some of them returning to the presbeterians, and others of them after a time joyned to our Religious Society. I had conversation with some of the latter, to my help and Edefication, and believe several of them are acquainted with the nature of that worship which is performed in Spirit and in Truth.

From hence accompanied by Amos Powel,⁸³ a Friend from Long Island, we rode through the Colony of Connecticut, chiefly inhabited by Presbeterians, who were generally civil to us, so far as I saw: and after three days rideing, we came amongst friends in the Colony of Rhode Island. We visited Friends in and about Newport and Dartmouth, and the meetings generally in those parts, and then to Boston and proceeded Eastward as far as Dover, and then returned to Newport, and not far from thence, met our Friend Thomas Gawthrop⁸⁴ from England, who was on a visit to these parts. From Newport we Sailed to Nantucket; was there near a week, and from thence came over to Dartmoth, and having finished our Visit in these parts, we crossed the Sound from New London to the East end of Long Island, and taking some meetings on the Island, proceeded homeward; where we
da mo

reached the 13. 7. 1747 having rode about 1500 and sailed 150. In this journey I may say in general we were sometimes in much

weakness, and laboured under discouragement, & at other times through the renewed manifestations of Divine Love we had seasons of Refreshment wherein the power of Truth prevailed.

We were taught by renewed experience to labour for an inward stillness; at no time to seek for words, but to live in the Spirit of Truth, and utter that to the people which Truth opened in us. My beloved Companion and I belonged both to one Meeting, came forth in the ministry near the same time,¹ and were inwardly united in the work. He was about thirteen years older than I, bore the heaviest burthen, and appear'd to be an instrument of the greatest use.

Finding some concern to visit Friends in the lower Counties on Delaware, and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and having an opportunity to joyn with my Antient Well beloved friend John
da mo

Sykes,⁸⁵ we obtained certificates and set of the 7. 8. 1748; were at the meetings of Friends in the lower Counties,² attended the Yearly Meeting at Little Creek, and made a visit to chief of the meetings on the Eastern Shore, and so home by the way of Nottingham, we were abroad about six weeks and rode by computation about 550 miles.

Our exercise at times was heavy but through the goodness of the Lord we were often refreshed, and I may say by experience, "He is a Strong Hold in the day of trouble." Though our Society in these parts appeared to me to be in a declining condition, yet I believe the Lord hath a people amongst them, who labour to serve him in uprightness but have many defeculties to encounter.

¹ Burlington M. M. of Ministers and Elders has a minute dated "27th day of 6mo. [August] 1743," recognizing them both in the ministry. There is no record at Dover of this visit, nor of the later one in 1760.

² Of Pennsylvania—i.e., Newcastle, Kent and Sussex, now the state of Delaware.



Residence of John Woolman, Mount Holly, N. J. From a sepia drawing in Collection of Samuel Parrish.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Photograph by C. S. Bradford.

CHAPTER III

1749

[About this time believing it good for me to settle¹ and thinking seriously about a Companion, my heart was turned to the Lord with desires that He would give me Wisdom to proceed therein agreeable to his Will, and he was pleased to give me a well enclined Damsel, Sarah Ellis,²⁵ to whom I was married
da mo

y^e 18: 8: 1749.]

In the fall of the year 1750 died my father Samuel Woolman¹¹ with a fever aged about Sixty years.

In his life time he manifested much care for us his children, that in our youth we might learn to fear the Lord, often endeavouring to imprint in our minds the true principles of virtue, & was particularly concerned to cherish in us a spirit of mercy and tenderness, not only towards poor people, but also towards all creatures of which we had the command.

After my return from Carolina in 1746, I made some observations on keeping Slaves, which I had some time before shewed him, and he perused the manuscript, proposed a few alterations, and appeared well satisfied that I found a concern on that account, and in his last sickness, as I was watching with him one night, he being so far spent that there was no expectation of his Recovery, but had the perfect use of his understanding, he asked me concerning the manuscript, whether I expected soon to offer it to the Overseers of the press: and after some conversation thereupon he said, "I have all along been deeply Affected with the Oppression of the poor Negroes; and now at last my concern for them is as great as ever."

By his direction I had wrote his will in a time of health, & he

¹ MS. B This paragraph on his marriage only appears in the final folio, MS. A, and is wanting altogether in B, where it has been supplied on a blank leaf in a later hand, probably that of Samuel Comfort.

that night desired me to read it to him, which I did; and he said it was agreeable to his mind, he then made mention of his end, which he believed was now near; and signified, that tho' he was sensible of many imperfections in the course of his life, yet his Experience of the power of Truth, and the Love & Goodness of God from Time to Time even till now was such, that he had no doubt but that in leaving this life, he should enter into a life more happy.

The next day his Sister Elizabeth¹⁰ came to see him & told him of the decease of his sister Anne^{10a} who died a few days before, he then said, I reckon sister Anne was free to leave this world. Elizabeth said she was. He then said, I also am free to leave it; and being then in great weakness of body he said in a Solemn maner, I shall shortly go to rest. He continued in a weighty frame of mind, and was sensible till near the last.

da mo

2. 9. 1751 feeling an Openness in my mind to Visit Friends at the great Meadows, in the uper part of this Province, with the unity of our monthly meeting, I went there, and had some searching laborious Exercise amongst the inhabitants of that place, but found inward peace therein;¹ [was out nine days, & rode about 170 miles.]

mo

In the 9, 1753, in company with my well Esteemed Friend John Sykes,⁸⁵ and with the unity of Friends, we traveled about two weeks visiting the meetings of Friends in Bucks county. We laboured in the Love of the Gospel, according to the measure received, and through the mercies of Him who is strength to the poor that trust in Him, we found satisfaction in our visit: and in the ensuing winter way opening to visit Friends' families within the Compass of our monthly meeting, partly by the labours of two friends from Pennsylvania, I joyned some in it, having had a desire some years to see it go forward.

About this time a person at some distance lying sick, his brother came to me to write his will. I knew he had Slaves; and asking his Brother, was told he intended to leave them slaves to his children. As writing is a profitable employ; as offending sober people is a disagreeable task to me, I was straitened in my mind;

¹ MS. B Next sentence omitted.

but as I looked to the Lord, he Enclined my heart to his Testimony, and I told the man, that I believed the practice of continuing slavery to these people was not Right; and had a scruple in my mind against doing writings of that kind: That though many of our society kept them slaves, still I was not easie to be concerned with it, and desired to be excused from going to write the Will. I spake to him in the fear of the Lord, and he made no reply to what I said, but went away: he himself had some concerns in the practice, and I thought he was displeased with me. In this case I had a fresh confirmation, that acting contrary to present outward interest, from a ¹ [motive of Divine love, and in] regard to Truth and Righteousness, and thereby incurring the resentments of people, opens the way to a treasure which is better than silver, and to a friendship Exceeding the friendship of men.

da mo

[On y^e 7 2 1754 at Night I dreamed that I was walking in an Orchard, it appear'd to be about the middle of the afternoon; when on a Sudden I saw two lights in the East, resembling two Suns, but of a dull & gloomy Aspect: the one appeared about the highth of the Sun at three hours high, and the other more northward, and one third lower. In a few Minutes the air in the East appeared to be mingled with Fire, & like a Terrible Storm comeing Westward, the Streams of Fire reached the Orchard where I stood, but I felt no harm. I then found one of my Acquaintance Standing near me, who was greatly distressed in mind at this unusual appearance. My mind felt calm, and I said to my Friend, *we must all once die, and if it please the Lord that our Death be in this Way, it's good for us to be resigned.*

Then I walked to a House hard by [at a small distance] and going upstairs saw People with sad and troubled Aspects, amongst whom I passed into another Room, where the floor was only some loose Boards, there I sat down alone by a Window, and looking out, I saw in the South three great Red Streams, standing at Equal distance from each other, the Bottom of which appear'd

¹ Erasure in MS. A. A memorandum on back of index leaf of John Woolman's
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large Account Book reads, "Negro James bound 2 1 1754 to Serve 21 years, that is
da mo
till 2 1 1775."

to stand on the Earth and the top to reach above the region of the Clouds: Across Those Three Streams went less ones, and from each end of such small Stream, others pointing¹ in regular lines to the Earth, all red—and appear'd to extend through the whole Southern Firmament, like the Figure²

There then appear'd on a Green plain a great Multitude of Men in a Military posture, some of whom I knew: they came near the House and passing on Westward, Some of them looking up at me, Exprest themselves in a Scoffing, Taunting way, to which I made no reply. Soon after, an old Captain of Militia came to me, and I was told that these Men were assembled to Improve in the Discipline of War.]

The manuscript before mentioned having lain by me several years, The publication of it rested weightily upon me, and this year I offered it to the Overseers of the press, who having examined and made some small alterations in it, ordered a number of Copies thereof to be published by the Yearly Meeting stock, and dispersed amongst friends.

In the year 1754, I found my mind drawn to joyn in a Visit to Friends' families belonging to Chesterfield monthly meeting, and having the approbation of our own, I went to their monthly meeting³ [in order to confer with Friends, and see if way opened for it.] I had conference with some of their members the proposal having been opened before in their meeting, and one friend agreed to join as a companion for a beginning: but when meeting was ended, I felt great distress of mind, and doubted what to take, or whether to go home and wait for greater clearness. I kept my distress secret; and, going with a friend to his house, my desires were to the great Shepherd for his Heavenly Instruction, and in the morning I felt easie to proceed on the visit, being very

¹ MS. B "Extended."

² MS. A Figure drawn. In margin of Folio A, p. 29, where diagram is given, are the words, "I do not want this figure printed. John Woolman." There is no question that in this case, as in that of his other dreams, he fully intended the text to be printed, the omission of the figure accompanying the present dream being evidently because of its rough drawing, or possibly because he might very characteristically think it occupied too much space. The erasure of the text of this dream is in ink of other and later manufacture, and is undoubtedly the work of the first Committee of Editorship, in 1774. MS. B, where the text is also entire, contains a memorandum in handwriting of Samuel Comfort, (top of page 67) "*Leave this Dream out in Printing.*"

³ Inserted over an erasure in MS. A.

low in my mind: and as my eye was turned to the Lord, waiting in families in deep reverence before him, He was pleased Graciously to afford help, so that he had many comfortable Opportunities, and it appeared as a fresh visitation to some young people. I spent Several weeks this winter in the Service part of which time was employed near home. And again in the following winter I was Several weeks in the same service, part of which time I spent at Shrewsbury, in Company with my Friend John Sykes,⁸⁵ and have cause humbly to acknowledge, that through the goodness of the Lord our hearts were at times, Enlarged in his Love, and strength was given to go through the trials which in the course of our visit attended us.

From a disagreement between the powers of England and France it was now a time of Trouble on this Continent; and an Epistle went forth as follows, which I thought good to give a place in this journal.

An EPISTLE¹ from our general spring meeting, &c., 1755.

To Friends on the continent of America.

Dear Friends

In an humble sense of Divine Goodness, & the gracious continuation of God's love to his people, we tenderly Salute you, and are at this time therein Engaged in mind, that all of us who profess the Truth as held for & published by our worthy predecessors in this latter age of the world, may keep near to that Life which is the Light of men, & be strengthened to hold fast the profession of our Faith without wavering. That our trust may not be in man, but in the Lord alone, Who Ruleth in the Army of Heaven, and in the Kingdom of men, before whom the Earth is as the dust of the balance, and her Inhabitants as grasshoppers. Isa. xl. 22.

We (being convinced that the gracious design of the Almighty in sending his Son into the world, was to repair the breach made by Disobedience, to finish sin & transgression, that his Kingdom might

¹ Erased, in MS. A, p. 32, (the only one which gives the text of this Epistle), is the following:—"It came upon me to write an Epistle to Friends; which I took to our General Spring Meeting and passed to some Elderly Friends to have it inspected & signed by a number of the Brethren, on behalf of the meeting, which, with some amendments, was agreed to & is as follows"——. The authorship is thus established. John Woolman wrote other official publications. This was the Meeting for Ministers and Elders of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, held at that place, 20th of 3 mo. to 1st of 4 mo. inclusive, 1755. The *original MS.* & signatures of these fourteen Friends is in the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library, J. Smith's MSS., Vol. VIII—The printer's memorandum is on back, "50 lines to page." This was the first Yearly Meeting after the defeat of Gen. Braddock, July 9, 1754.

come, and his will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven) have found it to be our duty to cease from those National Contests productive of Misery & bloodshed, and submit our cause to Him the Most High, whose tender Love to his Children exceeds the most warm Affections of Natural Parents, and who hath promised to his Seed throughout the Earth, as to one individual, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." Heb. xiii. 5. And as we, through the Gracious dealings of the Lord our God, have had Experience of that work which is carried on, "not by Earthly might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts," Zech. iv. 6; By which operation that Spiritual Kingdom is set up which is to subdue and break in pieces all Kingdoms that oppose it, and shall stand for ever. In a deep sense thereof, and of the safety, Stability and peace there is in it, we are desirous that all who profess the Truth may be inwardly acquainted with it and thereby be qualified to conduct in all parts of our life as becomes our peaceable profession. And we trust, as there is a faithfull continuance to depend wholly upon the Almighty Arm from one generation to another the peaceable kingdom will gradually be extended from Sea to Sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth," Zech. ix. 10; to the completion of those profesies already begun, that Nation shall not lift up Sword against nation nor learn war any more. Isa. ii. 4. Micah. iv. 3.

And, dearly beloved Friends, seeing we have these promises, and believe that God is beginning to fulfil them, let us constantly endeavour to have our minds sufficiently disentangled from the surfeiting cares of this life and redeemed from the Love of the world that no earthly possessions nor Enjoyments may byas our judgments or turn us from that resignation, and entire trust in God, to which his blessing is most surely annexed: then may we say, Our Redeemer is Mighty, he will plead our cause for us. Jer. i. 34. And if for the further promoting his most gracious purposes in the Earth he should give us to taiste of that bitter cup which his faithfull ones have often partook of, O that we may be rightly prepared to receive it!

And now, dear Friends, with respect to the Commotions and Stirrings of the powers of the earth at this time near us, we are desirous that none of us may be moved thereat; "but repose ourselves in the munition of that rock that all these shakings shall not move, even in the knowledge and feeling of the Eternal power of God, keeping us Subjectly given up to his Heavenly Will and feel it daily to mortify that which remains in any of us which is of this world for the worldly part in any is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyfull and sorrowfull, as things go well or ill in this world. For as the Truth is but one and many are made

partakers of its spirit, so the world is but one and many are made partakers of the Spirit of it: & so many as do partake of it, so many will be straitened and perplexed with it. But they who are "single to the Truth, waiting daily to feel the life and Virtue of it in their hearts, these shall rejoice in the midst of Adversity,"¹ and have to experience with the profet, that though the fig-tree shall not blossom neither shall fruit be in the vines, The labour of the Olive shall fail, & the fields shall yield no meat; The flock shall be cut off from the fold and there shall be no herd in the stall yet will they rejoyce in the Lord and Joy in the God of their Salvation." Hab. iii. 17, 18.

If contrary to this we profess the Truth & not living under the power and influence of it, are producing fruits disagreeable to the purity thereof, and trust to the strength of man to Support ourselves therein, our confidence will be vain, for He, who removed the Hedge from his vinyard, and gave it to be trodden under foot by reason of the wild grapes it produced remains unchangible: and if, for the chastisement of wickedness and the further promoting his own Glory He doth arise even to shake terribly the earth, who then may oppose him, & prosper!

We remain in the Love of the gospel your friends and brethren.

Signed in and on behalf of our said meeting, by

JACOB HOWELI,¹
JAMES BARTRAM,
JOSEPH WHITE,
JOHN SCARBOROUGH,
JOHN WOOLMAN,
JOSIAH FOSTER,
JOSEPH TOMLINSON,

JOHN EVANS,
MORDECAI YARNALL,
DANIEL STANTON,
JOHN CHURCHMAN,
WILLIAM MORRIS,
ISAAC ANDREWS,
SAMUEL ABBOTT.²

Scrupeling to do writings relative to keeping slaves, having been a means of sundry small tryals to me, in which I have so evidently felt my own will set aside that I think it good to mention a few of them.

Tradesmen and retailers of goods who depend on their business for a livelihood, are naturally inclined to keep the good will of their customers; nor is it a pleasant thing for young men to be under any necessity to question the Judgment or honesty of elderly men, and such more especially who have a good character. Deep rooted customs though wrong are not easily altered, but it

¹ Stephen Crisp's Epistle. [Note by John Woolman.]

² See Biog. Note, 112.

is the duty of every man to be firm in that which he certainly knows is right for him.

A Charitable, benevolent man, well acquainted with a negro may, I believe, under some circumstances, keep him in his family as a servant, on no other motive than the Negro's good: but man, as man, knows not what shall be after him, nor hath he any assurance that his children will attain to that perfection in wisdom and goodness necessary to every Absolute governor. Hence it is clear to me that I ought not to be the scribe where wills are drawn in which some children are made absolute masters over others during life.

About this time an Antient man of good esteem in the neighbourhood, came to my house to get his will wrote; he had young negroes, and I asking him privately how he purposed to dispose of them, he told me. I then said, I cannot write thy will without breaking my own peace, and respectfully gave him my reasons for it. He signified that he had a choice that I should have wrote it, but as I could not consistent with my conscience he did not desire it and so he got it wrote by some other person, and a few years after, [passing over time to finish the relation,] there being great alterations in his family, he came again to get me to write his will. His negroes were yet young, and his son to whom he intended to give them, was since he first spoke to me, from a Libertine become a sober young man, and he supposed that I would have been free on that account to write it. We had much friendly talk on the subject, and then defer'd it, and a few days after he came again and directed their freedom and so I wrote his Will.

Near the time the last mentioned friend first spoke to me, a neighbour received a bad bruise in his body, and sent for me to bleed him, which being done he desired me to write his will. I took notes and amongst other things he told me to which of his children he gave his young Negro woman. I considered the pain and distress he was in, and knew not how it would end, so I wrote his Will save only that part concerning his Slave, and, carrying it to his bed-side read it to him, and then told him in a friendly way, that I could not write any Instruments by which my fellow creatures were made slaves without bringing trouble on my own mind. I let him know that I charged nothing for what I had done, and desired to be Excused from doing the other part in the way he

propos'd. Then we had a serious conference on the Subject, and at length he agreeing to set her free I finished his will.

Having¹ found drawings in my mind to visit friends on Long Island, after having obtained a certificate from our Monthly da mo

Meeting I set of y^e 12. 5. 1756. When I reached the island, I lodged the first night at the house of my Dear Friend Richard Hallet:⁸⁶ the next day being the first of the week I was at their meeting at Newtown in which though small, we had experience of the renewed manifestation of the love of Jesus Christ to the comfort of the honest hearted. I went that night to flushing, & the next day in company with my Beloved Friend Matthew Franklin⁸⁷ we crossed the ferry at White Stone, were at three meetings on that side the water, & then came on to the island,² where I spent the Remainder of the week in Visiting meetings. The Lord I believe hath a people in those parts who are honestly concerned to Serve him, But many I fear are too much cloged with the things of this life, and do not come forward bearing the cross in such faithfulness as the Almighty calls for.

My mind was deeply Engaged in this visit, both in public and private; and at several places where I was, on observing that they had Slaves, I found myself under a necessity in a friendly way to labour with them on that Subject, Expressing as way opened, the inconsistency of that practice with the purity of the Christian Religion, and the ill Effects of it manifested amongst us.

The latter end of the week their Yearly Meeting began at which were our friends John Scarborow,^{88 3} Jane Hoskins,⁸⁹ and Susannah Brown,⁸⁹ from Pennsylvania, the public meetings were large,⁴ [and measurably favoured with Divine goodness.]

The exercise of my mind at this meeting was chiefly on account of those who were considered as the foremost rank in the Society, and in a meeting of Ministers and Elders way opened that I exprest in some measure what lay upon me. And at a time when friends were met for transacting the publick business, We seting

¹ A note by Woolman at this point in MS. A, foot of page 36, reads, "N. B. Visit to Long Island comes in here before mention is made of leaving Merchandise." This is done.

² i.e. returned to Long Island. [Ed.]

³ John Scarborough.

⁴ MS. B only.

a while silent, I felt a weight on my mind and stood up; and through the Gracious condescension of our Heavenly Father, Strength was given fully to clear my mind of a burthen which for some days had been increasing upon me.

Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence men are sometimes fitted for His service. The messages of the Prophet Jeremiah were so disagreeable to the people, and so reverse to the Spirit they lived in, that he became the Object of their reproach, and in the weakness of nature thought to desist from his prophetick office; but, saith he, *His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay.* I saw at this time, that if I was honest to declare that which Truth opened in me I could not please all men, and laboured to be content in the way of my duty, however disagreeable to my own inclinations.

After this I went homeward taking Woodbridge and Plainfield in my way; in both which Meetings, the pure Influence of Divine Love was manifested, in humbling sense whereof I went home; having been out 24 days, and rode about 316 miles.

While I was out on this Journey my heart was deeply affected with a Sense of the State of the Churches in our Southern Provinces, and believing the LORD¹ was calling me to some further Labour amongst them, I was bowed in Reverence before HIM, with fervent desires that I might find Strength to resign myself up to HIS HEAVENLY Will.

Until the year 1756, I continued to retail goods,² besides following my trade as a Taylor; about which time I grew uneasy on account of my business growing too cumbersome. I began with selling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to Sell cloaths and linens, and at length having got a considerable shop of goods, my trade increased every year, and the road to large business appeared open: but I felt a Stop in my mind.

Through the Mercies of the Almighty I had in a good degree learned to be content with a plain way of living. I had but a small family [my outward Affairs had been prosperous]³ and,

¹ MS. B. In this earlier MS. the words *God, Almighty, Lord*, or pronouns referring to him, are frequently capitalized throughout.

² This is the point, indicated by J. W., in MS. A, in which he inserted the visit to Long Island.

³ MS. B. erased.

on serious reflection I believed Truth did not require me to engage in much cumbering affairs. It had generally been my practice to buy and sell things really usefull. Things that served chiefly to please the vain mind in people, I was not easie to trade in; seldom did it, and whenever I did, I found it weaken me as a Christian.

The increase of business became my burthen, for though my natural inclination was towards merchandize, yet I believed Truth required me to live more free from outward cumber. There was now a strife in my mind betwixt the two, and in this exercise my prayers were put up to the Lord, who Graciously heard me, and gave me a heart resigned to his Holy will; I then lessened my outward business; and as I had opportunity told my customers of my intention that they might consider what shop to turn to: and so in a while, wholly laid down merchandize, following my trade as a Taylor, myself only, having no prentice. I also had a nursery of Apple trees, in which I spent a good deal of time, howing, grafting, trimming & Inoculating.

In merchandize it is the custom, where I lived, to sell chiefly on credit; and poor people often get in debt, & when payment is expected haveing not wherewith to pay, & so their creditors often sue for it at Law: having often observed occurrences of this kind, I found it good for me to advise poor people to take such as were most useful & not costly.

In the time of trading I had an opportunity of seeing that a too liberal use of Spirituous liquors, and the Custom of wearing too costly apparel, led some people into great inconveniences: and these two things appear to be often connected one with the other; for by not attending to that use of things which is consistent with Universal Righteousness, there is a [necessary] increase of Labour which extends beyond what our Heavenly Father intends for us: and by great labour, and often by much sweting in the heat there is, even among such who are not drunkards, a craving of some liquor to revive the spirits: That partly by the wanton, Luxurious drinking of some, and partly by the drinking of others, led to it through immoderate labour, verry great quantities of Rum are annually expended in our Colonies, of which we should have no need, did we steadily Attend to pure Wisdom.

Where men take pleasure in feeling their minds elevated with strong drink, and so indulge this appetite as to disorder their understanding, neglect their duty as members in a family or civil society, and cast off all pretence to Religion, their case is much to be pittied; And where such whose lives are for the most part regular, and whose Examples have a strong influence on the minds of others, Adhere to some customs which powerfully draw toward the use of More strong liquor than pure wisdom [directeth the Use of,] this allso, as it hinders the spreading of the Spirit of meekness, and Strengthens the hands of the more Excessive drinkers, is a case to be lamented.

As [the least] degree of luxury hath some connection with evil, for those who profess to be disciples of Christ, and are looked upon as leaders of the people, to have that mind in them which was also in Him, & so stand separate from every wrong way, is a means of help to the weaker. As I have sometimes been much spent in the heat, and taken spirits to revive me, I have found by Experience that the mind is not so calm in such circumstances, nor so fitly disposed for Divine meditation, as when all such extreams are avoided; and I have felt an increasing Care to attend to that Holy Spirit which sets right bounds to our desires, and leads those who faithfully follow it to apply all the gifts of Divine Providence to the purposes for which they were intended. Did such who have the care of great Estates, attend with singleness of heart to this Heavenly Instructor, which so opens and enlarges the mind that Men love their neighbours as themselves, They would have wisdom given them to manage, without ever finding occasion to employ some people in the Luxuries of life, or to make it necessary for others to labour too hard: But for want of regarding steadily this Principle of Divine love, a selfish Spirit takes place in the minds of people, which is attended with darkness & manifold confusions in the world.

[In the Course of my Tradeing, being somewhat affected ¹ at the Various Law Suits about collecting Money which I saw going forward; On aplying to a Constable, he gave me a List of his proceedings for one year as follows; to wit.

Served 267 Warrants, 103 Summonses, and 17 Executions! As to Writs Served by the Sheriff, I got no account of them.

¹ MS. B *Troubled*.

I once had a Warrant for an Idle Man, who I believed was about to run away, which was the only time I applied to the Law to recover Money.] ¹

Through trading in things Usefull is an honest employ, yet through the great number of Superfluities which are commonly bought and sold, and through the corruptions of the times, they who apply to merchandize for a living, have great need to be well experienced in that precept which the prophet Jeremiah laid down for Baruc, his scribe: "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not."

The winter 1756 I was [several times out] with Friends in visiting families: and through the goodness of the Lord, we had oftentimes Experience of his heartendering presence among us.

A Copy of a letter wrote to a friend.²

In this thy late affliction I've found a deep fellow-feeling with thee, and had a secret hope throughout that it might please the Father of Mercies to raise thee up & Sanctifie thy troubles to thee, that thou being more fully acquainted with that way which the world esteems foolish may feel the Cloathing of Divine Fortitude, and be strengthened to Resist that spirit which leads from the Simplicity of the Everlasting Truth.

We may see ourselves cripled and halting, & from a strong bias to things pleasant and easie, find an Impossibility to advance forward: but things Impossible with men are possible with God; and our wills being made Subject to his, all temptations are Surmountable.

This work of Subjecting the will, is compared to the mineral in the furnace, which through fervent heat is reduced from its first principle. "He refines them as silver is refined; He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver." By these Comparisons we are instructed in the necessity of the melting Operation of the hand of God upon us, to prepare our hearts truly to adore Him, and manifest that adoration by inwardly turning away from that Spirit in all its workings which is not of Him. To forward this work, the allwise God is sometimes pleased, through outward distress, to bring us near the gates of Death; That life being painful & afflicting, and the prospect of Eternity open before us, all earthly bonds may be loos-

¹ MS. A, p. 39. Also given in B, p. 91. This incident has always been omitted, following the Committee of 1774, in First Edition. It gains interest by being the only occasion on which we have any account of John Woolman going to law.

² MS. A. There is no clue to the identity of this Friend. In all probability it was one of the brothers Pemberton,³,⁴,⁵ or possibly, John Smith.¹⁶

ened, and the mind prepared for that deep and Sacred Instruction, which otherwise would not be received.

If kind parents love their children and delight in their happiness, then He who is perfect goodness in sending abroad mortal Contagions, doth Assuredly direct their use. Are the righteous removed by it? their change is happy: Are the wicked taken away in their wickedness? the Almighty is clear. Do we pass through it with anguish and great bitterness, & yet recover? he intends that we should be purged from dross, and our ear opened to discipline.

And now on thy part, after thy Sore Affliction and doubts of recovery, thou art again restored; forget not Him who hath helped thee, but in humble gratitude hold fast his instructions, thereby to shun those by paths which leads from the firm foundation. I am Sensible of that variety of Company, to which one in thy business must be Exposed. I have painfully felt the force of Conversation proceeding from men deeply rooted in an Earthly mind, and can sympathize with others in Such Conflicts, in that much weakness still attends me. I find that to be a fool as to worldly wisdom, & commit my cause to God not fearing to offend men who take offence at the Simplicity of Truth, is the only way to remain unmoved at the Sentiments of others.

The fear of man brings a snare: by halting in our duty, & giveing back in the time of tryal, our hands grow weaker, our Spirits get mingled with the people, our ears grow dull as to hearing the language of the True Shepherd; that when we look at the way of the Righteous, it seems as though it was not for us to follow them.

There is a love Cloaths my mind while I write, which is superior to all Expressions, & I find my heart open to encourage to a holy Emulation to advance forward in Christian firmness. Deep Humility is a Strong Bulwark; & as we enter into it, we find safety and true Exaltation: The foolishness of God is wiser than man, and the weakness of God is Stronger than man. Being unclothed of our own wisdom, and knowing the Abasement of the creature, therein we find that power to arise, which gives health and Vigor to us.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

CHAPTER IV

1757

da mo

The 13 2, 1757 being then in good health and abroad with Friends visiting families, I lodged at a Friends house in Burlington, & going to bed about the time usual with me, I awoke in the night and my meditations as I lay were on the goodness & Mercy of the Lord, in a-sense whereof my heart was contrite; after this I went to sleep again, & sleeping a short time, I awoke. It was yet dark and no appearance of day nor moonshine, and as I opened my eyes I saw a light in the chamber at the apparent distance of [about] five feet, about nine inches diameter, of a clear easie brightness, and near the center the most radiant. As I lay still without any surprise looking upon it, words were spoken to my inward ear which filled my whole inward man: They were not the effect of thought, nor any conclusion in relation to the appearance, But as the language of the Holy One Spoken in my mind: the words were *Certain Evidence of Divine Truth*, and were again repeated exactly in the same maner, whereupon the light disappeared.

Feeling an exercise in relation to a visit to the Southern parts to increase upon me, I acquainted our monthly meeting therewith, and Obtained their Certificate. Expecting to go alone one of my brothers,¹ who lived in Philadelphia, having some business in North Carolina, propos'd going with me part of the way. But as he had a view of some outward affairs, to Accept of him as a companion seemed some difficulty with me; whereupon I had conversation with him at sundry times, and at length, feeling easie in my mind I had conversation with several Elderly Friends of Philadelphia on the Subject, and he obtaining a Certificate Sutm.

able to the ocasion, we set of 5. 1757; and fell in at Nottingham

¹ Uriah Woolman.¹⁰

week-day meeting and lodged at John Churchmans⁸⁸: here I met with our Friend Benjamin Buffington,⁹⁰ from New England, who was returning from a Visit to the Southern provinces. Thence we crossed the river Susquehannah, and lodged at William Coxs⁹¹ in Maryland, and soon after I entered this province, a deep and painfull Exercise came upon me, which I had often had some feeling of since my mind was drawn toward these parts, and with which I Acquainted my Brother before we agreed to joyn as companions.

As the people in this and the southern provinces, live much on the labour of Slaves, many of whom are used hardly, my concern was, that I might attend with singleness of heart to the Voice of the True Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for Friends on a visit to have Entertainment free cost, a difficulty arose in my mind with respect to saving my own money by kindness received, which to me appeared to be the gain of Opression.

Receiving a gift, considered as a gift, brings the receiver under Obligations to the Benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the Obligated into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind, and to preserve the minds of Judges from any bias, was that Divine Prohibition "Thou shalt not receive any gift, for a gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the Righteous." Exod. xxiii. 8. As the Disciples were sent forth without any Provision for their Journey, and our Lord said, the workman is worthy of his meat, Their labour in the Gospel was considered as a reward for their Entertainment, and therefore not received as a gift: yet in regard to my present Journey I could not see my way clear in that respect—the odds appeared thus: The entertainment the disciples met with, was from such whose hearts God had opened to receive them, from a Love to them, and the Truth which they published: But we, considered as members of the same society, look upon it as a piece of Civility to receive each other in such visits, and Such reception, at times, is partly in regard to reputation, and not from an inward Unity of heart and Spirit.

Conduct is more convincing than language; and where people by their actions manifest that the Slave trade is not so disagree-

able to their principles but that it may be encouraged, there is not a Sound uniting with some Friends who Visit them.

The prospect of so weighty a work & being so distinguished from many whom I Esteemed before myself, brought me verry low, & Such were the conflicts of my Soul, that I had a near sympathy with the profet in the time of his weakness, when he said "If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee out of hand if I have found favour in thy Sight," but I soon saw that this proceeded from the want of a full resignation to Him. Many were the afflictions which attended me and in great Abasement, with many tears, my Cries were to the Almighty for his Gracious and Fatherly assistance, and then, after a Time of Deep Tryals I was favoured to understand the state mentioned by the psalmist more clearly than ever I had before, to wit: "My Soul is even as a weaned child."

Being thus helped to sink down into Resignation I felt a deliverance from that Tempest in which I had been sorely Exercised, and in Calmness of mind went forward Trusting that the Lord Jesus Christ, as I faithfully attended to Him, would be a Councillor to me in all Difficulties, and that by his Strength I should be enabled even to leave money with the members of Society where I had Entertainment, when I found that omiting of it would Obstruct that work to which I believed he had called me. And as I copy this after my return [from that Journey] I may here add, that oftentimes I did so, Under a sense of duty. The Manner in which I did it was thus: when I expected soon to leave a Friend's house where I had Entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of Oppression without leaving some money, I spoke to One of the heads of the Family privately, and desired them to accept of them pieces of Silver, and give them to such of their Negroes as they believ'd would make the best use of them; And at other times, I gave them to the Negroes myself, [according] as the way looked clearest to me. As I expected this before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces [of silver] and thus offering them to Some who appeared to be wealthy people was a tryal both to me and them: But the [Exercise of my mind was Such and the] fear of the Lord so covered me at times, that way was made easier than I expected,

and few, if any, manifested any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some [little] talk, accepted of them.

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The 7. 5. 1757, lodged at a Friend's house: and the next day, being first day of the week was at Patapscoe meeting [after which we] crossed Patuxent River, and lodged at a public house [at the head of Severn]. 9th. Breakfasted at a Friend's house, who afterward, putting us a little on our way, I had conversation with him, in the fear of the Lord, concerning his Slaves, in which my heart was tender, and I used much plainness of Speech with Him, which he appeared to take kindly. We pursued our Journey without appointing meetings, being pressed in my mind to be at the Yearly Meeting in Virginia, and in my Traveling on the Road, I often felt language rise from the Centre of my mind, thus, O Lord! I am a Stranger in the Earth, hide not thy face from me.

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11. 5., we Crossed the Rivers Patowmock ¹ and Rapahannock, and lodged at Port Royal, and on the way, we happening in Company with a Colonel of the Militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man, I took occasion to remark on the odds in general betwixt a people used to labour moderately for their living, training up their Children in frugality and business, And those who live on the labour of Slaves, The former in my view being the most happy life: with which he concurr'd, and mentioned the trouble arising from the untoward Slothful disposition of the Negroes, adding, that one of our labourers would do as much in a day as two of their slaves. I replied that free men whose minds were properly on their business found a Satisfaction in Improving, Cultivating, and providing for their families, But Negroes, labouring to support others, who claim them as their property and Expecting nothing but Slavery during life, had not the like inducement to be industrious. After some further conversation, I said that men having power too often misapplied it. That though we made Slaves of the Negroes, and the Turks made Slaves of the Christians, I however believed that Liberty was the Natural right of all men equally which he did not deny; but said the lives of the negroes were so wretched in their own Country, that many of them lived better here than there. I only said there's great odds

¹ Potomac.

in regard to us, on what principle we act and so the conversation on that head ended. And I may here add, that another person, some time afterward mentioned the wretchedness of the Negroes occasioned by their intestine wars, as an argument in favour of our fetching them away for Slaves: to which I then replied, If compassion to the Africans, in regard to their domestick troubles, were the real motives of our purchasing them, That spirit of Sympathy being Attended to, would Incite us to use them kindly, that as Strangers brought out of Affliction, their lives might be happy amongst us, And as they are Human creatures, whose Souls are as precious as ours, and who may receive the same help & Comfort from the Holy Scriptures as we do, we could not omit sutable Endeavours to instruct them therein.

But while we manifest by our conduct, that our views in purchasing them are to advance ourselves, and while our buying Captives taken in war, animates those parties to push on that war, and increce Desolations amongst them, To say they live unhappy in Africa is far from being an argument in our favour and I further said, the present circumstances of these provinces to me appear difficult, That the slaves look like a burthensome Stone to such who burthen themselves with them, and that if the white people retain a resolution to prefer their outward prospects of gain to all other Considerations, and do not act Conscientiously toward them as fellow Creatures, I believe that burthen will grow heavier and heavier, till times change in a way disagreeable to us. At which the person appeared verry serious and acknowledged that in considering their condition, and the maner of their treatment in these provinces, he had Sometimes thought it might be just in the Almighty so to order it.

Having thus traveled through Maryland,¹ we came among
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Friends at Cedar Creek in Virginia on the 12. 5. and the next day rode in Company with Several Friends a days Journey to Camp Creek and as I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a Sense I had of the want of Divine Aid to Support me in the various difficulties which attended me, and in an uncommon distress of Spirit, I cried in Secret to the Most High, O Lord! be mercifull I beseech thee, to thy poor Afflicted

¹ MS. B "On a direct line."

creature. After some time I felt inward relief, and soon after a Friend in company began to talk in Support of the Slave Trade, and said the Negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackness being the mark God set upon him after he murdered Abel his brother That it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the race of so wicked a man as Cain was: then another spake in support of what had been said. To all which, I replied That Noah and his Family were all who survived the Flood, according to scripture, and as Noah was of Seths Race, the Family of Cain was wholly destroyed. One of them said that after the Flood Ham went to the Land of Nod, and took a wife that Nod was a land far distant, Inhabited by Cains race, and that the flood did not reach it, and as Ham was Sentenced to be a Servant of Servants to his Brethren, these two families being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for Slaves. I replied, the Flood was a Judgment upon the World for their abominations; and it was granted that Cains stock was the most wicked, and therefore unreasonable to suppose they were Spared. As to Hams going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be Inhabited by some of Noahs family, before Ham married a Second time. Moreover the Text saith [Expressly] that all flesh died that moved upon the earth. [Genesis vii. 21.] I further reminded them, how the prophets repeatedly declared "that the son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father, but every one be answerable for his own sins." I was troubled to perceive the darkness of their Imaginations, and in some pressure of spirit said, The love of ease and gain are the motives in general of keeping Slaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to Support a cause which is unreasonable, and added, I've no interest on either side, Save only the Interest which I desire to have in the Truth, and as I believe Liberty is their right, and see they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other respects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He who is a Refuge for y^e Opress'd, will in his own time plead their cause, and happy will it be for Such who walk in uprightness before him, & Thus our conversation ended.

da mo

14. 5. was at Camp Creek monthly meeting and then rode to the mountains up James river, and had a meeting at a Friends

House, in both which I felt sorrow of heart, and my tears were poured out before the Lord, who was pleased to afford a degree of Strength by which way opened to clear my mind amongst Friends in those places. From thence I went to fork Creek, and so to Cedar Creek again at which place I had a meeting. here I found a tender seed, and as I was preserved in the ministry to keep low with the Truth, the Same Truth in their hearts answered it, that it was a time of Mutual refreshment from the presence of the Lord. I lodged at James Standleys,⁹² father of William Standley,⁹² one of the young men who suffered imprisonment at Winchester last Summer on account of their Testimony against Fighting, and I had some satisfactory conversation with him concerning it. Hence I went to the Swamp meeting, and to Wayneoak meeting and then crossed James river, and lodged near Burleigh.

From the time of my Entering Maryland I have been much under sorrow, which of late so increased upon me, that my mind was almost overwhelmed, and I may say with the psalmist, "In my distress I called upon the Lord, and Cryed to my God;" who, in Infinite Goodness looked upon my affliction and in my private retirement sent the Comforter for my relief, for which I humbly bless his Holy name.

The sense I had of the state of the churches, brought a weight of distress upon me, The gold to me appear'd dim, and the fine gold changed, and tho' this is the case too generally, yet the sense of it in these parts hath, in a particular maner, born heavy upon me. It appeared to me, that through the prevailing of the spirit of this world, the minds of many were brought into an inward desolation, and instead of the Spirit of Meekness, Gentleness, and Heavenly Wisdom, which are the necessary Companions of the true Sheep of Christ, a Spirit of fierceness, and the love of dominion too generally prevailed.

From small beginnings in error great buildings by degrees are raised, and from one age to another, are more and more Strengthened by the general Concurrence of the people: and as men of Reputation depart from the Truth, their [virtues] are mentioned as arguments in favour of general error; and those of less note to justify themselves say, such and such good men did the like. By what other steps could the people of Judah arise

to that high in Wickedness, as to give just ground for the prophet Isaiah to declare in the name of the Lord, that *none* called for justice, nor pleaded for truth Or for the Almighty to call upon the Great City Jerusalem, just before the Babilonish Captivity, [to] find a man who Executed Judgment, that Sought the Truth, and he would pardon it. The prospect of a Road lying open to the same degeneracy, in some parts of this Newly Settled Land of America, in respect to our Conduct toward the Negroes, hath deeply bowed my mind in this journey, and though to briefly relate how these people are treated is no agreeable work, after often reading over the notes I made as I traveled, I find my mind Engaged to preserve them.

Many of the white people in those provinces take little or no care of Negro marriages, and when Negroes marry after their own way, Some make so little account of those marriages that with views of outward interest, they often part men from their wives by selling them far asunder; which is Common when estates are sold by Exc.^{rs} at Vendue. [Many whose labour is heavy being follow'd by a man with a whip, hired for that purpose, have in common little else allowed but Indian corn and salt, with a few potatoes; the potatoes they commonly raise by their labour on the first day of the week.]¹ The correction ensuing on their disobedience to overseers, or Sloathfulness in business, is often verry severe, and sometimes desperate.

Men and women have many times scarce cloathes enough to hide their nakedness, and boys and girls, ten and twelve years old, are often stark naked amongst their master's children. Some of our Society, and some of the Society called New Lights, use some endeavours to instruct those they have in reading; but in common this is not only neglected, but disapproved. These are a people by whose labour the other inhabitants are in a great measure Supported and many of them in the Luxuries of Life. These are a people who have made no agreement to serve us, and have not forfeited their Liberty that we know of. These are souls for whom Christ died and for our conduct toward them, we must answer before that Almighty Being who is no respecter of persons.

¹ MS. B is followed in this sentence. A reads—"Many whose labour is heavy, being followed by a man with a Whip, hired for that purpose, having in common little else to eat but Indian corn & salt with some few potatoes."

They who know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent and are thus Acquainted with the Merciful, Benevolent, Gospel Spirit, will therein perceive that y^e Indignation of God is Kindled against Oppression & Cruelty, and in beholding the great distress of so numerous a people, will find cause for mourning.

From my lodgings, I went to Burleigh meeting, where I felt my mind drawn into a quiet resigned state, and after long Silence, I felt an Engagement to stand up, and through the powerful operation of Divine Love, we were favoured with an Edifying Meeting. Next we had meeting at Black Water and so to the Yearly Meeting at the Western Branch. When business began some queries were produced by some of their members to be now considered and if approved to be answered hereafter by their respective monthly meetings. They were the Pennsylvania queries which had been Examined by a Committee of Virginia Yearly Meeting appointed the last year, who made some alterations in them, one of which alterations was made in favour of a custom which troubled me. The query was, "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them after imported?" which they altered thus: "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them to trade in?" As one query admitted with unanimity was, "Are you concerned in buying or vending goods unlawfully Imported, or prize goods?" I found my mind engaged to say, that as we professed the Truth, and were there assembled to support the testimony of it, it was necessary for us to dwell deep and act in that wisdom which is pure, or otherwise we could not prosper. I then mentioned their alteration, & referring [them] to the last mentioned query, added, as purchasing any merchandize taken by the sword, was always allowed to be inconsistent with our Principles, Negroes being Captives of war, or taken by stealth, those circumstances make it inconsistent with our Testimony to buy them; and their being our fellow creatures, who are sold as slaves, adds greatly to the [difficulty]. Friends appear'd attentive to what was said. Some expresst a care and Concern about their Negroes none made any objection, by way of [answer] to what I said, but the query was admitted as they had altered it.

As some of their members have heretofore [been concerned in trading] in Negroes as in other merchandize, This query being

admitted will be one step further than they have heretofore gone, and I did not see it my duty to press for an alteration, but felt easie to leave it all to Him, who alone is able to turn the hearts of the Mighty, and make way for the Spreading of Truth in the Earth, by means agreeable to his Infinite Wisdom. But in regard to those they already had, I felt my mind engaged to Labour with them, and said, That as we believe the scriptures were given forth by Holy men as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and many of us know by Experience that they are often helpful & Comfortable, and believe ourselves bound in duty to teach our Children to read them, I believe that if we were divested of all selfish views, the same good Spirit that gave them forth, would engage us to [learn them] to read, that they might have the benefit of them. Some [I perceived] amongst them who, at that time, manifested a concern in regard to taking more care of the Education of their Negroes.

da mo st

29. 5., and 1 of the week, in the house where I lodged was
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a meeting of Ministers and Elders, at the 9 hour in the morning: at which meeting I found an Engagement to Speak freely and plainly to them concerning their [Negroes]; mentioning [As it opened on my mind] how they as the first rank in the Society, whose Conduct in that case was much noticed by others, were under the Stronger Obligations to look carefully to themselves, expressing how needful it was for them in that situation to be thoroughly divested of selfish views. That living in the pure Truth, and acting conscientiously toward those people, in their education and otherwise, they might be instrumental in helping forward a work so Exceeding necessary, and so much neglected

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amongst them. At the 12 hour the meeting of worship began which was a Solid meeting.

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The 30, about the 10 hour, Friends met to finish their business, and then the meeting for worship Ensued, which to me was a Laborious time, But through the Goodness of the Lord Truth I believe gained some ground, and it was a Strengthening opportunity to the honest-hearted.

About this time I wrote an epistle to Friends in the Back Settlements of North Carolina, as follows:

*To Friends at their monthly meeting at New Garden
and [Kain]¹ Creek, in North Carolina.*

Dear Friends

It having pleased the Lord to draw me forth on a visit to some parts of Virginia and Carolina, you have often been in my mind; and though my way is not clear to come in person to Visit you, yet I feel it in my heart to communicate a few things, as they Arise in the Love of truth.

First my Dear Friends, dwell in Humility, and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you, that so your eyes being Single to the Lord, you may be preserved in the way of safety. Where people let loose their minds after the Love of outward things, and are more Engaged in pursuing the profits, and seeking the friendships of this world, than to be inwardly acquainted with the way of true peace, Such walk in a vain shadow, while the True Comfort of life is wanting. Their examples are [many times] hurtfull to others, and their treasures, thus collected, do often prove dangerous Snares to their children. But where people are Sincerely devoted to follow Christ, and dwell under the influence of his Holy Spirit, their Stability and Firmness, through a Divine Blessing, is at times like dew on the tender plants round about them, and the Weightiness of their Spirits secretly works on the minds of Others, And in this condition through the spreading influence of Divine Love, they feel a care over the flock, and way is open for maintaining good order in the Society. And though we meet with Oposition from another Spirit, yet as there is a dwelling in meekness, feeling our own Spirits Subject, and moving only in the gentle peaceable Wisdom, the inward reward of Quietness will be greater than all our difficulties. Where the pure Life is kept to & meetings of Discipline are held in the Authority of it, we find by Experience that they are Comfortable, and tend to the Health of the Body.

While I write, the youth comes fresh in my way. Dear young people, Choose God for your portion, Love this Truth, and be not ashamed of it. Choose for your Company Such who Serve him in uprightness, and Shun as most dangerous the Conversation of those whose lives are of an ill Savour for by frequenting such Company, some hopefull young people have come to great loss, and been drawn from less evils to greater, to their utter Ruin. In the bloom of youth

¹ Cane Creek.

no ornament is so lovely as that of Virtue, nor any Enjoyments equal to those which we partake of in fully resigning ourselves to the Divine Will. These Enjoyments add Sweetness to all other comforts, and give true Satisfaction in Company and Conversation where people are mutually acquainted with it. And as your minds are thus Seasoned with the Truth, you will find strength to abide Steadfast to the Testimony of it, and be prepared for Services in the Church.

And now Dear Friends and Brethren, as you are improving a wilderness, and may be numbered amongst the first planters in one part of a Province, I beseech you in the Love of Jesus Christ, to wisely consider the force of your Examples, and think how much your Successors may be thereby affected. It is a help in a Country, yea a great favour and a Blessing, when Customs first settled are agreeable to sound wisdom, so, when they are otherwise, the Effect of them is grievous, and Children feel themselves encompassed with difficulties prepared for them by their predecessors.

As moderate care and Exercise, under the direction of Pure Wisdom, is useful both to mind and body, so by this means in general, the real wants in life are easily Attained. Our Gracious Father having so proportioned one to the other, that keeping in the true medium we may pass on quietly. Where slaves are purchased to do our Labour, numerous difficulties attend it. To Rational Creatures Bondage is uneasy, and frequently Occasions Sorrow and discontent in them; which affects the family, and such who claim the Mastery over them. And thus people and their children are many times Encompassed with vexations, which arise from their applying to wrong methods to get a living.

I have been informed that there are a large number of Friends in your parts, who have no Slaves, and in Tender and most Affectionate Love, I now beseech you not to purchase any. Look, my Dear Friends, to Divine Providence, and follow in simplicity that Exercise of Body, that plainness and frugality, which True wisdom leads to. So may you be preserved from those Dangers which attend such who are aiming at outward Ease and greatness.

Treasures though small attained on a true principle of Virtue, are Sweet in the possession, and while we walk in the Light of the Lord, there is true Comfort and Satisfaction. Here neither the murmurs of an oppressed people, nor throbbing uneasy Conscience, nor Anxious thoughts about the events of things, hinder the enjoyment of it.

When we look toward the end of life, and think on the Division of our Substance amongst our Successors. If we know that it was collected in the Fear of the Lord, in Honesty, in Equity, and in Uprightness of Heart before him, we may consider it as His gift to

us, and with a single eye to His Blessing, bestow it on those we leave behind us. Such is the happiness in the plain ways of true Virtue. The works of Righteousness are peace, and the Effects of Righteousness are quietness and assurance for ever.

Dwell here, my Dear Friends; and then in Remote and Solitary Desarts, you may find true peace and satisfaction. If the Lord be our God in Truth and Reality, there is Safety for us, for he is a Strong Hold in the day of Trouble, and knoweth them that trust in him.

I am in true love your friend

J. W.

Isle of Wight county, in Virginia,

da mo

29. 5. 1757.

From the Yearly Meeting in Virginea, I went to Carolina; and

da mo

on the 1. 6. was at Wells Creek monthly meeting, where the Spring of the Gospel Ministry was opened, and the Love of Jesus Christ experienced amongst us, to his name be the praise.

[As the Neglected Condition of the poor Slaves often Affects my mind, Meetings for Discipline hath seem'd to me Sutable places to Express what the Holy Spirit may open on that Subject, and though in this meeting they were much in my mind, I found no Engagement to Speak concerning them, & therefore kept Silence, finding by Experience that to keep pace with the gentle Motions of Truth, and never move but as That Opens the way, is necessary for the true Servant of Christ.]¹

Here my ² Brother ¹³ joyned with some Friends from New Garden who were going homeward and I went next to Simons Creek monthly meeting, where I was Silent during the meeting for worship: and when Business came on my mind was deeply Exercised concerning the poor Slaves, but did not feel my way clear to Speak, in this condition I was bowed in spirit before the Lord; and with tears and inward Supplication besought him, to so open my understanding, that I might know his will concerning me, and at length, my mind was Settled in Silence, and near the end of their business, a member of their meeting Expresss a concern that

¹ Let this be left out." Marginal note, MS. A., by editors. It has been crased in MS. B.

² Uriah Woolman.

had some time lain upon him, [with respect to] Friends so much neglecting their duty in the Education of their Negroes, and propos'd having meetings sometimes appointed for them on a week-day, to be only attended by Some Friends to be named by their Monthly Meetings. Many present appeared to unite with the proposal. One said "he had often wondered at it, that they, being our Fellow Creatures & capable of Religious understanding, had been so Exceedingly neglected." Another Express'd the like concern, and appeared Zealous that Friends in future might more closely consider the matter. At length a minute was made, & the further consideration of it referred to their next monthly meeting.

The Friend who made this proposal hath Negroes: he told me that he was at New Garden about two hundred and fifty miles of, and came home alone, and that in this solitary Journey, this exercise in regard to the Education of their Negroes, was from time to time renewed in his mind. A Friend of some note in Virginia, who had Slaves, told me that he being far from home on a lonesome Journey, had many Serious thoughts about them, and then believed that he saw a time coming when Divine Providence would alter the circumstance of these people, respecting their Condition as Slaves.

From hence I went to New-begun Creek, and Sat a considerable time in much weakness, till at length I felt Truth open the way to Speak a little in much plainness and Simplicity, [till at length] through the increase of Divine love amongst us, we had a Seasoning opportunity. From thence to the head of Little River on a First-day, where was a crowded meeting, and I believe it was through Divine goodness made profitable to some. Thence to the Old Neck, where I was led into a careful searching out the secret workings of the Mystery of Iniquity, which under a cover of Religion, exalts itself against that pure Spirit which leads in the way of meekness & self Denial. From thence to Piney Woods: This was the last meeting in Carolina, and was large, and my heart being deeply engaged, I was drawn forth into a Fervent Labour amongst them.

When I was at New-begun Creek, a Friend was there who laboured for his living, having no Negroes, and had been a minister many years: he came to me the next day, and as we rode

together, he signified that he wanted to talk with me concerning a difficulty he had been under, and related it nearly as follows; to wit, That as moneys had of late years been raised by a Tax to Carry on the wars, he had a Scruple in his mind in regard to paying it, and Chose rather to suffer restraint of goods than pay to it. And as he was the only person who refused it in those parts, and knew not that any one Else was in the like Circumstance, he signified that it had been a heavy tryal upon him, and the more so, for that some of his brethren had been uneasie with his conduct in that case. And added that from a Sympathy he felt with me yesterday in meeting, he found a freedom thus to open the matter, in the way of querying concerning Friends in our parts. Whereupon I told him the state of Friends amongst us, as well as I was able; and also, that I had for some time been under the like Scruple. I believed him to be one who was concerned to talk uprightly before the Lord, and Esteemed it my duty to preserve this [Memorandum] Concerning him, Samuel Newby.⁹³

From hence I went back into Virginia, and had a meeting near James Cowpland's.⁹⁴ It was a time of inward suffering, but through the goodness of the Lord I was made content. Thence to another meeting [On a first day of the week,] where through the renewings of pure love, we had a very Comfortable meeting.

Traveling up and down of late, I have had renewed evidences that to be faithful to the Lord and Content with his will concerning me is a most necessary and useful Lesson to me to be learning. Looking less at the Effects of my labour, than at the pure motion and reality of the Concern as it arises from Heavenly Love. In the Lord Jehovah is everlasting Strength, and as the mind by a humble resignation is united to Him, and we utter words from an inward Knowledge that they arise from the Heavenly Spring, Though our way may be difficult, and require Close Attention to keep in it, And though the manner in which we are led may tend to our own abasement, yet if we continue in patience & meekness, Heavenly Peace is the reward of our Labours.

From thence I went to Curles meeting, which, though small, was reviving to the honest hearted. Thence to Black Creek and Caroline meetings. Thence accompanied by William Standley,⁹⁵ we rode to Goose Creek, being much through the woods, and about one hundred miles. We lodged the first night at a publick

House. The second in the woods, & the next day we reached a friends house at Goose Creek. In the woods we lay under some disadvantage, having no fireworks, nor bells for our Horses, but we stoped a little before night and we let them feed on the wild grass which was plenty, the mean time cutting with our knives a store against night, and then tied them, & gathering some bushes under an oak, we lay down; but the mosquitoes being plenty & the ground damp, I slept but little.

Thus lying in the wilderness and looking up at the Stars, I was led to contemplate the Condition of our First Parents, when they were sent forth from the Garden. [And considered that they had no house, nor tools for business, No Garments but what their Creator gave them, no Vessels for use, nor any fire to cook roots or herbs.]¹ But the Almighty Being, though they had been disobedient, was a Father to them,² [and way opened in process of time for all the Conveniences of Life. And he who by the Gracious Influence of his Spirit, Illuminated their understanding, and Shewed them what was Acceptable to Him, and tended to their true Felicity as Intelligent Creatures, did also provide means for their happy living in this world, as they attended to the manifestations of his Wisdom.]

To provide things relative to our outward living in the Way of true Wisdom, is good, and the gift of Improving in things useful, is a good Gift, and comes from the Father of Lights. Many have had this gift, & from age to age, there have been Improvements of this kind made in the World. But some not keeping to the pure gift, have in the Creaturely Cunning & self-exaltation, sought out many Inventions, which Inventions of men, as distinct from that uprightness in which man was created, as in the first motion it was evil, so the effects of it have been, and are evil. That, at this day it is as necessary for us constantly to Attend on the heavenly gift, to be qualified to use rightly the good things in this life amidst great Improvements, as it was for our First Parents, when they were without any Improvements, without any Friend or any Father but God only.

I was at meeting at Goose Creek, and [then] at a monthly meeting at Fairfax, where through the Gracious Dealings of the

¹ MSS. A and B.

² MSS. A and B. This passage was altered greatly in the first Edition by the Committee of 1774 [page 77] and was partly restored by J. Comly [ed. of 1837], as given here from the original MS.

Almighty with us, his power prevailed over many hearts. Thence to Manoquacy & Pipe Creek in Maryland, at both which places I had cause humbly to adore Him who Supported me through Sundry Exercises, and by whose help I was enabled to reach the true witness in the hearts of Others: There were some hopeful young people in those parts. Thence I had meetings at John Everit's,⁹⁵ at Monalen,¹ and at Huntington, and was made humbly, thankful to the Lord, who opened my heart amongst the people in these new Settlements, so that it was a time of Encouragement to the honest minded.

At Monalen, a Friend [where I lodged] gave me some account of a Religious Society among the Dutch, called Menonists, and amongst other things related a passage in Substance as follows. One of the Mennonists having Acquaintance with a man of another Society at a considerable distance, and being with his Wagon on business near the house of his said acquaintance, & night coming on he had thoughts of putting up with him but passing by his Fields, & observing the distressed appearance of his Slaves, he kindled a fire in the woods hard by, and lay there that night. His said acquaintance heard where he lodged, and afterward meeting the Menonist, told him of it, adding he should have been heartily welcome at his house; and from their acquaintance before time, wondered at his conduct in that case. The Mennonist replied, "Ever since I lodged by thy field, I've wanted an opportunity to speak with thee. The matter was, I intended to have come to thy house for Entertainment, but seeing thy Slaves at their work, and observing the manner of their dress, I had no liking to come to partake with thee." Then admonished him to use them with more Humanity, and added, "As I lay by the fire that Night, I thought that [as] I was a man of [some] substance, thou would have received me freely, but if I had been as poor as one of thy Slaves, & had no power to help myself, I should have received from thy hand no kinder Usage than they have."

Thence I was at three meetings on my way, and so went home under a Humbling sense of the Gracious Dealings of the Lord with me, in preserving me thro' many tryals and afflictions in my Journey.² I was out about two months, & [rode] about eleven hundred and fifty miles.

¹ Menallen.

² MS. A.

CHAPTER V

1757

A few years past, money being made current in our province for carrying on wars, and to be sunk by Taxes laid on the Inhabitants, my mind was often affected with the thoughts of paying such Taxes, and I believe it right for me to preserve a memorandum concerning it.

I was told that Friends in England frequently paid Taxes when the money was applied to such purposes. I had [conference] with several Noted Friends on the subject, who all favoured the payment of such taxes, Some of whom I preferred before myself, and this made me easier for a time: yet there was in the deeps of my mind, a scruple which I never could get over; and, at certain times, I was greatly distressed on that account.

I all along believed that there were some upright-hearted men who paid such taxes, but could not see that their Example was a Sufficient Reason for me to do so, while I believed that the Spirit of Truth required of me as an individual to suffer patiently the distress of goods, rather than pay actively.

I have been informed that Thomas à Kempis lived & died in the profession of the Roman Catholick Religion, and in reading his writings, I have believed him to be a man of a true Christian spirit, as fully so as many who died Martyrs because they could not join with some superstitions in that Church.

All true Christians are of [one and] the same spirit, but their gifts are diverse; [Jesus] Christ appointing to each one their peculiar Office, agreeable to his Infinite Wisdom.

John Huss Contended against the Errors crept into the Church, in opposition to the Council of Constance, which the historian reports to have consisted of many thousand persons. He modestly vindicated the cause which he believed was right, and though his

language and Conduct toward his Judges appear to have been respectfull, yet he never could be moved from the principles settled in his mind. To use his own words: "This I most humbly require and desire of you all, even for His sake who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled to the thing which my Conscience doth repugn or strive against." And again in his answer to the emperor "I refuse nothing, most noble Emperor whatsoever the council shall decree or determine upon me, this only one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my Conscience."¹ At length rather than act contrary to that which he believed the Lord required of Him, he chose to Suffer death by fire. Thomas à Kempis, without disputing against the Articles then generally agreed to, appears to have laboured, by a Pious Example as well as by Preaching & writing to promote Virtue and the Inward Spiritual Religion, and I believe they were both sincere-hearted followers of Christ. [To me it looks likely that they were both in their proper places.]²

True Charity is an excellent Virtue, and to sincerely Labour for their good, whose belief in all points, doth not agree with ours, is a happy case. To refuse the active payment of a Tax which our Society generally paid, was exceeding disagreeable; but to do a thing contrary to my Conscience appeared yet more dreadfull. When this exercise came upon me I knew of none under the like difficulty, and in my distress I besought the Lord to enable me to give up all, that so I might follow him wheresoever he was pleased to lead me, and under this Exercise I went to our Yearly Meeting at Philad^a, in 1755, at which a Committee was appointed, some from each Quarter to Correspond with the meeting for Sufferings in London, and another to Visit our Monthly and Quarterly meetings, and after their appointment before the last Adjournment of the meeting, it was agreed on in the meeting that these two Committees should meet together in Friends School House³ in the City, at a time [when the Meeting stood adjourned] to consider some [cases] in which the cause of Truth was concerned: and these Committees meeting together had a weighty conference

¹ Note by Woolman. Fox's "Acts and Monuments," p. 233.

² MSS. A and B. Both include the last sentence of this paragraph, omitted by Committee of 1774 in first edition, p. 82.

³ "Friends' School House"; No. 119 South 4th St., Philadelphia, on the site of the present Forrest Building.

in the fear of the Lord, at which time I perceived there were many Friends under a Scruple like that before mentioned.¹

As Scrupling to pay a tax on account of the application² hath seldom been heard of heretofore, even amongst men of Integrity, who have Steadily born their testimony against outward wars in their time, I may here note some things which have opened on my mind, as I have been inwardly Exercised on that account.

From the Steady oposition which Faithfull Friends in early times made to wrong things then approved of, they were hated and persecuted by men living in the Spirit of this world, & Suffering with firmness, they were made a Blessing to the Church, & the work prospered. It equally concerns men in every age to take heed to their own Spirit: & in comparing their Situation with ours, it looks to me there was less danger of their being infected with the Spirit of this world in paying their taxes, than there is of us now. They had little or no Share in Civil Government, neither Legislative nor Executive & many of them declared they were through the power of God separated from the Spirit in which wars were, and being Afflicted by the Rulers on account of their Testimony, there was less likelihood of uniting in Spirit with them in things inconsistent with the purity of Truth. We, from the first settlement of this Land have known little or no troubles of that sort. The profession, which for a time was accounted reproachfull, at length the uprightness of our predecessors being understood by the Rulers, & their Innocent Sufferings moving them, our way of Worship was tolerated, and many of our members in these colonies became active in Civil Government. Being

¹ MS. A. p. 70. Here follow two Extracts from the *Journal* of John Churchman—1st Edit. 1779, pp. 68 ff, 169 ff. John Woolman writes, "Since I had finished my Narrative of this Affair, having been favoured by my Beloved Friend John Churchman with the perusal of some notes which he made concerning some Exercise he went through on Account of our Testimony against Wars, as they contain some things relative to Facts, hereafter Spoken of, I thought good by his permission to copy the Substance of them in this place." A note in margin directs, "If this Journal be printed, let all the Quotn from J. Churchman's Notes be left out." J. Churchman's *Journal* was printed in 1779: he died 2, 7 mo. 1775, and the "extracts" are there given entire. They describe his visits to the assembly, then sitting in the State House [now Independence Hall], Phila. in 1748, and again in 1755. On the first occasion he went alone. Seven years later, twenty Friends presented the address.

² Note by John Woolman—"Christians refused to pay taxes to support Heathen Temples. See Cave's Primitive Christianity, part lii. page 327."

thus tryed with favour and prosperity, this world hath appeared inviteing; our minds have been turned to the Improvement of our Country, to Merchandize and Sciences, amongst which are many things usefull, being followed in pure wisdom, but in our present condition that a Carnal mind is gaining upon us I believe will not be denied.

Some of our members who are Officers in Civil Government are in one case or other called upon in their respective Stations to Assist in things relative to the wars, Such being in doubt whether to act or crave to be excused from their Office, Seeing their Brethren united in the payment of a Tax to carry on the said wars, might think their case [nearly like theirs, &] so quench the tender movings of the Holy Spirit in their minds, and thus by small degrees there might be an approach toward that of Fighting, till we came so near it, as that the distinction would be little else but the name of a peaceable people.

It requires great self-denial and Resignation of ourselves to God to attain that state wherein we can freely cease from fighting when wrongfully Invaded, if by our Fighting there were a probability of overcoming the invaders. Whoever rightly attains to it, does in some degree feel that Spirit in which our Redeemer gave his life for us, and, through Divine goodness many of our predecessors, and many now living, have learned this blessed lesson, but many others having their Religion chiefly by Education, & not being enough acquainted with that Cross which Crucifies to the world, do manifest a Temper distinguishable from that of an Entire trust in God.

In calmly considering these things it hath not appeared strange to me, that an exercise hath now fallen upon some, which as to the outward means of it is different from what was known to many of those who went before us.

A day being appointed, [and letters wrote to distant members] ¹ the said committees met and by adjournments continued several days. The Calamities of war were now increasing. The Frontier Inhabitants of Pensilvania were frequently surprised, some Slain, and many taken Captive by the Indians, and while these Committees sat, the Corpse of one so Slain was brought in

¹ MS. B includes this sentence.

a wagon, and taken through the Streets of the Citty, in his Bloody garments, to Alarm the people, and rouse them up to war.¹

Friends thus met were not all of one mind in relation to the tax, which to such who scrupled it made the way more difficult. To refuse an active payment at such a time, might be an act of disloyalty, and appeared likely to displease the Rulers, not only here but in England; still there was a scruple so fastened upon the minds of many Friends, that nothing moved it; It was a Conference the most weighty that ever I was at, and the hearts of many were bowed in Reverence before the Most High. Some Friends of the said Committees who appeared easie to pay the tax, after several adjournments, withdrew, other such continued till the last. At length, an Epistle was drawn by some Friends concerned on that Account, and being read several times and Corrected, was then signed by such as were free to sign it.²

"Dear & Well Beloved Friends *

"We Salute you in a fresh & renewed Sence of our Heavenly "Fathers Love which hath Graciously overshadowed us in several "Weighty & Solid Conferences we have had together with many "other Friends upon the present Scituation of the Affairs of the "Society in this province and in that Love we find our Spirits engaged to acquaint you that under a Solid Exercise of mind to seek for Councill & direction from the High priest of our profession who is the prince of peace we believe he hath renewedly favoured us with Strong and lively Evidences that in his due & appointed time, the day which hath dawned in these "later ages foretold by the "profets wherein Swords Should be beaten into plowshares & Spears "into pruning hooks Shall gloriously rise higher & higher" & the Spirit of the Gospel which teaches to love Enemies prevail to that degree that the art of war shall be no more learned; And that it is his determination to Exact this Blessed day in this our age, if in the depth of Humility we receive his instruction, & obey his voice.

¹ See note, p. 38. The *Journal* at the opening of Chapter V recurs to the political situation of two years earlier, i.e. 1755.

² MS. A. This "Epistle of Caution" is dated, "Philadelphia, 16 da. 12 mo. 1755." Most, if not all of its authorship is Woolman's. It occurs in the MS. on page 78, entirely in Woolman's hand. The Meeting for Sufferings, 3 mo. 3, 1757, petitioned the Assembly against the establishment of a militia in Pennsylvania. James Pemberton was the Clerk, in whose hand the full text may be found, in Vol. I, p. 75, of the minutes. John Woolman was a member.

* Folio A, pp. 78-81, inclusive.

And being painfully apprehensive that the large Sum granted by the late act of Assembly for the Kings use is principally intended for purposes inconsistent with our peaceable Testimony, we therefore think that as we cannot be concerned in wars and fightings, so neither ought we to Contribute thereto by paying the Tax directed by the said Act, though suffering be the Consequence of our refusal; which we hope to be enabled to bear with patience.

And though some part of the money to be raised by the said act is said to be for such Benevolent purposes as Supporting our Friendship with our Indian Neighbours, & relieving the distresses of our Fellow Subjects, who have Suffered in the present Calamities, for whom our hearts are deeply pained, and we Affectionately & with bowels of tenderness Sympathise with them therein: & we could most Cheerfully contribute to those purposes if they were not so mixed that we cannot in the manner proposed shew our hearty concurrence therewith without at the same time Assenting to, or allowing our selves in practices which we apprehend contrary to the Testimony which the Lord hath given us to bear for his name and Truths Sake — And having the health and prosperity of the Society at heart, we earnestly Exhort Friends to wait for the appearing of the true Light, and Stand in the Councell “of God, that we may know “Him to be the Rock of our Salvation and place [of] our Refuge forever. And beware of the Spirit of this world that is unstable, & “often draws into dark & timmerous reasonings, lest the God thereof “should be Suffered to blind the Eye of the mind, and Such not knowing the sure Foundation, the Rock of ages” may partake of the Terrors and fears, that are not known to the Inhabitants of that place where the Sheep and Lambs of Christ ever had a quiet Habitation; which a remnant have to Say to the praise of his name they have been blessed with a measure of in this day of Distress.—

And as our Fidelity to the present Government, & our willingly paying all Taxes for purposes which do not interfere with our Consciences may justly Exempt us from the Imputation of disloyalty, So we earnestly desire that all who by a deep & quiet seeking for direction from the Holy Spirit, are or Shall be convinced that he calls us as a people to this Testimony may dwell under the guidance of the same Divine Spirit & manifest by the meekness & Humility of their Conversation that they are Really under that Influence, & therein may know true Fortitude & patience to bear that & every other Testimony committed to them Faithfully & Uniformly: & that all Friends may know their Spirits Cloathed with true Charity the bond of Christian fellowship wherein we again Salute you & remain your friends & brethren.

da mo

Philad^a 16. 12. 1755. Signed by Abraham Farrington, John Evans, John Churchman, Mordecai Yarnall, Sam^l Fothergill, Samuel Eastburn, William Brown, John Scarborrow, Thomas Carleton, Joshua Ely, W^m Jackson, James Bartram, Thomas Brown, Daniel Stanton, John Woolman, Isaac Zane, William Horne, Benjamin Trotter, Anthony Benzet, John Armit, John Pemberton.¹

Copies of this Epistle were sent amongst Friends in the several parts of the Province of Pennsylvania, and as Some in the Society who were easie to pay the Tax Spake . . . openly against it, and as some of those who were concerned in the Conference . . . believed themselves rightly exercised in puting forward the Epistle, They in the next Yearly meeting Exprest a willingness to have their conduct in that case Enquired into, But friends in the Yearly Meeting did not . . . enter into the Consideration of it When the Tax was gathered many paid it Actively and Others Scrupled the payment, and in Many places [the Collectors & Constables being friends] distress was made on their goods . . . by their fellow members This difficulty was Considerable and at the Yearly Meeting at Philad^a 1757 the matter was opened and a Committee of about . . . forty Friends were appointed Some from each Quarter to consider the case, and report their Judgment on this point whither or no it would be best at this time publickly to Consider it in the Yearly meeting

At this meeting were our Friends William Reckett,^{2a} John Hunt,¹ and Christopher Willson^{1a} from England, Benjamin Ferris^{2a} from the Province of New York, and Thomas Nicholson from North Carolina, who at the request of the Yearly Meeting all sat with us,--

we met and Seting some hours adjourned untill the next morning: It was a time of deep Exercise to many minds, and after some hours spent at our Second meeting the following report was drawn & Sign^d by a fr^d in behalf of y^e Committee

"Agreeable to the appointment of the Yearly meeting we have met
 "& had several weighty & deliberate conferences on the Subject com-
 "mitted to us and as we find there are diversity of Sentiments we are
 "for that & Several other reasons Unanimously of the Judgment that
 "it is not proper to enter into a publick discussion of the matter &
 "we are one in Judgment that it is highly necessary for the yearly
 "meeting to reco^mend that Friends every where endeavour earnestly
 "to have their minds covered with fervent Charity towards one an-
 "other which report was entered on the minutes & Copies sent in the
 Extracts to the Quarterly & monthly Meetings.

¹ See Biog. Note, 113.

da mo

On the 9. 8. 1757 at night orders came to the Military Officers in our County,¹ directing them to draft the Militia, and prepare a number of men to go off as Souldiers, to the relief of the English, at Fort William Henry in York² government [which was then Besieged by a number of French & Indians, and in] a few days there was a general review of the Militia at Mountholly, and a number of men chosen and sent off under some Officers. Shortly after, there came orders to draft three times as many, to hold themselves in readiness to march when fresh orders came for it.

da mo

On the 17. 8. there was a meeting of the Military Officers at Mountholly who agreed on a draft and orders were sent to the men so chosen, to meet their respective Captains at set times and places; those in our Township to meet at Mountholly, amongst whom were a considerable number of our Society.

My mind being affected herewith, I had fresh opertunity to see and consider the advantage of living in the real Substance of Religion, where practice doth harmonize with principle. Amongst the Officers are men of understanding who have some regard to Sincerity where they see it, and in the Execution of their Office, when they have men to deal with whom they believe to be upright-hearted. To put them to trouble on account of Scruples of Conscience is a painfull task, & likely to be avoided as much as may be easily. But where men profess to be so meek & Heavenly minded, and to have their trust so firmly settled in God, that they cannot Joyn in wars and yet by their Spirit and conduct in comon life, manifest a Contrary disposition, Their difficulties are great at such a time. Officers in great anxiety endeavouring to get troops to answer the demands of their Superiors, seeing men who are insincere pretend scruple of Conscience, in hopes of being excused from a dangerous employment, they are likely to be roughly handled. In this time of Commotion, some of our young men left these parts, and tarried abroad till it was over. Some came and proposed to go as Souldiers. Others appear'd to have a real tender Scruple in their minds against Joining in wars, and were much humbled under the apprehension of a Tryal so near. I

¹ Burlington, New Jersey.

² New York.

had conversation with several of them to my satisfaction. At the set time when the Captain came to Town some of those last mentioned went and told him in substance as follows, "That they could not bear Arms for Conscience Sake, nor could they hire any to go in their places being resigned as to the event of it." At length the Captain acquainted them all, that they might return home for the present, and required them to provide¹ [themselves as Soldiers,] and to be in readiness to march when called upon.

This was such a time as I had not seen before, and yet I may say with thankfulness to the Lord, that I believe this tryal was intended for our good, and I was favoured with Resignation to him. The French Army taking the Fort they were besieging, destroyed it & went away. The Company of men first drafted, after some days march, had orders to return home, and those on the second draft were no more called upon on that Occasion.

da mo

The 4. 4. 1758, orders came to some Officers in Mountholly, to prepare quarters a short time for about one hundred Soldiers, and an Officer and two other men all inhabitants of our town, came to my house and the Officer told me that he came to speak with me to provide lodging and entertainment for two Souldiers, there being six shillings a week pr. man allowed as pay for it. The case being new and unexpected, I made no answer suddenly, but sat a time silent, my mind being inward. I was fully convinced that the proceedings in wars are inconsistent with the Purity of the Christian Religion and to be hired to entertain men who were under pay as Soldiers was a difficulty with me. I Expected they had legal authority for what they did and after a short time I said to the officer, "If the men are sent here for entertainment, I believe I shall not refuse to admit them into my house, but the nature of the Case is such that I expect I cannot keep them on hire." One of the men intimated he thought I might do it consistent with my Religious principles, to which I made no reply as believing Silence at that time best for me.

Though they spake of two, there came only one, who tarried at my house about two weeks, and behaved himself civilly; and when the officer came to pay me I told him I could not take pay for it, having admitted him into my house in a passive obedience

¹ MS. B "Soldier-like accoutrements such as he mentioned to them."

to authority. I was on horseback when he spake to me; and as I turned from him he said he was obliged to me, to which I said nothing; but thinking on the Expression I grew uneasie and afterwards being near where he lived, I went [to his house] and told him on what grounds I refused pay for keeping the Souldier [and I refused it. He said he was obliged to me, and I was now come to acquaint him more fully on what grounds I refused to take it—the which I did & so we parted.]¹

Near the begining of the year 1758, I went one evening in company with a friend to visit a sick person and before our return we were told of a woman living near who of late had several days together been disconsolate, ocasioned by a Dream wherein death and the Judgments of the Almighty after Death were represented to her mind in a moving maner: her sadness on that account [and her former course of Life] being worn of, the friend with whom I was in company went to see her and had some religious conversation with her and her husband [concerning their Maner of life] With this visit they were somewhat Effected, and the man in particular, with many tears Expresses his Satisfaction and in a short time after the poor man being on the River in a storm of Wind he with one more was drowned.

mo

In the 8. 1758 having had drawings in my mind to be at the Quarterly meeting in Chester county, and at some meetings in Philad^a county, I went first to said Quarterly meeting, which was large; and several matters of weight came under consideration and debate, and the Lord was pleased to Qualify some of his Servants with Strength and firmness to bear the burthen of the day. Though I said but little my mind was deeply Exercised, and under a sense of Gods love in the anointing & fiting of some young men for his work, I was comforted, and my heart was tendered before him. From hence I went to the youths meeting at Darby where my beloved friend and Brother Benjamin² Jones⁹⁶ met me by an agreement made before I left home, to join in the Visit and we were at Radnor, Merrion, Richland, Northwales, Plimouth, and Abington and had cause to bow in reverence before the Lord our

¹ MS. B omits this sentence.

² Benjamin Jones was father-in-law of John Woolman's nephew, Uz, son of Zebulon & Esther (Woolman) Gauntt.

Gracious God, by whose help way was opened for us from day to day. I was out about two weeks, and rode about 200 miles.

[One evening a Friend came to our Lodgings who was a Justice of the Peace, and in a friendly way introduced the Subject of Refusing to pay taxes to Support wars and perceiving that I was one who Scrupled the payment, Said that he had wanted an Opportunity with some in that Circumstance, whereupon we had some Conversation in a Brotherly way on Some texts of Scripture relating thereto, in the Conclusion of which he said that According to Our way of proceeding it would follow that whenever the Administration of Government was ill, we must Suffer destraint of goods rather than pay actively toward Supporting it. To which I replied Men put in publick Stations are intended for good purposes, Some to make good laws, others to take care that those laws are not broken. Now if these men thus set apart do not answer the design of their Institution, our freely contributing to Support them in that Capacity when we certainly know that they are wrong, is to Strengthen them in a wrong way & tends to make them forget that it is so, But when from a Clear understanding of the case we are Really uneasie with the application of money, and in the Spirit of meekness suffer distress to be made on our goods rather than pay actively, this joyned with an upright Uniform life may tend to put men a thinking about their own publick Conduct.

He said he would propose a Medium. That is, where men in Authority do not act agreeable to the mind of those who Constituted them he thought the people should Rather Remonstrate than refuse a Voluntary payment of moneys so demanded. and added, Civil Government is an agreement of free men, by which they Oblige themselves to Abide by Certain Laws as a Standard, and to refuse to Obey in that Case is of the like nature as to refuse to do any particular act which we had Covenanted to do. I replied, that in making Covenants, it was agreeable to Honesty and uprightness to take care that we do not foreclose ourselves from adhering Strictly to true Virtue in all Occurrences relating thereto. But if I should unwarily promise to Obey the orders of a Certain man, or number of men, without any proviso, and he, or they Command me to assist in doing some great Wickedness, I may then Se my error in making Such promise and an active Obedience in

that case would be Ading one evil to another: That though by Such promise I should be lyable to punishment for disobedience, yet to Suffer rather than Act to me appears most Virtuous.

The whole of our Conversation was in Calmness & good Will. And here it may be noted that in Peñsylvania, where there are many friends under that Scruple, a petition was presented to the Assembly by a large number of friends, asking that no Law might be passed to Enjoyn the payment of money for such Uses, which they as a peacable people could not pay for Conscience Sake.] ¹

The Monthly Meeting of Philad^a. having been under a concern on account of Some Friends who this summer A. D. 1758 had bought Negro Slaves, the said meeting moved it in their Quarterly meeting, to have the minute reconsidered in the Yearly Meeting, which was made last on that subject: And the said Quarterly meeting appointed a Committee to consider it and report to their next, [being that preceding the Yearly Meeting.] Which Committee having met once and adjourned, and I going to Philad^a. to meet a Committee of the Yearly Meeting, was in Town the Evening on which the Quarterly meetings Committee met the Second time; and finding an inclination to sit with them was with some others admitted, and Friends had a weighty conference, on the subject. And soon after their next Quarterly meeting, I heard that the case was coming to our Yearly Meeting, which brought a weighty Exercise upon me, and under a Sense of my own infirmities, and the great danger I felt of turning aside from perfect purity, my mind was often drawn to retire alone, and put up my prayers to the Lord, that he would be graciously pleased to so strengthen me, that, seting aside all views of Self Interest and the friendship of this world, I might stand fully resigned to his Holy Will.

In this Yearly Meeting Several weighty matters were considered and toward the last, that in relation to dealing with persons who purchase Slaves. During the Several Sittings of the said meeting, my mind was frequently covered with inward prayer, and I could say with David that tears were my meat day and night. The case of Slave Keeping lay heavy upon me, nor did I find any Engagement to speak directly to any other matter before

¹ MS. A, p. 90. This incident is not given in B nor in 1st Ed. 1774. It occurred in Philadelphia.

the meeting. Now when this case was opened, Several Faithfull Friends spake weightily thereto, with which I was Comforted, and feeling a Concern to cast in my mite, I said in Substance, as follows:

"In the difficulties attending us in this life, nothing is more precious than the mind of Truth inwardly manifested, and it is my Earnest Desire that in this weighty Matter we may be so truly humbled, as to be favoured with a clear understanding of the mind of Truth, and follow it: this would be of more advantage to the society, than any mediums [which are] not in the Clearness of Divine wisdom. The case is difficult to Some who have them, but if such set aside all self-interest, and come to be weaned from the desire of getting Estates, or even from holding them together when Truth requires the Contrary, I believe way will open, that they will know how to Steer through those difficulties."

Many Friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work; and manifested much firmness in their Love to the Cause of Truth and universal Righteousness in the Earth. And though none did openly Justifie the practice of Slave Keeping in general, yet some appear'd concern'd, lest the meeting Should go into Such measures as might give uneasiness to Many Brethren, alledging that if Friends patiently continued under the exercise, the Lord in time to Come, might open a way for the Deliverance of these people, and I finding an Engagement to speak said "My mind is often led to consider the purity of the Divine Being, and the Justice of his Judgments and herein my Soul is covered with awfullness. I cannot omit to hint of some cases, where people have not been treated with the purity of justice, and the event hath been lamentable. Many Slaves on this continent are oppressed, and their cries have reached the ears of the Most High! Such are the purity and certainty of his judgments, that he cannot be partial [toward any.] In infinite love and goodness he hath opened our understandings from time to [time respecting] our duty toward this people, and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be sensible of what he requires of us, and through a respect to the outward interest of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on the immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmness & constancy, still

waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their freedom, it may be that *by Terrible things in Righteousness* God many answer us in this matter.”¹

Many faithful brethren laboured with great firmness, and the love of Truth in a good degree, prevailed. Several Friends who had Negroes, exprest their desire that a rule might be made to deal with such Friends as Offenders who might buy Slaves in future. To this it was [replied] that the root of this evil would not be removed from amongst us, till a close enquiry was made in [regard to the righteousness of] their motives [who detained Negroes in their service] that impartial justice might be administered throughout. Several Friends exprest a desire that a visit might be made to such Friends who kept Slaves: and many Friends said that they believed liberty was the Negroes right, to which at length no opposition was made publickly. A minute was [at length] made more full on that Subject than any heretofore and the names of several Friends entered who were free to joyn in a visit to such who [kept] Slaves.

¹ The italics are John Woolman's.

CHAPTER VI

1758

da mo

The 11. 11. 1758, I set out for Concord. That Quarterly meeting, [which] heretofore was [but one, was now,] by reason of a great increase of Members divided into two by agreement of Friends at our last Yearly Meeting. Here I met with our beloved friends Samuel Spavold ⁹⁷ and Mary Kirby ⁹⁸ from England, [now on a Religious visit] And with Joseph White ⁹⁵ from Bucks county, who had taken leave of his wife & family in order to go on a religious visit to England and through Divine goodness, we were favoured with a strengthening opportunity together.

After this meeting I joyned with my friends Daniel Stanton ⁹⁹ and John Scarborough ⁹⁸ in visiting Friends who had Slaves, and at night we had a family meeting at William Trimble's, ¹⁰⁰ [there being a good] many young people and it was a precious reviving opportunity. Next morning we had a comfortable sitting with a Sick neighbour, and thence to the Burial of a Friend at Uwchland ¹ meeting, at which were many people, and it was a time of Divine Favour, after which we visited some who had Slaves. The next day we visited Several others who had Slaves, and at night had a family sitting at our friend Aaron Ashbridges, ¹⁰¹ where the Chañel of Gospel Love was opened, and my mind was comforted after a hard days Labour. The next day was at Goshen monthly meeting;

da mo

and then, on the 18. 11. 1758, attended the Quarterly meeting at London Grove, ² it being the first held at that place. Here we met again with all the before mentioned Friends, and had some Edefying meetings & near the Conclusion of the meeting for business, Friends were Incited to Constancy in Supporting the Testimony

¹ Uwchlan, Pennsylvania.

² London Grove was set off from Goshen when the latter grew too large, and Friends settled at the former place in great numbers.

of Truth, & reminded of the necessity which the [Disciples] of [Christ] are under to attend principally to his business as he is pleased to open it to us; and to be particularly carefull to have our minds redeemed from the Love of Wealth; to have our outward Affairs in as little room as may be, that no temporal concerns may entangle our Affections, or hinder us from diligently following the dictates of Truth, in Labouring to promote the pure Spirit of Meekness and heavenly mindedness amongst the Children of men, in these days of Calamity wherein God is visiting our Land with his just Judgments. [After this I rode home.]

Each of these Quarterly meetings were large, and sat near eight hours: here I had occasion to consider that it is a weighty thing to speak much in large meetings for Business [First.] except our minds are rightly prepared, & we clearly understanding the case we speak to, instead of forwarding, we hinder business, and make Labour for those on whom the burden of the work is laid.

If selfish views or party spirit have any room in our minds we are unfit for the Lords work. If we have a clear prospect of the business, and proper weight on our minds to speak, it behoves us to avoid Useless Apologies and repetitions. Where people are gathered from far, and Adjourning a meeting of business is attended with great difficulty, it behoves all to be cautious how they detain a meeting, especially when they have sat Six or Seven hours and have a good way to ride home. [In 300 minutes are 5 hours and he that improperly detains three hundred people one minute in a Meeting, besides other Evils that attend it, does an injury like that of Imprisoning one man 5 hours without cause.]¹

mo

In the begining of the 12. 1758, I joyned in company with my friends John Sykes⁸⁵ and Daniel Stanton,⁹⁰ in visiting such who had Slaves. Some whose hearts were rightly Exercised about them,² appear'd to be glad of our visit, and in some places our way was more difficult, and I often saw the necessity of keeping down to that Root from whence our Concern proceeded, and have cause, in Reverent Thankfulness, humbly to bow down

¹ MSS. A and B both include this paragraph. All editors omit it.

² MS. B "and were concerned to do the thing that was right."

before the Lord, who was near to me, and preserved my mind in Calmness under Some Sharp Conflicts, and begat a Spirit of Sympathy and tenderness in me, toward Some who were grievously Entangled by the Spirit of this world.

mo

In the 1. 1759, having found my mind drawn toward a visit to Some of the more active members in our Society at Philad^a who had Slaves, I met John Churchman ³³ there by an agreement and we Continued about a week in the Citty. We visited some sick people & Some Widows and their Families and the other part of our time was mostly Employed in Visiting such who had Slaves. It was a time of deep Exercise, Looking often to the Lord for his Assistance, who in unspeakable kindness, favour'd us with the influence of that Spirit which Crucifies to the world, and Enabled us to go through some heavy Labours in which we found peace.

da mo

24: 3: 1759, I was at our General Spring meeting at Philad^a at which was William Reckit ¹⁰² and John Storer ³² from England and after this meeting I again joyned with John Churchman ³³ on a Visit to some more who had Slaves in Philad^a; and, with Thankfulness to Our Heavenly Father I may say, that Divine Love and a true Sympathizing Tenderness of heart attended us. Having at times perceived a Shyness in some Friends of Considerable note towards me, I found an Engagement in Gospel love to pay a Visit to one of them, and as I kept under the Exercise I felt a Resignedness in my mind to go. So I went [to his house] and told him in private I had a desire to have an Opportunity with him alone, to which he readily agreed. And then in the Fear of the Lord, things relating to that Shyness were Searched to the bottom, and we had a large conference which I believe was of use to both of us, and am thankfull that way was opened for it.

da mo

14. 6. 1759 having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends about Salem, and having the [agreement] of our Monthly Meeting therein, I attended their Quarterly meeting, and was out Seven days, and was at seven meetings, in some of which I was chiefly Silent, and in others, through the Baptizing power of Truth, my heart was Enlarged in Heavenly Love, and found a

near fellow feeling with the Brethren and Sisters in the manifold trials attending their Christian progress through this world.
mo

In 7. 1759, I found an increasing concern on my mind to visit some active members in our Society who had Slaves, and having no Opportunity of the Company of Such who were nam'd on the minutes of the Yearly Meeting, I went alone to their houses, and in the fear of the Lord acquainted them with the Exercise I was under, and thus sometimes by a few words I found myself discharged from a heavy burthen.

After this, our frd John Churchman³³ coming into our province with a view to be at Some meetings, and to joyn again in the Visit to those who had Slaves, I bore him Company in the said visit to some active members [in which I] found inward satisfaction.

At our Yearly Meeting 1759 we had some weighty [meetings] where the power of Truth was largely Extended to the strengthening of the honest-minded. As friends read over the Epistles to be sent to the Yearly Meetings along this Continent, I observed in most of them, both this year and last, it was recommended to Friends to labour against Buying and keeping Slaves, and in some of them closely treated upon. As this practice hath long been a heavy Exercise to me, as I have often waded through mortifying Labours on that account, and at times, in some meetings been almost alone therein; now observing the increasing concern [in the] Society, and Seeing how the Lord was Raising up and Qualifying Servants for his work, not only in this respect, but for promoting the Cause of Truth in general, I was humbly bowed in thankfulness before him.

This meeting continued near a week and several days the fore part of it, my mind was drawn into a deep inward Stillness, and being at times, covered with the spirit of supplication my heart was Secretly poured out before the Lord, and near the end [I felt an increasing Exercise to Speak, and near the Conclusion of the last meeting for Business, way opened,] that in the pure flowing of Divine love I exprest what lay upon me which as it then aros: in my mind was first to show how deep answers to deep in the hearts of sincere & upright men though in their different growths they may not all have attained to the same clearness in some points

relating to our Testimony, Wherein I was led to mention the Integrity and Constancy of Many Martyrs who gave their lives for the testimony of Jesus; and yet in some points held doctrines distinguishable from some which we hold. How that in all ages where people were Faithfull to the Light and understanding which the Most High afforded them they found acceptance with Him, and that now, though there are different ways of thinking amongst us in some particulars, yet if we mutually kept to that Spirit and power which Crucifies to the world, which teaches us to be content with things really needful, and to avoid all Superfluities, giving up our hearts to fear and Serve the Lord, true Unity may Still be preserved amongst us. And that if such, who at times were under sufferings on Account of some scruples of Conscience, kept low & humble, and in their Conduct in life manifested a Spirit of true Charity it would be more likely to reach the witness in others and be of more Service in the Church, than if their Sufferings were attended with a Contrary Spirit and Conduct. In which Exercise I was drawn into a Sympathizing Tenderness with the Sheep of Christ, however distinguished one from another in this world, and the like disposition appear'd to spread over some others in the meeting. Great is the Goodness of y^e Lord toward us, his poor Creatures.

An Epistle went forth from this Yearly Meeting, which I think good to give a place in this Journal [which is] as follows ¹

From the Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, from the 22d day of the 9th month, to the 28th of the same, inclusive, 1759.

To the Quarterly and Monthly meetings of Friends belonging to the said Yearly Meeting.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,—

In an awful sense of the wisdom and goodness of the Lord our

¹ MS. A, p. 97. This sentence, "An Epistle went forth," has been written over an erasure that has been deciphered, as follows: "A short time before I went to this Yearly Meeting, I felt a weight on my Mind in regard to Writing on Some Subjects then Opened before me, whereupon I wrote an Essay of an Epistle, which, being examined and corrected by the Committee on the Epistle, was signed by a number of Friends in behalf of the Meeting, and was as follows"—. A note at bottom of MS. B, p. 177, reads, "1772. I am easier that that Epistle be left out." He omits it in MS. A. It has been included in every printed edition, and is here retained because his note proves Woolman's authorship. The original broadside, printed by Benjamin Franklin, is in the Library of Haverford College, Pa.

God, whose tender mercies have long been continued to us in this land, we affectionately salute you; with sincere and fervent desires, that we may reverently regard the dispensations of his providence, and improve under them.

The empires and kingdoms of the earth are subject to his Almighty power. He is the god of the spirits of all flesh; and deals with his people agreeable to that wisdom, the depth whereof is to us unsearchable. We, in these provinces, may say, He hath, as a gracious and tender parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers. It was He who strengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderness, and made way for them in the hearts of the natives; so that by them they were comforted in times of want and distress; it was by the gracious influences of his holy spirit, that they were disposed to work righteousness, and to walk uprightly one towards another, and towards the natives; and in life and conversation to manifest the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the christian religion; and thereby they retain their esteem and friendship. Whilst they were labouring for the necessaries of life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote piety and virtue in the earth, and to educate their children in the fear of the Lord.

If we carefully consider the peaceable measures pursued in the first settlement of the land, and that freedom from the desolations of wars, which for a long time we enjoyed, we shall find ourselves under strong obligations to the Almighty, who, when the earth is so generally polluted with wickedness, gave us a being in a part so signally favoured with tranquillity and plenty; and in which the glad tidings of the gospel of Christ are so freely published, that we may justly say with the psalmist, "What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits!"

Our own real good, and the good of our posterity, in some measure depends on the part we act; and it nearly concerns us to try our foundations impartially. Such are the different rewards of the just and unjust in a future state, that to attend diligently to the dictates of the spirit of Christ, to devote ourselves to his service, and engage fervently in his cause, during our short stay in this world, is a choice well becoming a free intelligent creature; we shall thus clearly see and consider that the dealings of God with mankind in a national capacity, as recorded in holy writ, do sufficiently evidence the truth of that saying, "It is righteousness which exalteth a nation." And tho' he doth not at all times suddenly execute his judgments on a sinful people in this life, yet we see by many instances, that where "men follow lying vanities, they forsake their own mercies:" and as

a proud, selfish spirit prevails and spreads among a people, so partial judgment, oppression, discord, envy and confusions increase, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adversity as a reward of their own doings. Thus the inspired prophet, reasoning with the degenerated Jews, saith, "Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know therefore, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts." Jer. ii. 19.

The God of our fathers, who hath bestowed on us many benefits, furnished a table for us in the wilderness, and made the deserts and solitary places to rejoice; he doth now mercifully call upon us to serve him more faithfully. We may truly say with the prophet, "It is his voice which crieth to the city, and men of wisdom see his name. They regard the rod, and him who hath appointed it."

People who look chiefly at things outward, too little consider the original cause of the present troubles; but such who fear the Lord, and think often upon his name, they see and feel that a wrong spirit is spreading among the inhabitants of our country; that the hearts of many are waxed fat, and their ears dull of hearing; that the Most High, in his visitations to us, instead of calling, he lifteth up his voice and crieth; he crieth to our country, and his voice waxeth louder and louder.

In former wars between the English and other nations, since the settlement of our provinces, the calamities attending them have fallen chiefly on other places, but now of late they have reached to our borders: many of our fellow subjects have suffered on and near our frontiers; some have been slain in battle, some killed in their houses, and some in their fields, some wounded and left in great misery, and others separated from their wives and little children, who have been carried captives among the Indians. We have seen men and women who have been witnesses of these scenes of sorrow, and being reduced to want, have come to our houses asking relief. It is not long since it was the case of many young men in one of these provinces to be draughted, in order to be taken as soldiers: some were at that time in great distress, and had occasion to consider that their lives had been too little conformable to the purity and spirituality of that religion which we profess, and found themselves too little acquainted with that inward humility, in which true fortitude to endure hardness for the Truth's sake is experienced. Many parents were concerned for their children, and in that time of trial were led to consider, that their care to get outward treasure for them, had been greater than their care for their settlement in that religion which crucifieth

to the world, and enableth to bear a clear testimony to the peaceable government of the Messiah. These troubles are removed, and for a time we are released from them.

Let us not forget that "the Most High hath his way in the deep, in clouds and in thick darkness"—that it is his voice which crieth to the city and to the country; and, Oh! that these loud and awakening cries, may have a proper effect upon us, that heavier chastisement may not become necessary! For though things, as to the outward, may, for a short time, afford a pleasing prospect; yet while a selfish spirit that is not subject to the cross of Christ, continueth to spread and prevail, there can be no long continuance in outward peace and tranquillity. If we desire an inheritance incorruptible, and to be at rest in that state of peace and happiness which ever continues: if we desire in this life to dwell under the favour and protection of that Almighty Being, whose habitation is in holiness, whose ways are all equal, and whose anger is now kindled because of our backslidings; let us then awfully regard these beginnings of his sore judgments, and with abasement and humiliation turn to Him whom we have offended.

Contending with one equal in strength is an uneasy exercise: but if the Lord is become our enemy, if we persist to contend with Him who is omnipotent, our overthrow will be unavoidable.

Do we feel an affectionate regard to posterity; and are we employed to promote their happiness? Do our minds, in things outward, look beyond our own dissolution; and are we contriving for the prosperity of our children after us? Let us then, like wise builders, lay the foundation deep; and by our constant uniform regard to an inward piety and virtue, let them see that we really value it. Let us labour, in the fear of the Lord, that their innocent minds, while young and tender, may be preserved from corruptions; that as they advance in age, they may rightly understand their true interest, may consider the uncertainty of temporal things, and above all, have their hope and confidence firmly settled in the blessing of that Almighty Being, who inhabits eternity, and preserves and supports the world.

In all our cares about worldly treasures, let us steadily bear in mind, that riches possessed by children who do not truly serve God, are likely to prove snares, that may more grievously entangle them in that spirit of selfishness and exaltation, which stands in opposition to real peace and happiness; and renders them enemies to the cross of Christ, who submit to the influence of it.

To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity, to visit the poor in their lonesome dwelling places, to comfort them who,

through the dispensations of Divine Providence, are in strait and painful circumstances in this life, and steadily to endeavour to honour God with our substance, from a real sense of the love of Christ influencing our minds thereto, is more likely to bring a blessing to our children, and will afford more satisfaction to a christian favoured with plenty, than an earnest desire to collect much wealth to leave behind us; for "here we have no continuing city:" may we therefore diligently "seek one that is to come, whose builder and maker is God."

"Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things and do them, and the God of peace shall be with you."

Signed by appointment, and on behalf of our said meeting, by

MORDECAI YARNALL,¹⁰⁸
THOMAS MASSEY,
JOHN CHURCHMAN,

JOHN SCARBROUGH,
PETER FEARON,
THOMAS EVANS,

JOSEPH PARKER.

da mo

¹ [28th 11th 1759. I was at the Quarterly meeting in Bucks county; this day being the meeting of ministers and elders, my heart was enlarged in the love of Jesus Christ; and the favour of the Most High was extended to us in that and the ensuing Meeting.

I had conversation, at my lodging, with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn;²⁰ who expressed a concern to join in a visit to some Friends in that County, who had Negroes; and as I had felt a Draught in my mind to that work in the said county,

da mo

I came home and put things in order; on the 11: 12: I went over the River; and on the next day was at Buckingham meeting; where, through the descendings of Heavenly dew, my mind was comforted and drawn into a near unity with the flock of Jesus Christ.

Entering upon this visit appeared weighty: and before I left

¹MS. A omits the following paragraphs. MS. B, p. 179, is the only one which includes this visit to Bucks County, Pa. The first edition, 1774, retains it as given in B, showing that the Committee on Publication were using all three of the Manuscripts in their Editorial Work.

home my mind was often sad; under which exercise I felt, at times, that Holy Spirit which helps our infirmities; through which in private my prayers were at times put up to God that he would be pleased so to purge me from all Selfishness, so that I might be strengthened to discharge my duty Faithfully how hard soever to the natural part. We proceeded on the visit in a weighty frame of Spirit, and went to the Houses of the most active members throughout the county who had Negroes, and through the Goodness of the Lord, my mind was preserved in Resignation in times of trial. And though the work was hard to nature, yet through the strength of that Love which is stronger than Death, tenderness of heart was often felt amongst us in our Visits, and we parted from several families with greater satisfaction than we expected.

We visited Joseph Whites³⁵ Family, he being in England; had also a family sitting at the house of an elder who bore us company and were at Makefield on a first-day. At all which times my heart was truly thankful to the Lord who was graciously pleased to renew his loving kindness to us his poor servants, uniting us together in his work.]

¹ In the winter [1759] the smallpox being in [and about] town and many being Inoculated, of which [some] died, Some things were opened in my mind, which I wrote as follows

The more fully our lives are conformable to the will of God, the better it is for us. I have looked on the Smallpox as a Messenger sent from the Almighty, to be an Assistant in the Cause of Virtue, and to incite us to consider whether we Employ our time only in such things as are Consistent with Perfect Wisdom and goodness.

Building houses suitable to dwell in, for ourselves and our Creatures, preparing Cloathing suitable to the Climate & Season, and food convenient, are all duties incumbent on us. And under these general heads are many branches of business in which we may venture health and life as necessity may require. This disease being in a house and my business calling me to go near it: It incites me to think whether this business is a real indispensable duty, whether it is not in conformity to some Custom, which would be better laid aside, or whether it does not proceed from too Eager a pursuit of some outward treasure. If the business

¹ MS. A, p. 98, here resumes the narrative.

before me springs not from a Clear understanding, and a regard to that use of things which [pure] WISDOM approves; to be brought to a sence of it and Stopped in my pursuit, is a kindness, for when I proceed to business without some evidence of Duty, I have found by experience that it tends to weakness.

If I am so scituated that there appears no probability of missing the infection, it tends to make me think whether my maner of life in things outward, has nothing in it which may unfit my Body to receive this messenger in a way the most favourable to me. Do I use Food and Drink in no other Sort, and in no other degree, than was designed by Him who gave these Creatures for our Sustenance? Do I never abuse my Body by inordinate Labour, Striving to Accomplish some end which I have unwisely proposed? Do I use action enough in some Useful Employ, or do I set too much idle, while some persons who labour to support me have too great a share of [Labour] If in any of these things I am deficient, to be incited to Consider it, is a favour to me.

There is employ necessary in social life, & this [Mortal] infection incites me to think whether these Social acts of mine are real duties. If I go on a Visit to the widows and Fatherless, do I go purely on a principle of Charity, free from every selfish view. If I go to a Religious meeting, it [should] put me a thinking whether I go in sincerity and in a clear sence of duty, or whether it is not partly in conformity to Custom, or partly from a sensible delight which my animal Spirits feel in the Company of other people, and whether to Support my [reputation]¹ as a Religious man, has no share in it.

[Am I called upon to assist in] affairs relating to Civil society, as I hazard my health and life [in coming near this infection, it is fit for] me to think Seriously, whether love to Truth and Righteousness is the motive of my attending; whether the manner of proceeding is altogether Equitable; or whether aught of narrowness, party interest, respect to outward dignities, names, or [Collours of] men, do not stain the beauty of those Assemblies, and render [the case] doubtfull in point of duty, whether a Disciple of Christ ought to attend as a Member united to the Body or not.

Whenever there are blemishes which for a Series of time re-

¹ MS. B "Character."

main Such, that which is a means of Stiring us up to look attentively on these blemishes, and to Labour according to our Capacities, to have [true] health and Soundness restored in our Country, we may justly account a kindness from our Gracious Father, who appointed that mean.

The care of a wise and good man for his only Son, is inferior to the Regard of the great PARENT of the Universe for his creatures. [The Most High] hath the Command of all the powers and operations in nature, and *doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men.* [Chastisement is intended for Instruction, and Instruction being received by gentle Chastisement, greater calamities are prevented.]

By an Earthquake hundreds of houses are sometimes shaken down in a few minutes, and multitudes of people perish Suddenly and many more being crushed and bruised in the Ruins of the buildings, pine away and die in great Misery.

By the breaking in of Enraged, merciless armies, flourishing Countries have been laid waste and great numbers of people perished in a Short time and many more pressed with poverty and grief.

By the Pestilence people have died so fast in a City, that through fear, grief, & Confusion, Those in health have found great difficulty in burying the dead, even without Coffins.

By a famine great numbers of people in some places have been brought to the Utmost distress, and pined away for want of the necessaries of life. Thus where the kind Invitations and Gentle Chastisements of a Gracious God have not been attended to, his Sore Judgments have at times been poured out upon people.

While some rules approv'd in Civil Society, & Conformable to human Policy so called are distinguishable from the purity of Truth and Righteousness, [it behoves us to meditate on the end to which those ways are leading.] While many professing the Truth are declineing from that ardent Love and Heavenly mindedness, which was amongst the primitive followers of Jesus Christ; [while I and thee as Individuals feel our-Selves Short of that Perfection in Virtue, which our Heavenly Father hath made possible for us, It is a time for Countries, Societies and Individuals] to attend diligently to the intent of Every Chastisement, & Consider the most deep and inward design of them.

The Most High doth not often speak with an outward voice to our outward Ears; but if we humbly meditate on his perfections, Consider that He is perfect Wisdom & Goodness, and to Afflict his Creatures to no purpose would be utterly reverse to his Nature, we Shall hear & understand his language, both in his gentle and more heavy Chastisements, and take heed that we do not, in the wisdom of this world, endeavour to Escape his hand by means too powerfull for us [to apply to.]

Had he Endowed men with understanding to hinder the force of this disease by innocent means, which had never proved mortal nor hurtful to our bodies, Such discovery might be considered as the period of Chastisement by this distemper, where that knowledge Extended. But as life and health are his gifts, and not to be disposed of in our own wills, To take upon us, when in health a distemper of which some die, requires great Clearness of knowledge that it is our duty to do so. [Was no business done, no visits made nor any Assembling of people together but Such as were consistent with pure wisdom, nor No Inoculation, there would be a great alteration in the Operation of this disorder amongst men.]

CHAPTER VII

1760

Having, for some time past felt a Sympathy in my mind with Friends Eastward I opened my concern in our monthly meeting,
da mo

and obtaining a Certificate, set forward on the 17. 4. 1760, Joyn-
ing in Company, by a previous agreement, with my beloved Friend Samuel Eastburn.²⁶ We had meetings at Woodbridge, Raughway,¹ and Plainfield; and were at their monthly meeting of Ministers and Elders in Raughway. We laboured under some discouragements, but through the power of Truth, our visit was made reviving to the lowly-minded with whom I felt a near unity of Spirit, being much reduced in my own mind. We passed on & visited chief of the meetings on Long Island. It was my Concern from day to day to say no more nor less than what the spirit of Truth opened in me, being Jealouse over myself, lest I should Speak any thing to make my testimony look agreeable to that mind in people which is not in pure obedience to the Cross of Christ.

The spring of the Ministry was often low, and thro' the Subjecting power of Truth we were kept low with it, and from place to place, such whose hearts were truly concerned for the cause of Christ, appeared to be comforted in our labours. And though it was in general a time of abasement of the Creature, yet through His Goodness who is a helper of the poor, we had some truly Edefying Seasons both in meetings and in families where we tarried and Sometimes found Strength to labour Earnestly with the unfaithfull Especially with those whose Station in families, or in the Society was Such, that their Example had a powerfull tendency to Open the way for others to go aside from the purity and soundness of the blessed Truth.

¹ Rahway, New Jersey.

At Jericho, on Long Island I wrote [a letter] home as follows¹

da mo

24. 4. 1760.

Dearly Belovd Wife,—

We are favoured with health, have been at Sundry meetings in East Jersey & on this Island. My mind hath been in an inward watchfull frame Since I left thee, greatly desiring that our proceedings may be Singly in the will of Our Heavenly Father.

As the present appearance of things is not joyous, I have been much shut up from outward Chearfulness, remembering that promise, "Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord." As this from day to day has been revived in my memory, I have considered that his Internal presence on our minds is a delight of all others the most pure; and that the honest hearted not only delight in this, but in the Effect of it upon them. He regards the helpless and distressed, and reveals his Love to His Children under Affliction, they delight in beholding his Benevolence, & feeling Divine Charity moving upon them: Of this I may speak a little, for though since I left you, I have often found an Engaging love & Affection towards thee and my daughter, and Friends about home; that going out at this time, when Sickness is so great amongst you, is a tryal upon me; yet I often remember there are many Widows and Fatherless, many who have poor Tutors, many who have evil Examples before them, and many whose minds are in Captivity, for whose sake my heart is at times moved with Compassion, that I feel my mind resigned to leave you for a Season, to exercise that Gift which the Lord hath bestowed on me, which though small compared with some, yet in this I rejoyce, that I feel love unfeigned toward my fellow-creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who I trust cares for you, and under a Sence of his Heavenly Love, remain thy Loving Husband, J. W.

We Crossed from the East end of Long Island to New London, about thirty mile in a large open Boat. While we were out the wind riseing high, the waves several times beat over us, that to me it appeared dangerous, but my mind was at that time turned to Him who made and Governs the Deep, and my life was resigned to him: and as he was Mercifully pleased to preserve us, I

¹ Original unlocated. John Woolman's host at Jericho, from whose house this letter was written, was probably Richard Willetts, son of Jacob and Mary (Jackson) Willetts. [J. Cox, Jr.] See other letters to his wife on this Journey in Introduction.

had fresh occasion to consider every Day as a Day lent to me, and felt a renewed Engagement to Devote my time and all I had to Him who gave it. We had five meetings in Narraganset and thence to Newport. Our Gracious Father presev'd us in a humble dependence on Him through deep exercises that were mortifying to the creaturely will.

In several families in the Country where we lodged I felt an Engagement on my mind to have a Conference with them in private concerning their Slaves, and through Divine aid I was favoured to give up thereto. Though in this [case] I appear singular from many, whose service in traveling I believe is greater than mine, I do not think hard of them for omitting it. I do not repine at having so unpleasant a task assigned me, But look with Awfulness to Him who Appoints to his servants their respective Employments and is good to all who serve Him sincerely.

We got to Newport in the Evening & had comfortable setings with them and in the afternoon attended the Burial of a Friend.¹ The next day we were at meeting at Newport [the] forenoon and after, where the Spring of the Ministry was opened, and Strength given to declare the word of Life to the people.

The next day we went on our Journey, but the great number of Slaves in these parts, and the Continuance of a Trade from there to Guinea, made deep impression on me, and my Cries were often put up to my Father in Secret, that he would enable me to discharge my duty Faithfully in such way as he might be pleased to point out to me.

We took Swanzeey, Free-town, and Tanton² in our way to Boston, where also we had a meeting. Our Exercise was deep, & the Love of Truth prevailed, for which I Bless the Lord.

We went Eastward about Eighty miles beyond Boston³ taking meetings and were in a good degree preserved in a Humble dependence on that arm which drew us out. And, though we had Some hard labour with the disobedient, laying things home & Close to such who were stout against the Truth, yet through the goodness of God we had at times to partake of Heavenly Comfort with them who were meek, and Often were favoured to part with

¹ Mary, the wife of Abram Redwood.

² Taunton, Mass.

³ Probably to Dover, N. H.

friends in the nearness of true gospel fellowship. We returned to Boston and had another comfortable opportunity with Friends there and thence rode a days Journey Westward to Bolton. Our pilot being a heavy man, and the weather hot, and my Companion & I considering it, Expressd our freedom to go on without him, to which he consented, & so we Respectfully took our leave of him: this we did as believing the Journey would have [went] hard with him and his horse.

We visited the meetings in those parts & were measurably Baptized into a feeling of the State of the Society, and in Bowedness of Spirit went to the Yearly Meeting at Newport, where I understood that a large number of Slaves were imported from Africa & then on Sale by a member of our Society. At this meeting we met with John Storer³² from England, Eliz. Shipley,²⁹ Hañah Foster,²⁷ Ann Gauntt,³¹ and Mercy Redman,¹⁰⁴ from our parts, all ministers of the Gospel, of whose Company I was glad.

At this time I had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk, as thus expresst:¹ "When I heard, my Belly trembled, my lips quivered, [my appetite failed and I grew outwardly weak,] and I trembled in myself that I might rest in the day of trouble."² I had many cogitations, and was sorely distresst I was desirous that Friends might petition the Legislators to Use their Endeavours to discourage the future Importation of them For I saw that this trade was a great Evil, and tended to multiply troubles, and bring distresses on the people in those parts, for whose wellfare my heart was deeply Concerned, but I perceived Several difficulties in regard to petitioning, and Such was the Exercise of mind, that I had thoughts of Endeavouring to get an Oportunity to Speak a few words in the House of Assembly, [they being then] seting in the Town. This Exercise came upon me in the

¹ Hab. iii. 16. Incorrectly quoted, from memory.

² The Yearly Meeting records for 6 mo. 12, 1760 have the following Minute—"This Meeting Being favoured with the Company of the following Ministering Friends produced Certificates from their Respective Monthly Meetings, viz: One from Buckingham in Pennsylvania Dated y^e 7 of y^e 4 mo. 1760 for Samuel Eastburn; one for John Woolman from y^e Monthly Meeting held at Burlington Dated y^e 7 of y^e 4 mo. 1760." Other Certificates read were for Elizabeth Shipley, of Wilmington, Del., dated 14, 3 mo., Hannah Foster, Haddonfield, N. J., dated 12, 5 mo., Ann Gaunt, Little Egg Harbour, N. J., dated 10 4 mo., Mercy Redman, Haddonfield, N. J., dated 14, 4 mo. [Records, New England Yearly Meeting—Vol. I, p. 248.]

afternoon on the second day of the Yearly Meeting, and going to bed, I got no Sleep till my mind was wholly resigned therein, and in the Morning I inquired of a Friend how long the Assembly were likely to Continue seting, who told me they were Expected to be prorogued that day or the next. As I was desirous to attend the Business of the Meeting, and perceived the Assembly was likely to depart before the Business was over, after considerable Exercise, seeking to the Lord for Instruction my mind Setled to attend on the Business of the Meeting, on the last day of which I had prepared a Short Essay of a petition to be presented to the Legislator if way opened for it: and being informed that there were some appointed by that Yearly Meeting to Speak with [men] in authority, in Cases Relating to the Society, I opened my [Feeling] to Several of them and Showed them the Essay I had made, and afterward opened the Case in the Meeting for business in Substance as follows

“I have been under a Concern for some time, on account of the great number of Slaves which are Imported into this colony. I am aware that it is a tender point to speak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the Sight of Heaven without speaking to it. I have prepared an Essay of a petition, [propos'd] if way open, to be presented to the Legislature, and what I have to propose to this meeting is, that Some friends may be named to [walk aside] and look over it, and report whether they believe it sutable to be read in [this] meeting. If they think well of reading it, It will remain for the meeting, after hearing it, to Consider whither to take any further notice of it as a meeting or not.”

After a short Conference, some Friends went out, and [after] looking over it expresst their willingness to have it read, which being done, many Expresst their Unity with the proposal, and some Signified that to have the Subject of the petition Enlarged upon, and to be Signed out of meeting by such who were free, would be more Sutable than to do it there. Though I Expected at first that if it was done, it would be in that way, yet, such was the Exercise of my mind that to move it in the hearing of Friends when Assembled appeared to me as a duty, for my heart yearned toward the Inhabitants of these parts, believing that by this trade there had been an increase of Unquietness amongst

them, and way made Easie for the Spreading of a Spirit Oposite to that Meekness and Humility, which is a Sure Resting place for the Soul: And that the Continuance of this trade would not only render their healing more difficult, but increase their malady. Having thus far proceeded, I felt easie to leave the Essay amongst Friends, for them to proceed in it as they believ'd best.

And now an Exercise revived on my mind in relation to lotteries which were common in those parts.

I had once moved it in a former seting of this meeting, when Arguments were Used in favour of Friends being held Excused who were only Concerned in such Lotteries as were agreeable to Law, and now on moving it again, it was oposed as before. but the hearts of Some Solid Friends appeared to be united to discourage the practice amongst their Members, and the matter was Zealously handled by Some on both sides. In this debate it appeared very clear to me that the Spirit of Lotteries was a Spirit of Selfishness which tended to Confusion and darkness of understanding, and that pleading for it in our meetings set apart for the Lords work, was not right. And in the heat of zeal I once made reply to what an Antient Friend¹ said, which, when I Sat down I Saw that my words were not Enough Seasoned with Charity, and after this I Spake no more on the Subject. At length a minute was made, a copy of which was agreed to be sent to their Several Quarterly Meetings, Inciting Friends to Labour to discourage the practice amongst all professing with us. Some time after this minute was made, I remaining uneasy with the manner of my Speaking to [an] Antient Friend, could not see my way clear to Conceal my Uneasiness, but was concern'd that I might say nothing to weaken the Cause in which I had laboured: And then after some Repentance for that I had not attended closely to the Safe guide, I stood up & reciting the passage, acquainted Friends, that though I dare not go from what I had said as to the matter, yet I was uneasie with the manner of my Speaking, as believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in Some degree of Creaturely abasement, it appeared to have a good Savor amongst us after a warm debate.

The Yearly Meeting being now over, there yet remained on

¹ Probably John Casey. Biog. Note 105.

my mind a Secret though heavy Exercise, in regard to Some leading Active members about Newport, being in the practice of Slave keeping. This I mentioned to two Antient Friends who came out of the country, and proposed to them if way opened to have some conversation with those Friends. And thereupon one of those Country Friends and I consulted one of the most noted Elders who had [them]; and he in a respectfull manner Encouraged me to proceed to clear mySelf of what lay upon me. Now I had near the beginning of the Yearly Meeting, a private conference with this said Elder and his wife, concerning theirs; so that the way seemed clear to me to advise with him about the [way] of proceeding. I told him, I was free to have a conference with them [all] together in a private house, or, if he [believed] they would take it unkind to be asked to come together, and to be spoke with, one in the hearing of another, I was free to Spend Some time amongst them, and Visit them all in their own Houses. He expresst his liking to the first proposal; not doubting their willingness to come together. And as I proposed a Visit to only Ministers, Elder & Overseers, he named Some others whom he desired might be present also. and as a Carefull Messenger was wanted to Acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houses to open the matter to them, and did so. [That] about the Eighth hour the next morning, we met in the meeting house Chamber, And the last-mentioned Country Friend, also my Companion,¹ and John Storer² with us When after a short time of retirement, I acquainted them with the Steps I had taken in procureing that meeting, and Opened the Concern I was under, and so we proceeded to a free Conference upon the subject. My Exercise was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in Spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the Seasoning Virtue of Truth which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was mutually handled in a Calm and peaceable Spirit. And at length, feeling my mind released from that burthen which I had been under, I took my leave of them, in a good degree of Satisfaction, and by the tenderness they manifested in regard to the practice and the Concern several of them Expressst in relation to disposing of their negroes after their decease, I believed that a good Exercise was

¹ Samuel Eastburn (26).

spreading [in the minds of Friends] and I am humbly Thankfull to GOD who supported my Soul and preserved me in a good degree of Resignation through these tryals.

Thou who sometimes Travels in the work of the ministry, and art made very wellcome by thy friends, Seest many tokens of their Satisfaction in having thee for their guest. It is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayest feel and understand the Spirits of people. If we believe Truth points towards a Conference on Some Subjects, in a private way, it is needfull for us to take heed that their kindness, their freedom & Affability, do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have Seen that in the midst of kindness and Smoothe conduct, to speak close and home to them who entertain us, on points that relate to their outward Interest, is hard Labour and some times when I have felt Truth lead toward it, I have found myself disqualified by a Superficial friendship, and as the sense thereof hath abased me, and my Cries have been to the Lord, so I have been humbled and made Content to appear weak, or as a fool for his Sake, and thus a door hath opened to Enter upon it.

To attempt to do the Lords work in our own will, and to Speak of that which is the Burthen of the word, in a way Easie to the natural part, does not reach the bottom of the disorder. To see the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, without opening that which we ought to open, and still carry a face of friendship, this tends to undermine the foundation of true Unity.

The Office of a Minister of Christ is weighty, and they who now go forth as watchmen, have need to be Steadily on their guard against the Snares of prosperity and an outside friendship.¹

After the Yearly Meeting was over, we were at meetings at Newtown, Cushnet,² Long Plain, Rochester and Dartmoth, and from thence we sailed for Nantucket, in Company with Ann Gauntt³¹ and Mercy Redman,¹⁰⁴ and Several other Friends. The wind being Slack, we only Reached Tarpaulin Cove³ the first day, where going on shore we found house room in a Public house, and Beds for a few of us, the rest Sleeping on the floor. We went on board again about break of day; and though the

¹ Compare remarks "Concerning the Ministry," written in England.

² Acushnet near New Bedford, Mass.

³ Tarpaulin Cove, Island of Naushon, one of the Elizabeth Islands, in Vineyard Sound, Massachusetts.

wind was Small, we were favoured to come within about four miles of Nantucket, and then about ten of us geting into our Boat, we rowed to the harbour before Dark: whereupon a large Whale-boat going of, brought in the rest of the passengers about midnight. The next day but one was their Yearly Meeting, which held four days, [on] the last of which, was [allso] their monthly meeting of Business. We had a laborious time amongst them, our minds were closely exercised, and I believe it was a time of great Searching of heart. The longer I was on the Island the more I became sensible that there was a considerable number of Valuable Friends there, though an evil spirit tending to strife, had been at work amongst them. I was cautious of making any Visits but as my mind was particularly drawn to them, & in that way we had Some setings in Friends Houses, where the Heavenly Wing was at times spread over us, to our mutual comfort. My Beloved Companion¹ had verry Acceptable Service on this Island.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to Sail the next day if the weather was sutable & wee well and being Called up the latter part of the night, we went on Board being in all about fifty, but the wind changing, the Seamen thought best to Stay in the harbour till it altered [again] so we [went] on Shore, and I feeling clear as to any further visits, Spent my time in our Chamber chiefly alone, and after some hours, my heart being filled with the Spirit of Supplication, my prayers & Tears were poured out before my Heavenly Father, for his help and Instruction in the manifold difficulties which Attended me in life, [and] while I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a Messenger from the Women Friends who lodged at another House, desiring to confer with us about appointing a Meeting, which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at so many before, but after a short Conference, and advising with some Elderly Friends a meeting was appointed, in which the Friend who first moved it, and who had been much Shut up before, was largely Opened in the Love of the Gospel. And [then, going on board y^e next morning about Break of Day] we reached Falmouth on the Main before Night; where our horses being brought, we proceeded toward Sandwich Quarterly meeting.

¹ Samuel Eastburn.²⁰

Being two days going to Nantucket, and having been once before, I Observed many Shoals in their Bay, which makes Sailing more dangerous, Especially in Stormy nights; [I observed] also a great shoal which Encloseth their Harbour, & prevents their going in with Sloops, Except when the tide is up. Waiting without this Shoal for the Rising of the Tide is sometimes hazardous in Storms, And waiting within, they sometimes Miss a Fair wind. I took notice that on that small Island are a great number of Inhabitants, and the Soil not verry fertile. The Timber so gone that for Vessels, Fences & Firewood, they depend Chiefly on buying from the Main. The cost whereof, with most of their other Expenses, they depend principally upon the whale fishery to Answer. I considered that if towns grew larger, and Lands near navigable waters more cleared, Timber and wood would require more labour to get it. I understood that the Whales being much hunted, and sometimes wounded and not Killed, grew more Shy and difficult to come at.

I Considered that the Formation of the Earth, the Seas, the Islands, Bays and Rivers, The Motions of the Winds and Great Waters, which Cause Bars and Shoals in particular places, were all the Works of Him who is Perfect Wisdom and goodness; and as people attend to his Heavenly Instructions, and put their Trust in him, he provides for them in all parts where he gives them a being. And as in this Visit to these people, I felt a Strong desire for their firm Establishment on the sure Foundation; besides what was said more publicly, I was concerned to Speak with the Women Friends, in their monthly meeting of business, many being present; and in the fresh spring of pure Love, to Open before them the Advantage, both inward and outward, of Attending Singly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to Educate their Children in true Humility, and the disuse of all Superfluities. Reminding them of the Difficulties their Husbands and Sons were frequently Exposed to at Sea, and that the more plain and simple their way of living was, the less need of Runing great Hazards to Support them in it; Encouraging the young Women in their neat, decent way of attending themselves on the Affairs of the house, Showing as the way opened, that where people were truly Humble, Used themselves to business & were content with a plain way of life, That

it had ever been attended with more True peace and calmness of mind, than those have had, who, Aspiring to greatness and outward Shew, have grasped hard for an Income to Support themselves in it. And as I observed they had few or no Slaves amongst them, I had to Encourage them to be Content without them. Makeing mention of the numerous troubles & Vexations, which frequently attend the minds of people who depend on Slaves to do their labour.

We attended the Quarterly Meeting at Sandwich,¹ in Company with Ann Gauntt⁸¹ and Mercy Redman,¹⁰⁴ which was preceded by a monthly meeting, and in the whole held three days. We were Various Ways Exercised amongst them in Gospel Love, According to the Several Gifts bestowed on us and were at times Overshadowed with the Divine Virtue of Truth, to the Comfort of the Sincere, and Stiring up of the Negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhoad Island taking one meeting in our way which was a Satisfactory time; and reaching Newport the Evening before their Quarterly Meeting we Attended it, and after that had a Meeting with our Young people, Separated from other societies. We [had] went through much Labour in this Town and now in taking leave of it, though I felt close inward Exercise to the last, I found inward peace, and was in some degree comforted in a Belief that a good Number remain in that place who retain a Sence of Truth. And that there are some young people Attentive to the voice of the Heavenly Shepherd. The last meeting in which Friends from the Several parts of the Quarter came together was a Select meeting, and through the renewed manifestations of our Fathers Love The Hearts of the sincere were united together.

That poverty of Spirit which [so much Attended me] the fore part of this journey, has of late appeared to me as a dis-

¹ The men received the following attention, in a Minute 31 of 3 mo. 1760, recorded at Sandwich; "Our beloved Friends, John Woolman & Samuel Eastburn, being at this meeting on a religious visit, produced certificates, the former from Burlington, dated 4 mo. 1760, and the latter from Buckingham in Pennsylvania, 4 mo. 1760, both of which were read at this Meeting to satisfaction." [Records, Sandwich Quarterly Meeting, Vol. I, p. 56.] "Our friends John Storer from England, Samuel Eastburn from Pennsylvania, John Woolman from the Jerseys, Ann Gaunt & Mercy Redman from West Jersey, Being all on a Religious Visit to these parts, Certificates being prepared for them, & read in this Meeting, were agreed to & signed. . . . John Woolman's directed to Burlington in West Jersey." [Records Newport Quarterly Meeting, 11 of 7 mo. 1760.]

pensation of kindness. Appointing meetings never felt more weighty to me, and I was led into a deep search, whither in all cases my mind was resigned to the will of God, often quearying with myself, what should be the cause of Such inward poverty [and weakness] greatly desiring that no secret reserve in my heart might hinder my access to the Divine fountain. In these humbling times I was made watchful and attentive to the deep movings of the [Spirit of Truth] on my heart and here some duties were opened to me [which in times of fulness] I believe I should have been in danger of omitting.

[Departing] from Newport, we [were at three Meetings on our way toward Connecticut through which we traveled] ¹ and were helped to labour amongst Friends in the love of our gracious Redeemer: and then, accompanied by our friend John Casey ¹⁰⁵ from Newport, we rode through Connecticut [and to Oblong, and visiting the meetings of Friends there, proceeded to the Quarterly meeting at Rie woods: ² and through the gracious extendings of Divine help, had some seasoning [times] in those places. We then visited Friends at York ³ and Flushing, and Raughway ⁴ [and] here I [parted with] my beloved [friend]

da mo

and true yoke mate Samuel Eastburn, ²⁶ and reached home 10. 8. 1760, where I found my family well, and for the favours and protection of the Lord, both inward & outward, in this little Journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgments, and feel a renewed engagement [that I may] dwell in resignedness to him.

¹ Greenwich, Shanticut and Warwick.

² Rye.

³ New York.

⁴ Rahway, New Jersey.

CHAPTER VI¹¹

1761

Having felt my mind drawn toward a Visit to a few meetings in Pennsylvania, I was very desirous to be instructed Rightly
da mo

as to the time of setting of, and on the 10. 5. 1761, being the first day of the week I went to Haddonfield Meeting. Concluding [in my mind] to Seek for heavenly instruction, and come home or go on as I might then believe best for me; and there through the Springing up of pure love I felt encouragement and so crossed the River. In this visit I was at two Quarterly and three monthly meetings, and in the love of Truth, felt my way open to Labour with some noted Friends who kept Negroes, and as I was favoured to keep the Root, and Endeavoured to discharge what I believed was Required of me, I found inward peace therein from time to time, and thankfulness of heart to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to guide me.

mo

In the 8. 1761, having felt drawings in my mind to Visit Friends in and about Shrewsbury I went there & was at their first-day meeting and their monthly meeting and had a meeting at Squan¹ and another at Squankum, and as way opened I had Conversation with some noted Friends in the fear of the Lord concerning their slaves, and returned home in a thankful sense of the Goodness of God.

From a care I felt growing in me some years, I wrote Considerations on keeping Negroes, part second, which was printed this year, 1762.² When the overseers of the press had done with it, they offered to get a number printed to be p^d for out of the Yearly Meeting stock, & to be given away but I being most

¹ Manasquan.

² This second part of J. Woolman's pamphlet, "Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," was printed by Benjamin Franklin.

easie to publish them at my own Expense, & offering my reasons they appeared Satisfied.

This Stock is the Contribution of the Members of our religious society in general, amongst whom are many who keep Negroes, & some of them being resolved to continue them in Slavery are not likely to be satisfied with those books being spread amongst a people where many of the Slaves are [learnd] to read & Especially not at their Expense; & Such often receiving them as a gift conceal them. But as they who make a purchase buy that which they have a mind for, I [was easie] to sell them, Expecting by that means they would more generally be read with Attention. Advertisements being Signed by order of the overseers of the press, directed to be read in monthly meetings of business within our Yearly Meeting, informing where the Books were, & that the price was no more than the cost of printing and binding them. Many were taken of in our parts, some I sent to York,¹ and to Newport, to my acquaintance there, & some I kept by me Expecting to give part of them away where there appear'd a prospect of doing it to advantage.

In my youth I was used to hard Labour, and though I was midling healthy, yet my Nature was not fited to endure so much as many others, that being often weary [with it], I was prepared to Sympathize with those whose circumstance in life as free men, required constant labour to answer the demands of their creditors, and with others under Oppression. In the uneasiness of body, which I have many times felt by too much labour, not as a forced but a voluntary oppression, I have often been Excited to think on the original cause of that Oppression which is imposed on many in the world. And the latter part of the time wherein I laboured on the plantation, my heart, through the fresh Visitations of Heavenly Love being often tender, and my leisure time frequently spent in reading the Life and doctrines of our Blessed Redeemer, the Account of the Sufferings of Martyrs, and the history of the first rise of our Society, A belief was gradually settled in my mind, That if such who had great Estates generally lived in that Humility and plainness which belonged to a Christian life, and laid much Easier Rents and Interests on their lands & moneys, and

¹ New York.

so led the way to a right Use of things, so great a number of people might be employed in things Usefull that Labour both for men and other Creatures would Need to be no more than an agreeable Employ. And divers branches of business, which serve chiefly to please the Natural Inclinations of our minds, and which at present, seems necessary to circulate that wealth which some gather might in this way of pure Wisdom be discontinued. And as I have thus Considered these things, a query at times hath arisen, do I in all my proceedings keep to that Use of things which is agreeable to Universal Righteousness and then there hath some degree of Sadness at times come over me, for that I accustomed myself to some things which Ocasioned more labour than I believe Divine Wisdom intended for us.

From my early acquaintance with Truth I have often felt an inward distress occasioned by the Striving of a Spirit in me against the operation of the Heavenly principle and in this circumstance have been affected with a sense of my own Wretchedness, and in a mourning condition felt earnest longing for that Divine help which brings the Soul into true Liberty. Retireing into private places, the Spirit of Supplication hath been given me and under a Heavenly Covering have asked my Gracious Father to give me a heart in all things resigned to the direction of his Wisdom, & in Uttering language like this, the thoughts of my wearing hats & garments died with a die injurious to them, has made lasting impressions on me.

¹ [In visiting people of note in the Society who had Slaves, and Labouring with them in Brotherly Love on that account, I have seen and the sight has affected me that a Conformity to some customs distinguishable from Pure Wisdom has entangled many, and the desire of gain to support those Customs greatly Opposed the work of Truth.] And sometimes when the prospect of the work before me has been Such that in bowedness of Spirit I have been drawn into retired places and besought the Lord with tears that he would take me wholly under his direction and show me the way in which I ought to walk it hath revived with strength of conviction that if I would be his Faithfull servant I must in all things attend to his wisdom, and be teachable, and so cease

¹ This paragraph is added on a loose paper, MS. A, pasted in by John Woolman, having been omitted in copying from B.

from all customs contrary thereto, however used amongst Religious people.

As He is the perfection of Power of Wisdom and of Goodness so I believe He hath provided that so much labour shall be necessary for mens Support in this world as would, being rightly divided, be a Sutable Employment of their time, and that we cannot go into Superfluities, nor grasp after wealth in a way contrary to his wisdom without having connection with some degree of Oppression, and with that Spirit which leads to Self exaltation and strife, & which frequently brings Calamities on Countries by parties contending about their claims. Being thus fully convinced & feeling an increasing desire to live in the Spirit of peace; Being often Sorrowfully affected in thinking on the unquiet Spirit in which wars are generally carried on & with the miseries of many of my fellow-creatures engaged therein, Some suddenly destroyed, Some wounded and after much pain remain crippled, Some deprived of all their outward Substance & reduced to want, & Some carried into captivity, thinking often on these things the use of hats & garments died with a die hurtfull to them, & wearing more cloaths in summer than are usefull grew more uneasie to me, believing y^m to be customs which have not their foundation in pure Wisdom. The apprehension of being Singular from my Beloved Friends was a strait upon me, and thus I remained in the Use of Some things contrary to my Judgment.

da mo

And on the 31. 5. 1761 I was taken ill of a fever,¹ and after having it near a week, I was in great distress of Body, and one day there was a Cry raised in me that I might understand the cause why I was afflicted and improve under it, and my conformity to some customs which I believed were not right were brought to my remembrance, & in the Continuation of the Exercise I felt all the powers in me yield themselves up into the hands of Him who gave me being, and was made thankfull that he had taken hold of me by his Chastisement, feeling the Necessity of

¹ From reference to delicate health and several fevers in autumn and spring, together with William Tuke's letter to Reuben Haines referring to the "feverish disorder he usually had at that season of the year" ("9 mo.") one gets the impression that the "fever and ague" of the early settlers on the marshy lands in New Jersey, had taken hold of the frail constitution of John Woolman, whose mode of life and diet were not suited to combat it.

further purifying. There was now no desire in me for Health, untill the design of my Correction was answered, and thus I lay in abasement and brokenness of Spirit. And as I felt a sinking down into a calm Resignation, so I felt as in an Instant, an inward healing in my Nature and from that time forward I grew better.

Though I was thus Settled in my mind in relation to hurtfull dies, I felt easie to wear my garments heretofore made, and so continued about nine months. Then I thought of geting a hat the natural colour of the fur, but the Apprehension of being looked upon as one Affecting Singularity, felt uneasie to me, and here I had occasion to consider that things though small in themselves being clearly enjoined by Divine Authority as a duty, became great things to us, and I Trusted that the Lord would Support me in the tryals that might attend Singularity. While that singularity was only for his sake, on this account I was under close exercise of mind in the time of our General Spring Meeting, 1762, greatly desiring to be rightly directed, [and at a time when one of my Dear Brethren was concerned in Humble Supplication, I] being then deeply bowed in Spirit before the Lord, was made willing [in case I got Safe home,] to speak for a Hat of the natural colour of the fur, [and did so].

In attending [publick] meetings this singularity was a tryal upon me, and more Especially at this time,¹ as being in use amongst some who were fond of following the Changible modes of dress, and as some Friends who knew not on what motive I wore it, carried Shy of me, I felt my way for a time shut up in the Ministry, and in this condition my mind being turned toward my Heavenly Father, with fervent cries that I might be preserved to walk before Him in the meekness of wisdom, my heart was often tender in meetings, and I felt an inward Consolation which to me was very precious under those difficulties.

I had several dyed garments fit for use, which I believed it best to wear till I had ocasion of new ones, and some Friends were apprehensive that my wearing such a hat Savored of an Affected Singularity. Such who spake with me in a Friendly way I generally informed in a few words, that I believ'd my wearing it was not in my own will. I had at times been Sensible that a

¹ MS. B has a note in a later hand, "white hats." These were then the mode.

superficial friendship had been dangerous to me, and many Friends now being uneasy with me, [I found to be a providential Kindness, and though] I had an Inclination to acquaint some [valuable Friends] with the manner of my being led into these things, yet upon a deeper thought, I was for a time most easy to omit it, believing the present dispensation was profitable, and Trusting that if I kept my place the Lord in his own time would open the hearts of Friends toward me. Since which I have had [occasion] to admire his goodness and loving kindness, in leading about & instructing and opening and Enlarging my heart in some of our meetings.¹

mo

11. 1762 feeling an Engagement of mind to visit Some families in Mansfield I joyned my Beloved Friend Benjamin Jones ⁹⁸

mo

and we spent a few days together in that Service. And in the 2. 1763, I joyned in company with Elizabeth Smith¹⁸ and Mary Noble¹⁰⁶ [from Burlington] on a Vistit to the families of Friends at Ancocas in both which visits Through the Baptizing power of Truth, and the hearts of Friends opened to receive us, the sincere labourers were often comforted, and in the [fourth] month following I [bore] some Friends [company] on a visit to the families of Friends in Mountholly in which [Visit] my mind was drawn into an inward awfullness, wherein Strong desires were raised for the Everlasting welfare of my fellow-creatures, and through the kindness of our Heavenly Father, our hearts were at times enlarged, & Friends invited in the flowings of Divine Love to Attend to that which would Settle them on the Sure foundation.²

Having many years felt Love in my heart towards the Natives of this Land, who dwell far back in the Wilderness, whose Ancestors were the owners and possessors of the [Country] where we dwell, and who for a very small consideration Assigned their

mo

Inheritance to us, And being at Philadelphia in the 8. 1761 on a visit to some Friends who had Slaves, I fell in company with

¹ This date—1762—marks the period when John Woolman adopted undyed clothing, which he wore only during the last ten years of his life.

² MS. B. Note in margin—"3rd part, containing 118 pages."

Some of those Natives who lived on the East Branch of the River Susquehannah at an Indian Town called Wehalosing¹ [about 200] miles from Philad, & in Conversation with them by an Interpreter, as also by observations on their Countenances and Conduct I believed some of them were measurably Acquainted with that Divine power which Subjects the rough and froward will of the Creature. And at times I felt inward drawings toward a Visit to that place of which I told none, (Except my Dear Wife,) until it came to Some ripeness, and then in the winter 1762, I laid it before Friends at our monthly and Quarterly and [then] at our General Spring meeting. And having the Unity of Friends and being thoughtfull about an Indian pilot, there came a man and 3 women from a little beyond that Town to Philad on business, and I being [Acquainted] thereof by letter met them

mo

in Town in the 5. 1763; and after some Conversation finding they were Sober people I, by the Concurrence of Friends in that place agreed to joyn with them as Companions on their return, and

da mo

the 7. 6. following, [was] appointed for us to meet at Samuel Foulkes,⁴⁸ at Richland.² Now as this Visit felt very weighty, and was performed at a time when Traveling appeared perilous, So the Dispensation of Divine Providence in preparing my mind for it have been Memorable; and I believe it good for me to give some hints thereof.

After I had given up to go the thoughts of the Journey were often attended with unusual Sadness, in which times my heart was frequently turned to the Lord with inward Breathings for His Heavenly Support, that I might not fail [of] following Him wheresoever He might lead me. And being at our Youths meeting at Chesterfield about a week before the time I Expected to Set of, was there led to speak on that prayer of our Redeemer to His Father: "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil." And in attending to the pure openings of Truth, had to mention what he elsewhere said to His Father, "I know that thou hearest me at all times." So that, as some of his followers kept their

¹ Wyalusing—1922.

² Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

places, and as his prayer was granted, it followed necessarily that they were kept from evil. And as Some of [those] met with great hardships and Afflictions in this world, and at last Suffered death by Cruel men, It appears that whatsoever befalls men while they live in pure Obedience to God, as it certainly works for good, so it may not be considered an evil as it relates to them. As I Spoke on this Subject my heart was much tendered, and great awfullness came over me. And then on the first day of the next week being at our own afternoon meeting, and my heart being Enlarged in Love I was lead to Speak on the Care & protection of the Lord over his people, & to make mention of that passage where a Band of Assyrians Endeavouring to take Captive the Prophet, were disappointed; and how the Psalmist said [that] the angel of the Lord Encampeth round about them that fear him; And Thus, in True Love and tenderness I parted from Friends, Expecting the next morning to proceed on my Journey, and being weary [I] went early to Bed. [And] after I had been asleep a Short time, I was awaked by a man calling at [our] door; and arising was invited to [go and] meet some Friends at a publick house in our Town who came from Philad^a so late that Friends were generally gone to Bed. These Friends informed me that an Express arrived the last morning from [the Fort called] Pittsburg, and brought news that The Indians had taken a Fort from the English westward and Slain and Scalped English people in divers places, Some near the said Pittsburg, and that some Elderly Friends in Philad^a, knowing the time of my Expecting to set of, had conferred together, and thought good to inform me of these things before I left home, that I might consider them, & proceed as I believed best: So I going again to bed told not my wife till morning. My heart was turned to the Lord for his Heavenly instruction, and it was a humbling time to me. When I told my Dear Wife, she appeared to be deeply concerned about it, but in a few hours time my mind became Setled in a Belief that it was my duty to proceed on my Journey, and she bore it with a good degree of Resignation. In this conflict of Spirit there were great Searchings of Heart, and Strong cries to the Lord, that no motion might be in the least degree attended to, but that of the pure Spirit of Truth. The subjects before mentioned, on which I had so lately Spoke in publick were now very fresh

before me; and I was brought inwardly to Commit myself to the Lord, to be disposed of as he Saw good.

So I took leave of my Family and Neighbours in much bow-
edness of Spirit, and went to our monthly meeting at Burlington,
and after taking leave of Friends there, I crossed the River,¹ Ac-
companied by my friends Israel⁶ and John Pemberton,⁸ and part-
ing the next morning with Israel, John bore me company to Sam-
uel Foulkes,⁴⁸ where I met the before mentioned Indians, and we
were glad to see Each other. Here my Beloved Friend Benja-
min Parvin⁴⁶ met me and proposed joyning as a Companion, we
having passed some letters before on the Subject. And now on
his account I had a Sharp tryal, for as the Journey appeared peri-
lous, I thought if he went chiefly to bear me Company, and we
should be taken captive, my having been the means of drawing
him into these difficulties would add to my own Affliction. So I
told him my mind freely, and let him know that I was resigned
to go alone, but after all if he really believed it his duty to go on,
I believed his Company would be very Comfortable to me. It
was indeed a time of deep Exercise, and Benjamin appeared to
be so fastened to the Visit, that he could not be easie to leave
me. So we went on Accompanied by our Friends John Pember-
ton⁸ and William Lightfoot²⁸ of Pikeland, and lodged at Beth-
da mo

lehem and there parting with John, William and we 9. 6. went
forward and got lodging on the floor at a house about five mile
from Fort Allen. Here we parted with William, and at this
place we met with an Indian Trader lately come from Wioming,
and in conversation with him I perceived that many white people
do often sell rum to the Indians, which, I believe, is a great evil,
First they being thereby deprived of the use of their Reason and
their spirits violently Agitated, quarrels often arise which ends
in mischief, and the bitterness and resentments Ocasioned hereby
are frequently of long continuance: again their Skins and furs
gotten through much fatigue & hard travels in hunting, with
which they intended to buy cloathing, [these] when they begin to
be Intoxicated they often Sell at a low rate for more rum, and
afterward when they suffer for want of the necessaries of life,
are angry with those who for the Sake of gain took the ad-

¹ Delaware.

vantage of their weakness; of this their Chiefs have often complained at their Treaties with the English.

Where cunning people pass Counterfeits and impose that on others which is only good for nothing, it is considered as a wickedness, but to sell that to people which we know does them harm, and which often works their Ruin, for the sake of gain manifests a hardened and Corrupt heart; and it is an evil which demands the care of all True Lovers of Virtue [in endeavouring] to Suppress. And while my mind this evening was thus employed, I also remembered that the people on the frontier among whom this evil is too common are often poor people who venture to the outside of a Colony that they may live more independent on Such who are wealthy, who often set high rents on their Land, being then renewedly confirmed in a belief, that if all our inhabitants lived according to pure wisdom, Labouring to promote Universal Love and Righteousness, and ceased from every inordinate desire after wealth, and from all customs which are Tinctured with Luxury, the way would be Easie for our Inhabitants, though much more numerous than at present, to live comfortably on Honest Employments, without having that temptation they are Often under of being drawn into schemes to make settlements on Lands which have not been honestly purchased of the Indians, or of Applying to that wicked practice of Selling rum to them.

da mo

10. 6. Set out early in the morning and crossed the Western Branch of Delaware called the Great Lehigh,¹ near fort Allen, the water being high we went over in a Canow. here we met an Indian and had some friendly conversation with him, & gave him some BisKet, and he having killed a Deer, gave the Indians with us some of it. Then after traveling some miles we met Several Indian men and women with a Cow and Horse & some household goods, who were lately come from their dwelling at Wioming, and going to Settle in another place. We made them some small presents, and some of them understanding English, I told them my motive in comeing into their Country, with which they appeared Satisfied: and one of our guides talking a while with an Antient woman concerning us, The poor old woman

¹ The Lehigh River flows into the Delaware at Easton.

came to my companion and me and took her leave of us with an Appearance of Sincere affection. So going on we pitched our Tent near the banks of the Same River, having laboured hard in crossing some of those Mountains called the Blue Ridge, and by the roughness of the Stones, and the cavities between them, and the steepness of y^e hills, it appeared dangerous: but we were preserved in Safety through the kindness of him whose works in these Mountainous Deserts appeared awfull, toward whom my heart was turned during this days Travel.

Near our Tent on the sides of large Trees peeled for that purpose, were various Representations of men going to, and returning from the wars, and of Some killed in Battle, this being a path heretofore used by warriors. And as I walked about viewing those Indian histories, which were painted mostly in red but some with black, and thinking on the Innumerable Afflictions which the proud, fierce Spirit produceth in the world; Thinking on the Toyls and fatigues of warriors, traveling over Mountains and Deserts, Thinking on their miseries & Distresses when wounded far from home by their Enemies, and of their bruises and great weariness in Chaseing one another over the Rocks and Mountains, and of their restless, unquiet state of mind who live in this Spirit, and of the hatred which mutually grows up in the minds of the Children of those Nations Engaged in war with each other: The desire to cherish the Spirit of Love and peace amongst these people, arose very fresh in me.

This was the first night that we [were] in the woods, and being wet with traveling in the rain, the ground & our Tent wet, and the bushes wet which we purposed to lay under, our Blankets also, all looked discouraging; but I believed that it was the Lord who had thus far brought me forward, and that he would dispose of me as He Saw good, and therein I felt easie. So we kindled a fire with our Tent door open to it, and with Some bushes next the ground, and then Blankets, we made our Bed, and lying down got some sleep, and in the morning feeling a little unwell I went into the River [all over:] The Water was cold, but soon after I felt fresh & well.

da mo

II. 6. The bushes being wet we tarried in our Tent till about Eight o'clock, then going on crossed a High Mountain Sup-

posed to be upwards of four miles [wide, and] the Steepness [on] the north side exceeded all the others. We also crossed two Swamps and it Raining near Night, we pitched our Tent and lodged. About noon, on our way, we were overtaken by one of the Moravian Brethren ⁴⁰ going to Wahalowsing ¹ and an Indian ⁴⁵ man with him who could talk English, and we being together while our horses eat grass, had some friendly conversation [then] they traveling faster than we soon left us. This Moravian [Brother] I understood, had Spent Some time this spring at Wahalowsing, and was by some of [them] invited to come again.

da mo

12. 6. of the week being a Rainey day we continued in our Tent and here I was led to think on the nature of the Exercise which hath attended me. Love was the first motion, and then a Concern arose to Spend Some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life, and the Spirit they live in, If happily I might receive some Instruction from them, or they be in any degree helped forward by my following the Leadings of Truth amongst them, and as it pleased the Lord to make way for my going at a Time when the Troubles of war were increasing, and when by reason of much wet weather Traveling was more difficult than usual at that Season, I looked upon it as a more favourable Opportunity to season my mind, and bring me into a nearer Sympathy with them. And as mine eye was to the great Father of Mercies, humbly desiring to learn what his will was concerning me, I was made quiet and content.

Our [pilots] Horse though hopped went away in the night, and after finding our own, & Searching some time for him, his footsteps were discovered in the path going back again, where-upon my kind Companion went of in the Rain, and after about Seven hours returned with him, and here we lodged again, tying up our horses before we went to Bed, & loosing them to feed about break of day.

da mo

13. 6. the Sun appearing we set forward, and as I rode over the barren Hills my meditations were on the Alterations of the Circumstances of the Natives of this land since the coming in of

¹Wyalusing, a village on the Susquehanna River. David Zeisberger was the Moravian Brother; the Indian was Nathaniel.

the English. The Lands near the Sea are Conveniently scituated for fishing. The lands near the Rivers where the tides flow, and some above, are in many places fertile, and not mountainous; while the Runing of the Tides makes passing up and down easie with any kind of Traffick. Those natives have in some places for [small] considerations sold their Inheritance so favourably Scituated and in other places been driven back by superior force. So that in many places as their way of Clothing themselves is now altered from what it was, and they far remote from us have to pass over Mountains, Swamps, and Barran deserts, where Traveling is very troublesome, in bringing their furs & skins to trade with us.

By the Extending of English Settlements and partly by English Hunters, those wild Beasts they chiefly depend on for a subsistence are not so plenty as they were. And people too often for the Sake of gain open a Door for them to waste their Skins & furs, in purchasing a Liquor which tends to the ruin of y^m & their Families.

My own will and desire being now very much broken, and my heart with much earnestness turned to the Lord, to whom alone I looked for help in the dangers before me, I had a prospect of the English along the Coast for upwards of nine hundred miles where I have traveled. And the favourable Scituation of the English, and the difficulties attending the natives [and the Slaves amongst us,] were open before me, and a weighty and Heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart toward all mankind, in which I felt a Strong Engagement that we might be [faithful] to the Lord while His mercies [are yet extended] to us, and so attend to pure Universal Righteousness as to give no just cause of offence to the gentiles who do not profess christianity, Whither the Blacks from Africa, or the Native Inhabitants of this Continent: And here I was led into a close, laborious Enquiry, whether I as an individual kept clear from all things which tended to Stir up, or were connected with wars, Either in this Land or Africa, and my heart was deeply concerned that in future I might in all things keep steadily to the pure Truth, & live and walk in the plainness and Simplicity of a Sincere follower of Christ. And in this lonely Journey, I did this day greatly bewail the spreading of a wrong Spirit, believing

that the prosperous Convenient Scituation of the English, requires a Constant Attention to Divine love & wisdom, to guide and Support us in a way answerable to the will of that Good, Gracious, & Almighty Being who hath an Equal regard to all mankind. And here Luxury and Covetousness, with the numerous Oppressions and other evils attending them, appeared very Afflicting to me, and I felt in that which is Immutable that the Seeds of great Calamity and desolation are Sown & growing fast on this Continent. Nor have I words sufficient to set forth that longing I then felt, that we who are placed along the Coast, & have tasted the Love and Goodness of God, might arise in his Strength, and like faithful Messengers Labour to check the growth of those Seeds that they may not ripen to the Ruin of our posterity.

We reached the Indian Settlement at Wioming¹ & here we were told that an Indian Runner had been at that place a day or two before us and brought news of the Indians taking an English Fort Westward, and destroying the people, and that they were endeavouring to Take another. And also that another Indian Runer came there about [midnight, the night next] before we got there, who came from a Town about ten miles above Wahalowsing, and brought news that some Indian Warriors from distant parts, came to that Town with two English Scalps, and told the people that it was War with the English.

Our [pilots] took us to the House of a Very Antient man, and soon after we had put in our baggage there came a man from another Indian House some distance off, and I perceiving there was a man near the door, went out, and he having a Tomahock wraped under his matchcoat out of sight, as I approached him he took it in his hand. I, however, went forward, and Speaking to him in a friendly way, perceived he understood some English, my companion then coming out we had some talk with him concerning the nature of our Visit in these parts, and then he going into the House with us, and talking with our [pilots] soon

¹ Wyoming—A settlement made in the second quarter of the 18th century, by Connecticut emigrants, in the fertile valley of the same name, on the north branch of the Susquehanna, in Luzerne county, Pa. Contests between the settlers and Indians were constant during the Colonial period, culminating in the massacre of July, 1778, when two-thirds of the inhabitants were killed by British troops and Indians. A monument opposite Wilkesbarre commemorates this event.

appeared friendly & Sat down and smoaked his pipe. Though his taking [his] hatchet in his hand at the instant I drew near him, had a disagreeable appearance, I believed he had no other intent than to be in readiness in case any violence was offered to him.

Hearing the news brought by these Indian Runers, and being told by the Indians where we lodged that what Indians were about Wioming Expected in a few days to move to some larger Towns, I thought that, to all outward appearance it was dangerous traveling at this time; and after a hard days journey [was] brought into a painfull Exercise at night, in which I had to trace back, and [feel] over the steps I had taken from my first moving in the visit, and though I had to bewail some weakness which at times had attended me, yet I could not find that I had ever given way to a wilfull disobedience: and [then] as I believed I had under a Sence of duty come thus far, I was now earnest in Spirit beseeching the Lord to Shew me what I ought to do.

In this great distress I grew jealous of mySelf, lest the desire of Reputation, as a man firmly settled to persevere through dangers; Or the fear of disgrace ariseing on my returning without performing the visit might have some place in me. Thus I lay full of thoughts, great part of the night, while my Beloved Companion lay & Slept by me; Till the Lord my Gracious Father, who saw the conflicts of my Soul, was pleased to give quietness, and therein I was renewedly confirmed that it was my duty to go forward. Then was I again Strengthened to commit my Life, and all things relating thereto, into His Heavenly hands, and geting a little sleep toward day, when morning came we arose [and then on the]

da mo

14: 6:, we sought out and visited all the Indians hereabouts that we could meet with, they being chiefly in one place about a mile from where we lodged in all perhaps twenty. Here I Exprest the care I had on my mind for their good, and told them that true Love had made me willing thus to leave my home & family to come & see the Indians, and Speak with them in their houses. Some of them understood English and appeared kind & friendly, So we took our leave of those Indians, and went up the River Susquehannah about three miles to the House of an

Indian called Jacob January,⁴⁵ who had killed his hog, and the women were making Store of Bread, and preparing to move up the River. Here our Pilots left their canow when they came down in the spring, which lying dry was leaky So that we being detained Some hours, had a good deal of friendly conversation with the family, and Eating Diner with them, we made some small presents. Then puting our Baggage in the Canow, Some of them pushed Slowly up the Stream, and the rest of us rode our Horses, and Swiming them over a Creek called Lehawahamunk,¹ we pitched our Tent a little above, there being a Shower in the evening: and in a Sence of Gods goodness in helping me in my Distress, Sustaining me under Tryals, and Enclineing my heart to Trust in Him, I lay down in an humble bowed frame of mind & had a comfortable nights lodging.

da mo

15. 6. proceeded forward till afternoon, and then a storm appearing we met our Canoe at An Appointed place, and the Rain continuing we Stayed all night, which was so heavy that it [ran] through our Tent & wet us and our Baggage.

da

16. we found on our way abundance of Trees blown down with the Storm yesterday, and had ocasion reverently to consider the kind dealing of the Lord who provided a Safe place in the valley, for us while this Storm continued. By the falling of Abundance of Trees across our path we were much hindered and in Some Swamps our way was so Stopped that we got throu— with extre[am] difficulty. I had this day often to consider mySelf as a Sojourner in this world, and a belief in the Allsufficiency of God to Support his people in their pilgrimage felt comfortable to me, and I was Industerously Employ'd to get to a state of perfect Resignation.

We seldom saw our Canow but at appointed places by reason of the Path going off from the River, and this afternoon Job Chilaway ⁴⁴ an Indian from Wahalowsing who talks good English, & is acquainted with Several people in & about Philadelphia, [he meeting] our people on the River, and understanding where we Expected to lodge, pushed back about Six miles and came to us after night and in a while our own Canow came, it being hard

¹ Lackawanna?

work pushing up Stream. Job told us that an Indian came in haiste to their Town yesterday, and told them that three warriors coming from Some distance, lodged in a Town above Wahalowsing a few nights past, and that these three men were going against the English at Juniatta. Job was going down the River to the Province Store at Shamokin.

Though I was so far favoured with health as to continue traveling, yet through the various difficulties in our Journey, and the different way of living from what I had been used to, I grew weak, and the news of these warriors being on their march so near us, and not knowing whither we might not fall in with them it was a fresh Tryal of my Faith, and though through the Strength of Divine Love I had Several times been enabled to commit myself to the Divine Disposal, I still found the want of my Strength [to be] renewed, that I might persevere therein, and my cries for help were put up to the Lord who in great Mercy gave me a resigned heart, in which I found quietness.

da mo

17: 6: parting [with] Job Chillaway ⁴⁴ we went on, & reached Wahalowsing about the middle of the afternoon: The first Indian that we Saw was a woman of a modest countenance, with a Babe. She first spake to our [Pilot] and then with a harmonious voice expressed her gladness at seeing us, [they] having before heard of our coming. Then by the direction of our [pilot] we sat down on a log, and he went to the Town to tell the people we were come. My companion & I Seting thus together in a deep inward stillness the poor woman came and sat near us, and great awfulness coming over us, we rejoiced in a sence of Gods Love manifested to our poor Souls. After a while, we heard a Konkshell blow several times & then came John Curtis and another Indian man, who kindly invited us into a House near the Town, where we found I suppose about Sixty people, Seting in Silence and after [Seting] a Short time I stood up and in Some tenderness of Spirit acquainted them with the nature of my visit, and that a concern for their good had made me willing to come thus far to see them: all in a few short Sentences which some of them understanding Interpreted to the others, and there appeared gladness amongst them. Then I Shewed them my Certificate, which was Explained to them, and

the Moravian who overtook us on the way being now here [bid] me wellcome.

da mo

18: 6: We rested ourselves this forenoon, & the Indians knowing that the Moravian¹ and I were of different Religious Societies, and as some of their people had encouraged him to come & Stay a while with them were I believe concern'd that no jarring or discord might be in their meetings, & they I suppose having conferred together acquainted me that the People at my request would at any time come together & hold meetings, & allso told me that they Expected the Moravian would speak in their settled meetings which are commonly held morning and near evening. So I found liberty in my heart to Speak to the Moravian, & told him of the care I felt on my mind for the good of these people, & that I believed no ill Effects would follow it, if I sometimes Spake in their meetings when love engaged me thereto, without calling them together at times when they did not meet of course: whereupon he expresst his good-will toward my Speaking at any time, all that I found in my heart to say. So near evening I was at their meeting where the pure Gospel love was felt, to the tendering Some of our Hearts, and the Interpreters endeavouring to Acquaint the people with what I said in Short Sentences found some difficulty as none of them were quite perfect in the English and Delaware Tongues; So they helped one another, and we Laboured along, Divine Love attending, and afterwards, feeling my mind covered with the Spirit of Prayer, I told [those who] Interpreted that I found it in my heart to pray to God, & believed if I prayed Aright he would hear me, & Express my willingness for them to Omit Interpreting. So our meeting ended with a degree of Divine Love, & before the people went out, I observed [Papoonal⁴¹] the man who had been Zealous in Labouring for a Reformation in that Town being then very tender Spoke to one of the Interpreters, and I was afterwards told that he said in substance as follows, "I Love to Feel where words come from."

da mo st

19. 6. & 1 of the week. This morning in the meeting the Indian⁴⁵ who came up with the Moravian being allso a member

¹ David Zeisberger (40).

of that Society prayed, and then the Moravian Spake a Short time to the people. And in the afternoon, they coming together, and my heart being filled with a Heavenly care for their good, I spake to them awhile by Interpreters, but none of them being perfect in the work, & I feeling the Current of Love run Strong, told the Interpreters that I believed Some of the people would understand me, & so proceeded: In which exercise I believe the Holy [Ghost] wrought on Some hearts to Edification where all the words were not understood. I looked upon it as a time of Divine Favour, & my Heart was tendered and truly thankfull before the Lord: and after I Sat down one of the Interpreters Seemed Spirited up to give the Indians the Substance of what I said.

Before our first meeting this morning, [my mind] was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of these Indians, who by permission of the Six Nations dwell in these parts, and a Near Sympathy with them was raised in me, And my Heart being enlarged in the Love of [Christ] I thought that the Affectionate care of a good man for his only Brother in Affliction, does not exceed what I then felt for that people.

I came to this place through much trouble, & though through the Mercies of God, I believed that if I died in the Journey it would be well with me, yet the thoughts of falling into the hands of [those] Indian warriors, was in times of weakness afflicting to me. And being of a Tender Constitution of Body the thoughts of captivity amongst them was at times grievous, as Supposing that they being strong & hardy might demand service of me beyound what I could well bear; but the Lord alone was my helper, and I believed if I went into captivity it would be for Some good end, and thus from time to time my mind was centered in Resignation in which I always found quietness. And now this day, though I had the Same Dangerous Wilderness between me & home, was inwardly Joyfull that the Lord had Strengthened me to come on this Visit, and Manifested a Fatherly care over me in my poor lowly condition, when in mine own eyes I appear'd inferior to many amongst the Indians.

When the last mentioned meeting was ended it being night, [Papoonal]⁴¹ went to Bed, and one of the Interpreters Seting by me, I observed [Papoonal] Spoke with an harmonious voice

I suppose a minute or two and I asking the Interpreter, was told that he was Expressing "his Thankfullness to God for the favours he had received that day, and Prayed that he would continue to favour him with that same which he had experienced in that meeting." [That though Papoonal] had before agreed to receive the Moravian, and to join with them, he still appeared kind & Loving to us.

da mo

da

20: 6: was at two meetings, & Silent in [both]. 21: This morning in Meeting my heart was Enlarged in pure love amongst them, and in Short plain Sentences Expresses several things that rested upon me; which one of the Interpreters gave the people pretty readily after which the meeting ended in Supplication, and I had cause humbly to acknowledge the Loving kindness of the Lord toward us; And then I believed that a Door remained open for the Faithfull disciples of Jesus Christ to Labour amongst these people.¹

I feeling my mind at Liberty to return, took my leave of them in general at the Conclusion of what I said in meeting, and so we prepared to go homeward, but some of their most active men told us, that when we were ready to move the people would choose to come & shake hands with us; which those who usually came to meeting [generally] did, & from a secret [draft] in my mind I went amongst some who did not use to go to meetings & took my leave of them allso, and the Moravian and his Indian Interpreter appeared respectful to us at parting. This Town stands on the bank of Susquehannah & consists I believe of about forty Houses mostly compact together; Some about thirty feet long, & Eighteen wide, some bigger, & some less, mostly built of Split plank, one end set in the ground & the other piñed to a plate, [and then] Rafters, and covered with Bark. I understand a great Flood last winter overflowed the Chief part of the ground where the Town Stands, and some were now about moveing their Houses to higher ground.

¹ MS. A has a marginal note by Woolman. "At our Yearly Meeting 1767. Information was given in our Meeting of Ministers and Elders that Some Indians far back had sent a Message in which they desired that some of the Quakers would come and pay them a religious Visit. And in the year 1771 a message came to the governor of pensylv^a part to that import." This note was added when the final copy of the Journal was made in 1771, by John Woolman.

We Expected only two Indians to be our Company, but when we were ready to go we found many of them were going to Bethlehem with Skins and Furs, who chose to go in company with us: So they loaded two Canows, which they desired us to go in, telling us that the Waters were so raised with the Rains that the Horses should be taken by Such who were better Acquainted with the fording places. So we with several Indians went in the Canows, and others went on Horses, there being Seven besides ours, and we met with the Horsemen once on the way by Appointment, and then near night, a little below A Branch called Tankhannah¹ we lodged there, and some of the young men going out a little before dusk with their Guns brought in a Deer.

da mo

22: 6. Through diligence we reached Wioming before Night, and understood the Indians were mostly gone from this place; here we went up a Small Creek into the woods with our Canows, and pitching our Tent, carried out our Baggage, and before dark our Horses came to us.

da mo

23: 6: In the morning their Horses were loaded, & we prepar'd our Baggage and so Set forward being in all fourteen, and with diligent Traveling were favoured to get near half way to Fort Allen. The Land on this Road from Wioming to Our Frontier being mostly poor, & good grass Scarce, they chose a piece of low ground to lodge on, as the best for graseing; and I having Swet much in Traveling, and being weary Slept sound. I perceiv'd in the Night that I had taken cold; of which I was favoured to get better soon.

da mo

24: 6: We passed fort Allen, & lodged near it in the woods; having forded the westerly branch² of Delaware three times, and thereby had a shorter way, & mist going over the highest part of the Blue Mountains, called the Second Ridge. In the Second time fording where the River cuts through the Mountain, the waters being Rapid and pretty deep, And my companion's mare being a tall & Tractable Animal, He Sundry times drove

¹ Tunkhannock.

² The Lehigh River.

her back through the River, & they loaded her with the Burthens of some Small Horses, which they thought not Sufficient to [venture] through with their Loads.

The Troubles Westward and the difficulty for Indians to pass through our Frontier, I apprehend was one Reason why so many came as Expecting that our being in Company would prevent the outside Inhabitants from being Surprised.

da mo

25: 6: We reached Bethlehem takeing care on the way to keep foremost, and to Acquaint people on & near the Road who these Indians were. This we found very needfull for the Frontier Inhabitants were often alarmed at the Report of English being killed by Indians Westward.

Amongst our Company were Some who I did not remember to have Seen at Meeting, and some of these at first were very reserved; But we being several days together, and behaving friendly toward them, & making them sutable returns for the Services they did us, they became more free and Sociable.

da mo da

26. 6. & 1 of the week. Having carefully endeavoured to Settle all Affairs with the Indians relative to our Journey, we took leave of them and I thought they generally parted with us Affectionately. So we geting to Richland had a very Comfortable Meeting amongst our Friends: here I parted with my kind [& Beloved] Companion Benjamin Parvin,⁴⁶ and accompanied by my Friend Samuel Foulke⁴⁸ we rode to John Cadwaladers,¹⁰⁷ from whence I reached home the Next day, where I found my Family midling well, and they & my Friends all along appear'd glad to see me return from a Journey which they apprehended Dangerous, but my mind while I was out, had been Employed in Striving for a perfect Resignation; I had often been confirmed in a Belief that whatever the Lord might be pleased to allot for me would work for good. [And] I was now carefull lest I should admit any degree of Selfishness in being glad overmuch; And Laboured to Improve by those Tryals in Such a maner as my Gracious Father & Protector [may] intend for me.

Between the English Inhabitants and Wahalowsing, we had only a narrow path, which in many places is much grown up with Bushes, and Interrupted by abundance of Trees lying across it;

which together with the Mountains, Swamps, and rough Stones, it is a difficult road to Travel, and the more so for that Rattle-Snakes abound there, of which we killed four. That people who have never been in such places, have but an Imperfect Idea of them. But I was not only taught patience, but also made thankful to God who thus led me about and instructed me, that I might have a quick and lively feeling of the Afflictions of my fellow-Creatures, whose Scituation in life is difficult.

CHAPTER IX

1763

The latter part of Sum̄er 1763 there came a man to Mountholly, who had before published by a printed Advertisement, that at a certain public House, he would [on Such a Certain Night,] show many wonderfull Operations which he therein enumerated.

This man, at the time appointed, did by Slight of hand, sundry things; which, to those gathered, appeared Strange.¹

The next day I hearing of it, and understanding that the Shew was to be continued the next night, and the people to meet about sunset, felt an exercise on that account: So I went to the Public House in the evening, and told the man of the House that I had an Inclination to Spend a part of the evening there, with which he Signified that he was content. Then Seting down [on a long Seat] by the Door, I spake to the people as they came together concerning this Shew, and more coming and seting down with us, the Seats at the Door were mostly filled, and I had conversation with them in the fear of the Lord, and Laboured to convince them that thus Assembling to see those Tricks or Slights of hand, & bestowing their money to Support men who in that capacity were of no use in the world, was Contrary to the Nature of Christian Religion.

There was one of the Company who for a time endeavoured by Arguments to show the reasonableness of their proceedings herein: but after Considering some texts of Scripture, and calmly debating the matter he gave up the point. So I having spent, I believe, about an hour amongst them, & feeling my mind easie, departed.²

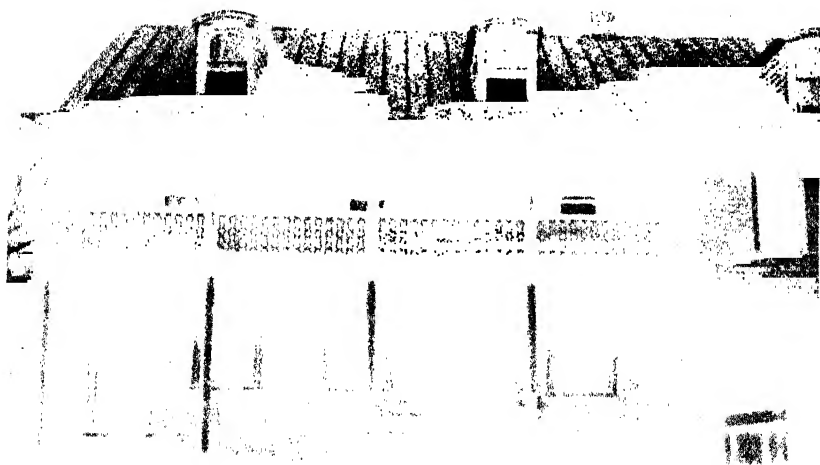
¹ MS. A. This incident is omitted in B.

² At this point in the Journal, MS. A is inserted the Essay, "A Plea for the Poor," published first in 1793 with its title altered by its Editors to "A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich." This occupies thirty-two folio pages, i.e. pp. 148-180. Pp. 181-186 contain the Essay, "On Schools," and pp. 186-194 that "On Masters and Servants." They are numbered in fifteen "chapters," and appear intended for the Essays.



John Woolman's Chair.

In possession of his great-great-granddaughter, E. Cecelia Newbold, Bordentown, N. J.



"Three Tuns" Tavern, Daniel Jones Proprietor, 1761.

Now the Mill Street Hotel.



Saratoga Street, Nantucket. Site of
"Big Shop."



Crosswicks, N. J. Thomas Middleton's
Smoke-house.

Northend Nursery, 1768

- 1 first row - early ripe
- 2 - Sleepers Sweeting & large apples - last end early ripe
- 3 Sleepers all through
- 4 Sleepers all through
- 5 Sleepers half way - last end early ripe
- 6 wit apples redish bark
- 7 - pig nut small sweeting

John Woolman's Memorandum for Nursery Planting.

Notes at our Yearly Meeting at Philada. in
the 9 month 1764.

John Smith,¹⁰⁸ Chester county, aged upwards of 80 years,¹ a Faithful Minister, though not Eloquent, in our meeting of ministers and elders stood up on the 25th. & appearing to be under a great exercise of Spirit, informed Friends; That he had been a member of the society upward of Sixty years, and well remembered that in those early times Friends were a plain lowly minded people and that there was much tenderness and Contrition in their meetings & That at the end of twenty years from that time the society increasing in wealth and in some degree conforming to the fashions of the World, true Humility decreased and their meetings in general were not so lively and Edifying That at the end of Forty years many of the Society were grown rich, that wearing of fine costly Garments and with fashionable furniture, silver watches became customary with many & with their sons and daughters. And as these things prevailed in the Society & appeared in our Meetings of Ministers and Elders; so the powerful overshadowings of the Holy Spirit were less manifested amongst us That there had been an increase of outward greatness till now, and that the weakness amongst us in not living up to our principles and supporting the Testimony of Truth in Faithfulness was matter of much Sorrow.

He then mentioned the uncertainty of his Attending these meetings in future,² expecting his dissolution was near. And as pious parents, finally departing from their Families, express their last & fervent desires for their good, so did he most Tenderly Express his Concern for us; And signified that he had seen in the True Light, that the Lord would bring forth his people from that worldly spirit into which too many had degenerated And that his faithfull Servants must go through great and heavy Exercises before this work was brought about.

da. mo.

29: 9: 1764. The Committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting some time since to Visit the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings,

¹ Of Marlborough, Pa.

² A footnote of Woolman's in the MS. reads "It was the last Yearly Meeting he Attended." These "Notes" have been written on a separate sheet and stitched into MS. B from which they were fairly copied into MS. A.

now made report in writing in which they signified that in the course of it they had been apprehensive that Some Persons ¹ . . .

After this report was read an exercise revived on my mind which, at times had attended me several years and inward Cries to the Lord were raised in me, that the fear of man might not hinder me from doing what He required of me; and so standing up in His Dread, I spake in Substance as follows—I have felt a Tenderness in my mind toward persons in Two Circumstances mentioned in that report; that is, toward such active members who keep Slaves, and them who are in those offices in Government, & have desired that Friends in all their Conduct may be kindly Affectioned one toward another. Many Friends who keep Slaves are under some exercise on that account, and at times think about trying them with Freedom but find many things in their way: and the [manner] of Living, and annual Expenses of some of them are such that it is Impracticable for them to set their Slaves free without changing their own way of life. It has been my Lot to be often abroad, and I have observed in some places at Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, and at some [stages] where Traveling Friends and their Horses are often Entertained, that the yearly expense of Individuals therein is verry considerable: and Friends in some places crouding much on persons in these circumstances for Entertainment, hath often rested as a Burden on my mind for some years past, & I now Express it in the fear of the Lord, greatly desiring that Friends now present may duly consider it [And I may Here add what then Occurred to me, though I did not mention it, to wit: In Fifty pounds are four hundred half Crowns. If a Slave be valued at Fifty Pounds, and I with my Horse put his Owner to half a Crown Expence, and I with many others for a Couple of Years repeat these Expences four hundred times, Without any Compensation, then on a fair

¹ The blank occurring here in the original manuscript with a note by the author, "*get ye Report,*" has been filled in by the editors of the first edition of 1774, who have evidently referred to the committee's report. Their insertion has been retained by all successive editors. It is as follows:—"holding offices in Government, inconsistent with our principles, and others who kept slaves, remaining active members in our meetings of discipline, had been one means of weakness more and more prevailing in the management thereof in some places."

Computation this Slave may be Accounted a Slave to the Publick, under the direction of the man he calls Master.]¹

da mo

9. 10. 1764 having hired a man to work, I perceived in conversation that he had been a Soldier in the Late war on this Continent; and in the Evening giving a Narrative of his Captivity amongst the Indians, he inform'd me that he saw two of his fellow Captives Tortured to Death, [One of which being tied to a Tree had abundance of pine Splinters run into his Body and then set on fire, and that this was Continued at times near two Days before he died. That they opened the Belly of the other & fastened a part of his Bowels to a Tree, and then Whip'd the poor Creature till by his runing round the Tree his bowels were drawn out of his Body.]² This relation affected me with Sadness, under which I went to Bed, and the next morning soon after I awoke, a fresh and living Sence of Divine Love was Spread over my mind, in which I had a renewed prospect of the Nature of that Wisdom from above, which leads to a right use of all gifts, both Spiritual and Temporal, and gives content therein. Under a feeling thereof, I wrote as follows:

Hath He who gave me a Being attended with many wants unknown to Brute-Creatures, given me a Capacity Superior to theirs, and shown me that a moderate application to business is proper to my present condition, and that this, attended with His Blessing may supply all outward wants, while they remain within the bounds He hath fixed, and no Imaginary wants proceeding from an evil Spirit, have any place in me? Attend then O my soul! to this pure wisdom, as thy Sure conductor through the manifold Dangers in this world.

Doth pride lead to Vanity? Doth Vanity form Imaginary wants? Do these wants prompt men to Exert their power in requiring that of others, which themselves would rather be excused from, were the same required of them? Do those proceedings beget hard thoughts? Do hard thoughts, when ripe, become malice? Does malice when ripe become revengeful and in the end Inflict Terrible pains on their fellow-creatures, and spread desolations in the world?

¹ In MS. B. In all cases, early editors have omitted John Woolman's mathematical proofs or calculations.

² This horrible narration occurs in MS. B as well.

Doth mankind, walking in uprightness, delight in each others happiness? And do these creatures, capable of this Attainment, by giving way to an evil Spirit, Employ their wit and Strength to Afflict and destroy one another? Remember then, O my soul! the Quietude of those in whom Christ Governs, and in all thy proceedings feel after it.

Doth he condescend to Bless thee with His presence? to move and influence to action? To dwell in thee, and walk with thee? Remember then thy station as a being Sacred to God; accept of the Strength freely offered thee, and take heed that no weakness, in Conforming to Expensive, Unwise, and Hard-hearted customs, gendring to discord & Strife, be given way to. [Doth he claim my body as his temple, and graciously grant that I may be sacred to him? Oh! that I may prize this favour, and that my whole life may be conformable to this character.] ¹

Remember, O my soul! that the Prince of Peace is thy Lord: that he communicates his pure wisdom to His family. That they, living in perfect Simplicity, may give no just cause of offence to any Creature, but may walk as he walked.

Having felt an Openness in my heart toward Visiting Families in our own meeting, & Especially in the town of Mountholly the place of my abode, I mentioned it in our Monthly Meeting the fore part of the winter, 1764, which being agreed to and Several Friends of our own Meeting being united in the Exercise, we proceeded therein, and through Divine Favour were helped in the work, so that it appeared to me as a fresh reviving of Godly care amongst friends. And the latter part of the same winter I joyned my Friend William Jones,¹⁰⁹ in a Visit to Friends families in Mansfield in which Labour I had cause to Admire the Goodness of the Lord towards [his poor Creatures.]

Having felt my mind drawn toward a Visit to Friends along the Sea Coast from Cape may to near Squan, and allso to Visit some people in those parts amongst whom there is no Setled worship, I joyned with my beloved Friend Benjamin Jones⁸⁰ in

da mo

a visit there, having Friends unity therein and Seting of 24: 10: 1765, had a prosperous and verry Satisfactory Journey, feeling

¹ MS. A, p. 198. This sentence is given in the first edition, but in many later editions is omitted. It is not in MS. A, but in B.

at times,¹ through the goodness of the Heavenly Shepherd, the gospel to flow freely toward a poor people Scattered in those places, and soon after our return I joyned my Friends, John Sleeper⁸⁸ and Elizabeth Smith¹⁶ in visiting Friends' families at [the City of] Burlington there being at this time about 50 Families of our Society in that City, and we had cause Humbly to Adore our Heavenly Father who Baptized us into a feeling of the [Conditions] of the people and Strengthened us To labour in true Gospel Love amongst them. And near the same time my Friend John Sleeper⁸⁸ and I performed a visit to Friends Families belonging to Ancocas meeting, in which I found true Satisfaction.

An Exercise having at times for several years attended me in regard to paying a religious Visit to Friends on the Eastern Shore of Maryland Such was the nature of this Exercise that I believed the Lord [called] me to Travel on foot² amongst them, that by so Traveling I might have a more lively feeling of the Condition of the Oppressed Slaves, Set an example of lowliness before the Eyes of their Masters, and be more out of the way of Temptation to unprofitable familiarities & be less expence mongst them.

The time now drawing near in which I believed it my duty to lay my Concern before our monthly meeting. I perceived in conversation with my Beloved Friend John Sleeper⁸⁸ that he was under a Concern to Travel the same way, and allso to Travel on foot in the form of a servant amongst them, as he Expresses it; This he told me before he knew Aught of my exercise.

We being thus drawn the same way, laid our Exercise and the nature of it before Friends and obtained Certificates we set
da mo

off the 6: 5: 1766, and were at Meetings with Friends at Wilmington, Duck Creek, Little Creek & Motherkills, my heart [being] sundry times tendered under the Divine Influence and Enlarged in Love toward the people amongst whom we Traveled. From Motherkills we crossed the Country about thirty-five miles to Friends at Tuckahoe in Maryland, and had a meeting there, and also at Marshey Creek. At these our three last meetings were

¹ "We were out about two weeks" has been crossed out by John Woolman.

² After this date—1766—all of John Woolman's distant travels appear to have been on foot. He kept and used horses for himself at home.

a considerable number of people, followers of 'one Joseph Nichols,⁴⁹ a Preacher, who I understand is not in outward Fellowship with any Religious Society of People, but professeth nearly the same principles as our Society doth, and often travels up and down, appointing meetings, to which many people come. I heard some Friends speaking of some of their neighbors who had been Irreligious people that were now his followers, and were become Sober well-behaved men and Women.

Some irregularities I hear have been amongst the people at Several of his Meetings, but from the whole of what I have [heard] I believe the man & some of his followers are honestly disposed, but [believe] Skilful Fathers are wanting amongst them.

From hence we went to Choptank and Third Haven, & thence to Queen Anns. The weather having some Days past been Hot and dry, & we to attend meetings [according] to appointment, & Travelled pretty steadily, and had hard Labour in meetings, I grew weakly, at which I was for a time discouraged: but looking over our Journey, and thinking how the Lord had supported our minds and Bodies, so that we got forward much faster than I expected before we came out; I now saw that I had been in danger of too strongly desiring to get soon through the journey, and that this Bodily weakness now attending me was a kindness from Above. And then in Contrition of Spirit I became very thankful to my Gracious Father for this manifestation of his Love, and in humble Submission to His Will my Trust was renewed in Him.

In this part of our journey, I had many thoughts on the different circumstances of Friends who Inhabit Pennsylvania and Jersey, from those who dwell in Maryland, Virginea, & Carolina. Pennsylvania and New Jersey were settled by many Friends who were convinced of our Principles in England in times of Suffering, and coming over bought Lands of the Natives, and applied themselves to husbandry in a peaceable way, and many of their Children were taught to Labour for their living. Few Friends I believe came from England to settle in any of these Southern Provinces; but by the faithful Labours of Traveling Friends in early times, there was considerable convincements amongst the Inhabitants of these parts. Here I remembered reading of the

warlike disposition of many of the first settlers in those provinces, and of their numerous Engagements with the Natives, in which much Blood was Shed, even in the Infancy of those Colonies. These people inhabiting those places, being grounded in Customs contrary to the pure Truth; when some of them were Affected with the powerful preaching of the word of Life, and joyned in fellowship with our Society they had a great work to go through.

It is observable in the History of the Reformation from Popery, that it had a gradual progress from age to age. The uprightness of the first Reformers to the Light and understanding given them, [tended to] open the way for sincere-hearted people to proceed further afterward, and thus each one truly fearing God, and Labouring in those works of Righteousness appointed for them in their Day, find acceptance with him. [And] though through the darkness of the times, and the Corruption of manners and Customs, some upright men may have had little more for their Days work than to attend to the Rightous principle in their [own] minds, as it related to their own conduct in life, without pointing out to others the whole extent of that which the same principle would lead succeeding ages into. Thus for instance amongst an Imperious warlike people supported by oppressed Slaves, some of these masters I suppose are awakened to feel and see their error, and through sincere repentance cease from oppression, and become like Fathers to their Servants, Shewing by their example a pattern of Humility in living, and moderation in Governing, for the Instruction and Admonition of their oppressing neighbours. Those, without carrying the Reformation further, I believe have found acceptance with the Lord. Such was the beginning, and those who succeeded them, and have faithfully attended to the Nature and Spirit of the Reformation, have seen the necessity of proceeding forward, and not only to Instruct others by their example in governing well, but also to use means to prevent their Successors from having so much power to oppress others.

Here I was renewedly confirmed in my mind, that the Lord whose tender mercies are over all His works, and whose Ear is open to the Cries and Groans of the oppressed is Graciously moving on the Hearts of people to draw them of from the desire of wealth, and bring them into such a Humble lowly way of

living that they may see their way clearly to repair to the standard of true Righteousness, and not only break the Yoke of Oppression, but know him to be their Strength and Support in a time of outward affliction.

We passing on crossed Chester river, & had a meeting there, and at Cecil and Sassafras. Through my bodily weakness joyned with a heavy exercise of mind it was to me a humbling dispensation, and I had a very lively feeling of the state of the oppressed; yet I often thought that what I suffered was little, compared with the sufferings of the Blessed Jesus, and many of his Faithful followers, and may say with thankfulness I was made content [under them.]

From Sassafras we went pretty directly home, where we found our Families well. And for several weeks after our return I had often to look over our Journey and though to me it appeared as a Small service, and that some Faithful Messengers will yet have more bitter cups to drink in those Southern Provinces for Christs sake than we had, yet I found peace in that I had been helped to walk in Sincerity according to the understanding and Strength given me.

da mo

13:11: 1766, with the Unity of Friends of our monthly meeting, & in company with my beloved Friend Benjamin Jones⁹⁶ I set out on a Visit to Friends in the Uper part of this Province,¹ having had drawings of Love in my heart that way a considerable time. We traveled as far as Hardwick and I had inward peace in my Labours of Love amongst them.

Through the humbling Dispensations of Divine Providence, my mind hath been brought into a further feeling of the Difficulties of Friends and their Servants South westward and being often engaged in Spirit on their account, I believ'd it my duty to walk into some parts of the Western Shore of Maryland, on a Religious Visit. And having obtained a certificate from Friends of our monthly meeting, I took leave of my Family under the

da mo

heart-tendering operation of Truth, and on the 20: 4: 1767 Rode to the Ferry² Opposite to Philad^a and from thence walked to

¹ New Jersey.

² This was the ferry at Kaighn's Point, now Camden, N. J.

William Hornes⁵⁷ at Derby that Evening and So pursued my Journey alone, and fell in at Concord week-day meeting.

Discouragements & a weight of distress had, at times, attended me in this lonesome walk; through which Afflictions, I was mercifully preserved: & now Setting down with Friends my mind was turned toward the Lord, to wait for his Holy leadings, who in infinite Love was pleased to soften my Heart into humble contrition, and did renewedly Strengthen me to go forward: that to me it was a time of Heavenly Refreshment in a Silent meeting.

The next day I [fell in at] New Garden Week day meeting, in which I sat with bowedness of Spirit, and being Baptized into a feeling of the State of Some present the Lord gave us a heart-tendering Season, to his name be the praise. I passed on, and was at Nottingham Monthly Meeting, and at a meeting at Little Britain on first Day, and in the afternoon several Friends came to the House where I Lodged and we had a little afternoon meeting, and through the humbling power of Truth, I had to admire the Loveing kindness of the Lord manifested to us.

da mo

26. 4. 1767 I crossed Susquehannah, and comeing amongst people who lived in outward ease and greatness chiefly on the Labour of . . . Slaves my Heart was much affected, and in Awful retiredness my mind was gathered inward to the Lord, being humbly engaged that in true Resignation I might receive Instruction from Him respecting my Duty amongst this people.

Though traveling on foot was wearisome to my Body, [I being at best but weakly,] yet thus traveling was agreeable to the state of my mind. I went gently on, being . . . weakly and was covered with Sorrow and heaviness on account of the Spreading prevailing Spirit of this world introduceing Customs grievous & oppressive on one Hand, and Cherishing pride and wantonness on the other. In this lonely walk and State of Abasement and Humiliation, the State of the Church in these parts was opened before me, and I may truly say with the Prophet, "I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the Seeing of it."

Under this exercise I attended the Quarterly Meeting at Gunpowder, and in Bowedness of Spirit I had to Open with much plainness what I felt respecting Friends living in fullness on the

Labours of the poor oppressed Negroes, And that promise of the Most High was now revived "I will gather all nations and Tongues, and they shall come and see my Glory." Here the Sufferings of Christ, and his taisting Death for every man. And the Travels, Sufferings and Marturdoms of the Apostles and primitive Christians, in Labouring for the Conversion of the Gentiles, was liveingly revived in me: And according to the Measure of Strength afforded I laboured in some tenderness of Spirit, being deeply affected amongst them. And thus the present treatment which these Gentiles, the Negroes, receive at our hands [being set side by side with] the Labours of the primitive Christians for the Conversion of the Gentiles, [things were pressed] home, and the power of Truth came over us under the feeling of which my mind was united to a Tender-hearted people in those parts, and the Meeting concluded in a Sence of Gods goodness toward his Humble dependant Children.

The next day was a general Meeting for worship, much crouded in which I was deeply engaged in Inward Cries to the Lord for help, that I might stand wholly resigned, & move only as he might be pleased to lead me, and I was mercifully helped to labour honestly & fervently amongst them, in which I found inward peace, and the Sincere hearted were comforted.

From hence I turned toward Pipe Creek, and passed on to Red Lands, and had several meetings amongst Friends [on the West side of Susquehannah.] My Heart was often tenderly affected under a sence of the Lords Goodness . . . in Sanctifying my Troubles & Exercises, turning them to my comfort, and I believe to the benefit of many others, For I may say with thankfulness that in this Visit it appeared like a fresh Tendering Visitation in most places. I past on to the Western Quarterly Meeting in pensylvania. Dureing the several days of this Meeting, I was mercifully preserved in an inward feeling after the Mind of Truth, and my public Labours . . . tended to my [own] Humiliation with which I was content, and after the Quarterly meeting of Worship ended, I felt drawings to go to the Women's meeting of business which was very full, And here the Humility of Jesus Christ, as a pattern for us to walk by, was liveingly opened before me, and in treating on it, my Heart was Enlarged, and it was a Baptizeing time. From thence I went on, and was at Meetings

at Concord, Middletown, Providence, & Haddonfield and so home, where I found my Family well. A Sence of the Lords Merciful preservation in this my Journey incite Reverent Thankfulness to Him.

da mo

2. 9. 1767 with the Unity of Friends, I set off on a Visit to Friends in the ußer part of Berks [County] and Philadelphia County, was at 11 Meetings in about two weeks, and have renewed cause to bow in Reverence before the Lord, who by the powerful Extendings of his humbling goodness opened my way amongst Friends, and made the meetings I trust profitable to many of us. The winter following I joyned Friends on a visit to Friends Families, in some part of our meeting, in which exercise the pure influence of Divine Love made our visits [many times] reviving.

da mo

On the 5. 5. 1768 I left home under the Humbling Hand of the Lord, having obtained a Certificate, in order to Visit some Meetings in Maryland. And to proceed without a Horse looked clearest to me. I was at Quarterly meetings of Philada. and Concord and then went on to Chester river, & crossing the Bay with Friends, was at the Yearly Meeting at West River: thence back to Chester river and takeing a few meetings in my way I

da mo

proceeded home [which I reached 10: 6: 1768.] It was a Journey of much inward waiting, and as my Eye was to the Lord, way was several times opened to my humbling admiration, when things had appeared very difficult. I on my return I felt a relief of Mind very comfortable to me, having through [the help of my Heavenly Father, been strengthened to] labour in much plainness [of Speech,] both with Friends Selected, and in the more publick Meetings; so that I trust the pure witness in many Minds was reached.

da mo

11: 6: 1769. Sundry cases have happened of late years, within the limits of our monthly meeting respecting that of exercising pure Righteousness toward the Negroes, in which I have lived under a labour of heart that Equity might be Steadily kept to . . . : on this account I had had some close exercises amongst friends, in which I may thankfully say I find peace, and as my

meditations have been much on Universal love, my own conduct in time past became of late very grievous to me. . . . As persons setting Negroes free in our province, are bound by Law to maintain them in case they have need of relief, some who scrupled keeping Slaves term of life, in the time of my youth, were wont to detain their young Negroes in their Service till thirty years of age, without wages on that account, and with this custom I so far agreed, that I [as companion] to another Friend in executing the will of a deceased Friend, once sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of Thirty years, and applied the money to the use of the Estate.

With abasement of heart I may now say, that sometimes as I have sat in a meeting with my heart exercised toward that awful Being who respecteth not persons nor colours, & have looked on this negro lad, I've felt that all was not clear in my mind respecting him: and as I have attended to this exercise, and fervently sought the Lord, it hath appeared to me that I should make some restitution, but in what way I saw not till lately, when being under some concern that I might be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West Indians, . . . and was under a close engagement of spirit, seeking to the Lord for counsel that of joyning in the sale aforesaid came heavily upon me, and my mind for a time was covered with darkness and Sorrow, and under this sore affliction my heart was softened to receive instruction, and here I first saw, that as I had been one of the two Executors who had sold this [negro] for nine years longer than is common for our own Children to serve, so I should now offer a part of my Substance to redeem the last half of that nine years: but as the time was not yet come I executed a Bond binding me and my executors to pay to the man he was sold to, what to candid men might appear equitable, for the last four years and a half of his time, in case the said youth should be living, and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himself.¹

da mo

[9: 10: 1769. My heart hath often been deeply affected under a feeling I have had that the standard of Pure Righteousness is not lifted up to the people by us as a Society in that clearness which it might have been, had we been so faithful to the teachings

¹ Nothing appears on the books as to this transaction.

of Christ as we ought to have been, and as my mind hath been inward to the Lord, the purity of Christs Government hath been opened in my understanding, and under this Exercise, that of Friends being active in civil society, in putting Laws in force which are not agreeable to the purity of Righteousness, hath for several years past been an increasing burden upon me, having felt, in the openings of Universal Love, that where a people, convinced of the truth of the inward teachings of Christ, are active in putting Laws in Execution which are not consistent with pure wisdom, it hath a necessary tendency to bring dimness over their minds, and as my heart hath been thus exercised, and a tender sympathy in me toward my fellow members, I have, within a few months past, in several meetings for discipline, expressed my concern on this Subject.]¹

¹ This paragraph does not appear in MS. B.

CHAPTER X¹

1770

da mo

12. 3. 1770. having for some years past dieted myself on account of a lump gathering on my Nose, and under this diet grew weak in body, and not of ability to travel by Land as before; I was at times favoured to Look with awfulness toward the Lord, before whom are all my ways, who alone hath the power of Life and Death, and to feel thankfulness [incited] in me [toward Him] for this his Fatherly chastisement, believing if I was truly humbled under it all would work for good.

While I was under this bodily weakness, my mind being at times exercised for the good of my fellow-creatures in the West indies, I grew jealous over myself, lest the disagreeableness of the prospect should hinder me from obediently attending thereto; for though I knew not that the Lord required me to go there, yet I believed that resignation was now called for in that respect: and feeling a danger of not being wholly devoted to him, I was frequently engaged to watch unto prayer, that I might be preserved; and upwards of a year having passed, I walked one day in a Solitary wood, my mind being covered with awfulness; cries were raised in me to my Merciful Father, that he would graciously keep me in faithfulness, and it then settled on my mind as a duty, to open my condition to Friends at our monthly meeting; which I did soon after, as follows:

"An exercise hath attended me for some time past, and of late been more weighty upon me, under which I believe it is required of me to be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West Indies," and in the quarterly and general spring meeting, found no clearness to express any thing further, than that I believed resignation herein was required of me; and having

¹ From this point, with a new pen, the handwriting improves. There are also fewer capitals employed.

obtained Certificates from all said Meetings, I felt like a sojourner at my outward habitation, kept free from worldly encumbrance, and was often bowed in Spirit before the Lord, with inward breathings to him that I might be rightly directed.

And I may here note, that being, when young, joyned as Executor with another friend [we two] in executing the will of the deceased sold a Negro lad till he might attain the age of Thirty [on which account I had now] great sorrow [as before related.]¹ And having settled matters relating to this youth, I [soon after] provided a sea store and Bed, and things fitting for a voyage; and hearing of a vessel likely to sail from Philadelphia for Barbadoes, I spake with one of the owners² at Burlington, & soon after went on purpose to Philadelphia to speak with him again, at which time he told me there was a Friend in town who was part owner of the said vessel, but I felt no inclination at that time to speak with him, but returned home, and a while after I took leave of my family, and [going] to Philadelphia, had some weighty conversation with the first mentioned owner, and shewed him a writing, as follows:

da mo

25. 11. 1769. "As an exercise with respect to a visit to Barbadoes hath been weighty on my mind, I may express some of the tryals which have attended me: under these tryals I have at times rejoiced, in that I have my own self will subjected.

"I once some years ago retailed Rum, Sugar, and Molasses, the fruits of the labour of Slaves but then had not much concern about them, save only that the Rum might be used in moderation; nor was this concern so weightily attended to, as I now believe it ought to have been; but of late years, being further informed respecting the oppressions too generally exercised in These Islands, and thinking often on the degrees that are in connexions of Interest and fellowship with the works of darkness, Ephes. V. 11, and feeling an increasing concern to be wholly given up to the leadings of the holy Spirit, it hath appeared that the small gain I got by this branch of Trade should be applied in promoting Righteousness on the Earth. and near the first motion toward a Visit to Barbadoes, I believed the outward Substance

¹ See above, p. 278.

² John Smith, of Burlington and Philadelphia. See Appendix, (15).

"I possess should be applied in paying my passage if I go, and "providing things in a lowly way for my subsistence; but when "the time drew near, in which I believed it required of me to be "in readiness, a difficulty arose which hath been a continued tryal "for some months past, under which I have with abasement of "mind, from day to day sought the Lord for instruction, and "often had a feeling of the condition of one formerly, who "bewailed himself for that the Lord hid his face from him. "During these exercises my heart hath been often contrite, and "I have had a tender feeling of the Temptations of my fellow "creatures, labouring under those expensive customs distinguish- "able from the simplicity that there is in Christ, 2 Co. ii. 3, and "sometimes in the renewings of gospel Love have been helped to "minister to others.

"That which hath so closely engaged my mind in seeking to "the Lord for instruction is, whither, after so full information of "the oppression the slaves lie under, in the West indies who raise "the west india produce, as I had in reading a Caution & warning "to Great Brittain & her Colonies,¹ wrote by Anthony Benezet,⁴ "it is right for me to take a passage in a Vessel employed in the "west india trade [or not?]

"To trade freely with oppressors, and without labouring to "dissuade from such unkind treatment, seek for gain by such "traffick—I believe tends to make them more easie respecting "their conduct than they would be if the cause of Universal Right- "eousness was humbly and firmly attended to, by those in general "with whom they have commerce, and that complaint of the "Lord by his prophet, They have strengthened the hands of "the wicked, hath very often revived in my mind. And I may "here add some circumstances preceding any prospect of a Visit "there.

"The case of David hath often been before me of late years. "He longed for some water in a well beyond an army of Philis-

¹ Anthony Benezet. "A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies in a Short Representation of the Calamitous State of the Enslaved Negroes in the British Dominions." London, 1767. This mentions an "Account of the European Settlements in America, printed in 1757," and quotes, "The Negroes in our Colonies Endure a Slavery more complete, and attended with far worse circumstances than what any people in their condition suffer in any other part of the world."

"tians who were at war with Israel, and some of his men to
"please him, ventured their lives in passing through this army,
"and brought that water. It doth not appear that the Israelites
"were then scarce of water; but rather that David gave way to
"delicacy of taste: but having thought on the danger these men
"were exposed to, he considered his water as their Blood, and
"his heart smote him that he could not drink it, but poured it out
"to the Lord. and the oppression of the Slaves which I have
"seen in several journeys Southward on this continent, and the
"report of their Treatment in the west indies hath deeply affected
"me, and a care to live in the Spirit of peace, and minister just
"cause of offence to none of my fellow creatures, hath from time
"to time livingly revived on my mind, and under this exercise I
"for some years past declined to gratify my pallate with those
"Sugars.

"I do not censure my Brethren in these things, but believe
"the Father of Mercies to whom all mankind by Creation are
"equally related, hath heard the Groans of these oppressed people,
"and is preparing some to have a tender feeling of their condition.
"and the tradeing in, or frequent use of, any produce known to be
"raised by the labours of those who are under such lamentable
"oppression, hath appeared to be a subject which may yet more
"require the Serious consideration of the humble followers of
"Christ the prince of peace.

"After long and mournful exercise I am now free to mention
"how things have opened in my mind, with desires that if it may
"please the Lord to further open his will to any of his Children
"in this matter, they may faithfully follow him in such further
"manifestation.

"The number of those who decline the customary use of the
"West India produce on account of the hard usage of the slaves
"who raise it, appears small, even amongst people truly pious;
"and the labours in Christian love on that subject of those who
"do, have not been very extensive.

"Was the Trade from this Continent to the West Indies to be
"quite stoped at once, I believe many there would suffer for want
"of bread.

"Did we on this Continent, and the Inhabitants of the west
"indies generally dwell in pure Righteousness, I believe a small

"trade between us might be right, that under these considerations, "when the thoughts of wholly declining the use of tradeing vessels, and of trying to hire a vessel to go under ballast have arose "in my mind, I have believed that the Labours in gospel love yet "bestowed in the cause of Universal Righteousness are not arrived "to that hight.

"If the trade to the west indies was no more than was consistent with pure wisdom, I believe the passage money would for "good reasons be higher than it is now, and here under deep "exercise of mind, I have believed that I should not take the "advantage of this great trade and small passage money, but as "a Testimony in favour of less tradeing, should pay more than "is common for others to pay, if I go at this time."

The first mentioned owner having read the paper, expresst a willingness to go with me to the other owner,¹ and we going, the said other owner read over the paper, and we had some solid conversation, under which I felt my soul bowed in Reverence before the Most High; and at length one of them asked me if I would go and see the Vessel, but I had not clearness in my mind to go, but went to my lodgings & retired in private.

I was now under great exercise of mind, and my Tears were poured out before the Lord, with inward cries, that he would graciously help me under these tryals. In this case I believe my mind was resigned, but did not feel clearness to proceed; and my own weakness, and the Necessity of Divine instruction were impresst upon me.

I was for a time as one who knew not what to do, and was tossed as in a Tempest: under which affliction, the doctrine of Christ, take no thought for the morrow, arose livingly before me. I remembered it was some days before they expected the vessel to Sail, and was favoured to get into a good degree of stillness, and having been near two days in town, I believed my Obedience to my Heavenly Father consisted in returning homeward. I then went over amongst Friends on the Jersey shore, and tarried till the morning on which they had appointed to Sail: and as I lay in Bed the latter part of that night, my mind was comforted; and I felt what I esteemed a fresh confirmation, that it was the

¹ The owners were John Smith¹⁸ of Burlington and Philada., son-in-law of James Logan, and James Pemberton.⁹

Lords will that I should pass through some further exercises near home.

So I went home and still felt like a sojourner with my family: and in the fresh spring of pure Love, had some labours in a private way amongst Friends, on a Subject relating to Truths Testimony; under which I had been exercised in heart for some years. I remember as I walked on the Road under this exercise, that passage in Ezekiel came fresh before me; "whither soever their faces were turned, thither they went:" and I was graciously helped to discharge my duty in the fear and dread of the Almighty. And after a few weeks it pleased the Lord to visit me with . . . a pleurisy,¹ and after I had lain a few days and felt the disorder very grievous, I was thoughtful how it might end.

I had of late through various exercises been much weaned from the pleasant things of this life, and I now thought if it was the Lords will to put an end to my labours, and Graciously receive me into the arms of his Mercy, death would be acceptable to me: but if it was his will further to refine me under Affliction, and make me in any degree useful in his Church, I desired not to die. I may with thankfulness say that in this case I felt Resignedness wrought in me, and had no inclination to send for a Doctor, believing if it was the Lords will, through outward means to raise me up, some sympathizing friends would be sent to minister to me, which were accordingly. But though I was carefully attended yet the disorder was at times so heavy that I had no thoughts of recovery: One Night in particular my bodily distress was great, my feet grew cold, and cold increased up my legs toward my Body, and at that time I had no inclination to ask my Nurse to apply any thing warm to my feet, expecting my end was near, and after I had lain near ten hours in this condition I closed my eyes thinking whither I might not be delivered out of the Body, but in these awful moments my mind was livingly opened to behold the Church, and Strong Engagements were begotten in me for the Everlasting well being of my fellow creatures, and I felt in the spring of pure Love that I might remain some longer in the Body, in filling up, according to my measure that which

¹ This illness came back to his recollection in England, in 1772, when he described his "vision" and set down his objections to extravagant living, of which he wrote upon his recovery.

remains of the Afflictions of Christ, and in labouring for the good of the Church: after which I requested my Nurse to apply warmth to my feet, and I revived,¹ and the Next Night, feeling a weighty exercise of Spirit, and having a solid Friend² seting up with me I requested him to write what I said, which he did, as follows

da mo

"4: 1: 1770, about five in the morning. I have seen in the "Light of the Lord, that the day is approaching, when the man "that is the most wise in human policies, shall be the greatest "fool; and the Arm that is mighty to support injustice shall be "broken to pieces: the Enemies of righteousness shall make a "terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for He "that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead "the cause of the Oppressed: and he commanded me to open the "vision."

Near a week after this feeling my mind livingly opened I sent for a neighbour who at my request wrote as follows:

"The place of prayer is a precious habitation,³ for I now saw that "the prayers of the Saints was precious Incense: and a Trumpet "was given me, that I might sound fourth this Language; that the "Children might hear it, and be invited to gather to this precious "habitation, where the prayers of Saints as precious incense ariseth "up before the Throne of God & the Lamb I saw this habitation to

¹ In the Larger Account Book, written in by John Woolman himself upon his recovery, is the following memorandum, with a date that places the incident at this point: "3 of the 1 mo. 1770. In the Morning. I had Been for Ten Hours or more that I thought Death was upon me. I Once Closed my Eyes and waited to know if I might now be Delivered out of this Bodey: But I looked at the Church and I was moved for Her: and I was held Fast and perceived that I might Remain Some longer in the Bodey, in filling up that which Remains of the Afflictions of Christ, and in Speaking Some Words to the Church." This was the first draft of the paragraph.

² This is also first copied into the Larger Account Book, which has served so many purposes. It is in the handwriting of the "solid Friend," and ends with the signature of the witness;—"Pronounced by John Woolman and written by me, Caleb Carr."* The passage has been much edited. With this is a word or two—"In human policies men are wise to do Evil as exprest by the prophet."

³ The text in Revelations, viii, 1, is thus quoted: "and the 7th. Seal was opened and for a Certain time there was Silence in Heaven. And I saw an Angel with a golden Censer & he offered with it incense, with the prayers of the Saints, and it rose up before the Throne." Later, a pen was drawn through the quotation, probably because of its inaccuracy. A week after this, was written the separate memorandum as to the use of silver vessels, which is given in full in the Introduction.

"be safe, to be inwardly quiet, when there was great Stirrings and commotions in the world.

"Prayer at this day in pure resignation is a precious place. The trumpet is Sounded, the Call goes forth to the Church, that She gather to the place of pure inward prayer; and her habitation is "safe."

At this point, on page 221, ends the folio manuscript (A) of the Journal, in John Woolman's own hand. From this paragraph this text follows the original manuscripts of the Journal of the Voyage, and in England, now at Swarthmore College, Pa. These have been copied into the folio, which thus contains the complete narrative as used for publication by Joseph Cruikshank. They are in the handwriting of John Woolman's great grandson, according to his own memorandum, which occurs here:

"What follows in this book is copied from the original Manuscripts in John Woolman's own handwriting.

Samuel Comfort."

The space upon page 223, however, is taken up with John Woolman's autograph account of a *dream*, which has been given at length in the Introduction. Here also occur copies of the two letters which have been already quoted in their chronological connection, embodied heretofore in the Journal at this point solely because, for convenience, Woolman used the blank leaves which followed his Journal.

The Journal of the Voyage is a small blue paper covered pamphlet, originally of forty six pages, but with insertions, some of them left blank. It is a handy pocket form, measuring four and a half by six and a half inches, and has been repaired and stitched together, although still largely in its original condition. Samuel Comfort's re-numbering of pages may be traced by the use of more modern ink. They correspond to the paging in John Comly's edition of 1837, in which he had Samuel Comfort's assistance.¹

On the outside of the book is a note by the editors: "All in this book printed in England." Woolman himself notes "46

¹ See Introduction.

pages" and writes, "John Woolman's Journal of his Voiage to England, from 1. 5mo. 1772 to the 7th. 6mo." The second page contains a row of figures referring to the days of the week and the corresponding days of the calendar, beginning with "7th. day the 16th."

The first forty six pages contain the Voyage, ending with the charge to Sophia Hume.¹¹⁰¹ The next twenty two, with the account of the English tour, have been added. Nine blank leaves follow, and the next twenty two pages contain memoranda, a copy of letter, three and a half pages of description, written "At the house of Thomas Priestman, &c.," notes for the Essays, written in England, and Aaron Smith's memorandum, &c. There are 108 pages altogether, eighteen of which are blank, stitched into the middle of the book. This is the manuscript from which the concluding pages of the Journal have been taken. A copy was made at York, after Woolman's death, and the original was then sent by the hand of Samuel Emlen, to his family in America. The copy is still at Almerey Garth, York, the house where Woolman died. Through the kindness of the owner, the late Malcolm Spence, the manuscript, now in possession of his sister, has been photographed and placed at the editor's disposal for collation. The letter to Reuben Haines⁵¹ embodies the text of these manuscript notes, and is a verbatim copy, with valuable additions, by William Tuke.⁶⁸

¹ See p. 303.

JNO. WOOLMAN'S JOURNAL OF HIS VOIAGE TO ENGLAND

FROM 1—5MO: 1772, TO THE 7TH 6MO:

CHAPTER XI

1772

Memorandum of my proceedings¹ to take a passage for England on a religious visit.

My beloved friend Sam^l Emlen⁷ jun. having taken a passage for himself in the Cabbin of the Ship called *Mary and Elizabeth*, James Sparks, Master, and John Head⁵⁶ of the City of philad^a, the owner, & I feeling a draft in my Mind toward the Stearage of the Same Ship, went first of all and opened to Samuel the feeling I had concerning it.

My beloved friend wept when I Spake to him, and appeared glad that I had thoughts of going in the Vessel with him, though my prospect was toward the Stearage, & he offering to go with me, we went on board, first into the Cabbin a comodious room, and then into the Stearage where we sat down on a Chest, the sailors being busy about us: then the owner⁵⁶ of the Ship [a member of our Society,] came & sat down with us.

Here my mind was turned toward Christ, the heavenly Counsellor; & I feeling at this time my own will Subjected, my heart was contrite before [him.]

A motion was made by the owner to go and Sit in the cabbin as a place more retired; but I felt easie to leave the Ship, and made no agreement as to a passage in her; but told the owner if I took a passage in the ship I believed it would be in the Stearage, but did not say much as to my exercise in that case.

After I went to my lodgings and the case was a little known in town a friend laid before me the great inconveniences attending

¹ The opening paragraphs as given in all previous editions of the Journal, do not exist in John Woolman's manuscript. They appear to have been inserted by the Committee of 1774 who prepared the first edition. If this portion has been lost, it was a later addition, as the little manuscript is complete as it stands.

that Stearage [with respect to a passage in it,] which for a time, appeared very discouraging to me.

I soon after went to bed, and my mind was under a deep exercise before the Lord, whose helping hand was manifested to me as I slept that night, and his love Strengthened my heart and in the morning I went with two friends on board the Vessel again, and after a short time Spent therein I went with Samuel Emlin^r to the house of the owner, to whom in the hearing of Samuel only I opened my exercise in substance as follows, in relation to a Scruple I felt with regard to a passage in the Cabbin

I told the owner that on the outside of that part of the Ship where the cabbin was, I observed sundry sorts of Carved work and Imagery, and that in the Cabbin I observed some superfluity of workmanship of several sorts, and that according to the ways of mens reckoning, the Sum of money to be paid for a passage in that Appartment hath some relation to the Expence, in furnishing the room to please the minds of such who give way to a conformity to this world; and that in this case, as in other cases, the moneys received from the passengers are calculated to answer every expense relating to their passage, and amongst the rest the expence of these superfluities. And that in this case I felt A scruple with regard to paying my money to defray such expences.

As my mind was now opend, I told the owner that I had at Several times in my travels, seen great oppressions on this continent at which my heart had been much affected, and brought often into a feeling of the state of the Sufferers. And having many times been engaged, in the fear and love of God, to labour with those under whom the oppressed have been born down and afflicted, I have often perceived that [it was with] a view to get riches, and provide estates for Children to live comformable to customs, which stand in that Spirit wherein men have regard to the honours of this world. That in the pursuit of these things, I had seen many entangled in the Spirit of oppression, and the exercise of my Soul had been such, that I could not find peace in joining with any thing which I saw was against that wisdom which is pure.

After this I Agreed for a passage in the Stearage, and hearing in town that Joseph White^{ss} had a mind to see me, I felt the reviving of a desire to see him, and went then to his house, and next day home, where I tarried two Nights, and then early in the

morning, I parted with my family, under a sense of the humbling hand of God upon me, and going to Philad^a. had opportunity with several of my beloved friends, who appeared to be concerned for me, on account of the unpleasant Scituation of that part of the Vessel where I was likely to lodge.

In these oportunities my mind through the Mercies of the Lord was kept low, in an inward waiting for his help, and friends having expressed their desire that I might have a place more convenient than the Stearage did not urge but appeared disposed to leave me to the Lord.

Having stayed two nights in Philada I went the next day to Darby monthly meeting, where through the Strength of divine Love my heart was enlarged toward the Youth then present, under which I was helped to labour in some tenderness of Spirit.

Then lodging at William Hornes ⁵⁷ I with one friend went to Chester where meeting with Samuel Emlin ⁷ we went on board da mo

1: 5:, 1772 and as I sat down alone on a Seat on the deck I felt a Satisfactory evidence that my proceedings were not in my own will but under the power of the Cross of Christ.

da mo

7: 5: have had rough weather mostly since I came on board; and the passengers, James Reynolds,⁶¹ John Till-Adams,⁶⁰ Sarah Logan ⁵⁹ and her hired maid, and John Bispham,⁵⁸ all Sea-sick, more or less at times; from which sickness through the tender Mercies of my heavenly Father I have been preserved, My afflictions now being of another kind.

There appeared an openness in the minds of the Master of the Ship, and in the Cabbin passengers toward me: we were often together on the deck, and Sometimes in the Cabbin.

My mind through the merciful help of the Lord hath been preserved in a good degree watchful & inward, and I have this day great cause to be thankful, in that I Remain to feel quietness of mind.

As my lodging in the Stearage, now near a week, hath afforded me sundry opportunities of seeing, hearing, and feeling, with respect to the life & Spirit of many poor Sailors, an inward exercise of Soul hath attended me, in regard to placing out Children and youth where they may be likely to be exampled and instructed in the pure fear of the Lord; and I being much amongst

the Sea men, have from a motion of love, sundry times taken opportunities with one alone, and in a free conversation, laboured to turn their heads toward the fear of the Lord and this day we had a meeting in the Cabbin where my heart was contrite under a feeling of divine Love.

Now concerning Lads being trained up as Seamen, I believe a communication from one part of the world to some other parts of it, by sea, is at times consistent with the will of our Heavenly Father; and to Educate some youth in the practice of Sailing, I believe may be right; but how lamentable is the present corruption of the world! How impure are the Channels through which trade hath a Conveyance! How great is that danger to which poor lads are now exposed, when placed on Shipboard to learn the Art of sailing!

Five lads, training up for the Seas, were now on board this Ship, two of them brought up amongst our Society, one of which hath a right amongst friends, by name James Nailor, to whose father James Nailor¹¹¹ mentioned in Sewel's History, appears to have been uncle. I often feel a tenderness of heart toward these poor lads, and at times, look at them as though they were my Children according to the flesh.

O that all may take heed and beware of Covetousness! O that all may learn of Christ who is meek and low of Heart! Then in faithfully following him, he will teach us to be content with food and raiment, without respect to the customs of honours of this world. Men thus redeemed will feel a tender concern for their fellow creatures, and a desire that those in the lowest stations may be assisted and encouraged. And where owners of Ships attain to the perfect Law of Liberty, and are doers of the word these will be blessed in their deeds.

A Ship at Sea commonly Sails all night, and the Seamen take their watches four hours at a time. Riseing to work in the night is not commonly pleasant in any case, but in dark rainy nights it is very disagreeable, even though each man were furnished with all conveniences, but if men must go out at midnight to help manage the Ship in the rain, and having small room to Sleep and lay their garments in, are often beset to furnish themselves for the watch; their garments or something relating to their business being wanting, and not easily found; when from the urgency

occasioned by high winds they are hastned and called up Suddenly, here is a trial of patience on the poor Sailors, and the poor lads their companions.

If after they have been on deck several hours in the Night, and come down into the Stearage Soaking wet, and are so close stowed that proper convenience for change of garments is not easiely come at, but for want of proper room their wet garments thrown in heaps, and sometimes through much crowding, are troden under foot in going to their lodgings and geting out of them, and great difficulties at times each one to find his own, here are trials on the poor sailors.

Now as I have been with them in my lodge, my heart hath often yerned for them, and tender desires been raised in me that all owners and Masters of Vessels may dwell in the Love of God, and therein act uprightly, and by Seeking less for gain, and looking carefully to their ways may earnestly labour to remove all cause of provocation from the poor Seamen, either to fret or use excess of strong drink: for indeed the poor Creatures at times in the wet and cold seem to apply to strong drink to supply the want of other conveniences.

Great reformation in the world is wanting! and the necessity of it, amongst those who do business on great waters, hath at this time been abundantly opened before me.

da mo

8: 5: This morning the Clouds gathered, the wind blew Strong from south eastward, and before noon increased to that degree that Sailing appeared dangerous. The Seamen then bound up some of their Sails, took some down, and the Storm increasing, they put the dead lights, so called, into the Cabbin windows, and lighted a lamp as at Night.

The wind now blew vehemently, and the Sea wrought to that degree that an awful seriousness prevailed in the Cabbin, in which I spent I believe about seventeen hours; for I believed the poor wet toiling Seamen had need of all the room in the Crowded Stearage, and the Cabbin passengers had given me frequent invitations.

They ceased now from Sailing, and put the vessel in the posture called *lying-too*.

My mind in this tempest, through the gracious Assistance of

the Lord, was preserved in a good degree of resignation and I felt at times a few words in his love to my Ship mates, in regard to the All sufficiency of him who formed the great deep, and whose care is so extensive that a Sparrow falls not without his notice, and thus in a tender frame of mind spake to them of the necessity of our Yielding in true obedience, to the instructions of our heavenly Father, who sometimes through adversities intendeth our refinement.

About eleven at Night, I went out on the deck, when the Sea wrought exceedingly, and the high foaming waves all round about had in some sort the appearance of fire; but did not give much if any light. The sailor then at the helm said he lately saw a *Corposant*¹ at the head of the Mast.

About this time I observed the Master of the Ship ordered the Carpenter to keep on the deck; and though he said little I apprehended his care was that the carpenter with his axe might be in readiness in case of any extremity.

Soon after this the vehemency of the wind abated, and before morning they again put the Ship under Sail.

da mo

10: 5: and first of the week, it being fine weather, we had a meeting in the Cabbın, at which most of the Sea men were present. This meeting to me was a Strengthening time.

da mo

13: 5: As I continue to lodge in the Stearage, I feel an openness this morning to express something further the state of my mind in respect to poor lads bound apprentice to learn the art of Sailing. As I believe sailing is of some use in the world, a labour of Soul attends me, that the pure Counsil of Truth may be humbly waited for in this case, by all concerned in the business of the Seas.

A pious father whose mind is exercised for the everlasting welfare of his Child may not with a peaceful mind, place him out to an employment amongst a people, whose common course of life is manifestly corrupt & profane. So great is the present

¹ *Corposant*, or *St. Elmo's Fire*—a luminous, flame-like appearance seen on dark or tempestuous nights, at the mast head or yardarm of a ship, caused by a discharge of electricity from elevated or pointed objects. Takes its name from St. Elmo, the patron Saint of Sailors, who are superstitious as to its appearance. Italian, *corpo-santo*; holy body. [Webster.]

defect amongst Sea fareing men in regard to piety and virtue; and through an abundant traffick, and many Ships of war, so many people are employed on the Sea that this Subject of placing lads to the employment appears very weighty.

Profane examples are very corrupting, and very forcible. And as my mind, day after day, and night after night, hath been affected with a Sympathizing tenderness toward poor Children, put to the employment of sailors, I have sometimes had weighty Conversation with the Sailors in the Stearage, who were mostly respectful to me, and more and more so the longer I was with them. They mostly appeared to take kindly what I said to them, but their minds have appeared to be so deeply imprest with that almost universal depravity amongst Sailors, that the poor creatures in their answers to me on this Subject, have revived in my remembrance that of the degenerate Jews, a little before the Captivity, as repeated by Jermiah the prophet, *There is no hope.*

Now under this exercise a Sence of the desire of outward gain prevailing amongst us, hath felt grievous: and a strong call to the professed followers of Christ hath been raised in me that all may take heed, lest, through loving this present world, they be found in a continued neglect of duty with respect to a faithful labour for a reformation.

Silence as to every motion proceeding from the Love of money, and an humble waiting upon God to know his will concerning us, hath now appeared necessary. He alone is able to Strengthen us to dig deep, to remove all which lies between us and the Safe foundation, and so direct us in our outward employments, that pure Universal Love may Shine forth in our proceedings.

Desires arising from the Spirit of Truth are pure desires; and when a mind Divinely opened toward a young generation, is made Sensible of corrupting examples, powerfully working, and extensively spreading amongst them how moving is the prospect.

A great trade to the coast of Africa for slaves, of which I now heard frequent conversation amongst the sailors! A great trade in that which is raised & prepared through grievous oppression!

A great trade in Superfluity of workmanship, formed to please the pride and vanity of peoples minds!

Great and extensive is that depravity which prevails amongst the poor sailors! When I remember that Saying of the Most High, through his prophet, "This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise;"¹ And think of placing children amongst them, to learn the practice of sailing, the consistency of it with a pious education seems to me like that mentioned by the prophet, "There is no answer from God."

In a world of dangers and difficulties, like a thorny desolate wilderness, how precious! how comfortable! how safe! are the leadings of Christ the good shepherd, who said, "I know my sheep; and am known of mine."²

da mo

16: 5: 1772. Wind for several days past often high what the sailors call *Squalley*; rough sea & frequent rains. This last night a very trying night to the poor Seamen. The water chief part of the night running over the main deck, and Sometimes breaking waves came on the quarter deck. The latter part of the night, as I lay in bed, my mind was humbled under the power of divine love and Resignedness to the great Creator of the earth and the seas, renewedly wrought in me, whose fatherly care over his Children felt precious to my soul, and desires were now renewed in me, to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the hardships and difficulties of my fellow creatures, and to labour in his love for the spreading of pure universal Righteousness in the Earth. The oportunities being frequent of hearing conversation amongst the Sailors, in respect to the voiges to Africa, and the manner of bringing the deeply oppressed slaves into our islands. The thoughts of their condition, frequently in Chains and fetters on board the Vessels, with hearts loaded with grief, under the apprehensions of miserable Slavery; my mind was frequently opened to meditate on these things. [My own lodging, now in the Stearage, with the advantage of walking the deck when I would, appear'd a comodious Scituation compard with theirs.]³

¹ Note by Woolman—"y^e Chap^t."?

² Note by Woolman—"y^e Chap^t."?

³ These references have not been filled in.

⁴ This sentence has been omitted by the first editors and consequently by those following.

da mo

17: 5: and first of the week, we had a meeting in the Cabbin to which the Seamen generally came. My Spirit was contrite before the Lord, whose Love at this time affected my heart.

This afternoon I felt a tender Sympathy of Soul with my poor wife and family left behind, in which state my heart was enlarged in desires that they may walk in that humble Obedience, wherein the everlasting Father may be their guide and Support through all the difficulties in this world: and a Sence of that gracious Assistance, through which my mind hath been strengthened to take up the cross and leave them to travel in the love of truth, hath begotten thankfulness in my heart to our [great] helper.

da mo

24: 5: and first of the week, a Clear pleasant morning, and as I sat on deck I felt a reviving in my nature, which through much rainey weather & high winds, being shut up in a close unhealthy air, was weakened.

Several nights of late I felt breathing difficult, that a little after the rising of the second watch (which is about midnight) I got up and stood, I believe, near an hour with my face near the hatchway, to get the fresh air at a small vacancy under the hatch door, which is commonly shut down, partly to keep out rain, and sometimes to keep the breaking waves from dashing into the Stearage.

I may with thankfulness to the Father of mercies acknowledge, that in my present weak state, my mind hath been Supported to bear the affliction with patience; and I have looked at the present dispensation as a kindness from the Great Father of Mankind who in this my floating pilgrimage, is in some degree bringing me to feel that which many thousands of my fellow creatures often Suffer in a greater degree.

My Appetite failing, the tryal hath been the heavier, and I have felt tender breathings in my soul after God the fountain of Comfort, whose inward help hath supplied, at times, the want of outward convenience, and strong desires have attended me that his family who are acquainted with the movings of his holy Spirit may be so redeemed from the love of money, and from that Spirit in which men seek honour one of another, that in all business by

Sea, or land we may constantly keep in view the coming of his kingdom on earth, as it is in heaven, and by faithfully following this safe guide, may show forth examples, tending to lead out of that under which the Creation Groans!

This day we had a meeting in the Cabbin in which I was favoured in some degree to experience the fulfilling of that saying of the prophet, "The Lord hath been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in their distress," for which my heart is bowed in thankfulness before him.¹

da mo

28: 5: Wet weather of late, with small winds Inclineing to calms. Our Seamen having cast a lead, I suppose about one hundred fathom, but find no bottom. Foggy weather this morning.

Through the kindness of the great Preserver of men, my mind remains quiet, and a degree of exercise from day to day attends me that the pure peaceable Government of Christ may spread and prevail amongst mankind.

The leading on of a young generation in that pure way, in which the wisdom of this world hath no place; where parents and tutors, humbly waiting for the heavenly Counsellor, may example them in the Truth, as it is in Jesus. This for several days hath been the Exercise of my mind. O how safe, how quiet is that State where the Soul stands in pure Obedience to the Voice of Christ and a watchful care is maintained not to follow the voice of the Stranger. Here Christ is felt to be our shepherd, and under his leading people are brought to a Stability. And where he doth not lead forward, we are bound in the bonds of pure love to Stand Still and wait upon [him.]

In the love of money, and the wisdom of this world, business is proposed, then the urgency of Affairs push forward, nor can the mind in this state discern the good and perfect will of God concerning us.

The love of God is manifested in graciously calling us to come out of that which Stands in Confusion, but if we [bow not in the name of Jesus]. If we give not up those prospects of gain which in the wisdom of this world are open before us, but say in our hearts I must needs go on; and in going on I hope to

¹ Note by John Woolman, "y^o Chap^t. & Verse."

keep as near to the purity of Truth as the business before me will admit of, here the mind remains entangled, and the Shining of the Light of life into the Soul is obstructed.

This query opens in my mind in the love of [Christ.] Where shall a pious father place his son apprentice to be instructed in the practice of Crossing the Seas, and have faith to believe that Christ our holy Shepherd leads him to place his son there?

Surely the Lord calls to mourning and deep humiliation, that in his fear we may be instructed, and lead safely on through the great difficulties and perplexities in this present age.

In an entire Subjection of our wills, the Lord graciously opens a way for his people, where all their wants are bounded by his wisdom: and here we experience the Substance of what Moses the Prophet figured out in the water of Seperation, as a purification from sin.

Esau is mentioned as a Child red all over, like a hairy garment. In Esau is represented the natural will of man. In preparing the water of Seperation, A red heifer without blemish, on which there had been no yoke was to be Slain, and her blood Sprinkled by the priest seven times toward the tabernacle of the Congregation. Then her skin her flesh and all pertaining to her was to be burnt without the Camp. and of her ashes the water was prepared. Thus the Crucifying the old man, or natural will, is represented, and hence comes a Separation from that Carnal mind which is death.

“He who toucheth the dead body of a man, and purifieth not himself with the water of Separation, he defileth the tabernacle of the Lord, he is unclean.” Numbers XIX. 13.

If [one] through the love of gain, go forth into business, wherein they dwell as amongst the Tombs, [Isaiah ch. v.] and touch the bodies of those who are dead. If these through the Infinite Love of God, feel the power of the Cross of Christ to Crucify them to the world, and therein learn humbly to follow the divine leader, here is the judgment of this world here the prince of this world is Cast out. The water of separation is felt, and though we have been amongst the Slain, and through the desire of gain have touched the dead body of a man, yet in the purifying love of [Christ,] we are washed in the water of Seperation, are

brought off from that business, from that gain, and from that fellowship, which was not agreeable to His holy will. And I have felt a renewed confirmation in the time of this voiage, that the Lord, in his infinite love, is calling to his Visited Children so to give up all outward possessions and means of getting treasures, that his holy Spirit may have free course in their hearts, and direct them in all their proceedings.

To feel the substance pointed at in this figure, man must know death, as to his own will.

"No man can see God, and live:" this was spoken by the Almighty to Moses the prophet; and opened by our blessed Redeemer.

As death comes on our own wills, and a new life is formed in us, the heart is purified, and prepared to understand clearly. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." In purity of heart the mind is divinely opened, to behold the nature of Universal Righteousness, or the Righteousness of the kingdom of God. No man hath seen the Father, save he that is of God; he hath seen the Father.¹

The natural mind is active about the things of this life, and in this natural activity, business is proposed, and a will in us to go forward in it. And as long as this natural will remains unsubjected, so long there remains an obstruction against the clearness of divine light operating in us, but when we love God with all our heart, and with all our Strength, then, in this love, we love our Neighbours as our Selves, and a tenderness of heart is felt toward all people, [for whom Christ died]² even such who as to outward circumstances may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans. Who is my neighbour? See this question answered [by our Saviour—Chap. V.]³

In this Love we can say that Jesus is the Lord; and the reformation in our souls is manifested in a full reformation of our lives, wherein all things are new, and all things are of God. (c. v.) In this the desire of gain is subjected. employment is honestly followed in the Light of Truth, and people become diligent in business, fervent in spirit; serving the Lord: [chap.

¹ Note by John Woolman—"Chapt. & Verse?"

² Omitted by John Comly, Edit., 1837, p. 170.

³ The reference is to Luke X, 36, 37.

v.] Here the *name* is opened: This is the name by which he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS."

O how precious is this name! It is like ointment poured out. The Chaste Virgin is in love with the Redeemer, and for the promoting his peaceable kingdom in the world, are content to endure hardness like good Soldiers, and are so separated in Spirit from the desire of Riches, that in their employments, they become extensively careful to give none offence, neither to Jews nor heathens, nor the Church of Christ.

da mo

31 : 5 : and first of the week, had a meeting in the Cabbin, with nearly all the Ships Company; the whole being near thirty. In this meeting, the Lord in mercy favoured us with the extendings of his love.

da mo

2 : 6 : 1772 last evening the Seamen found bottom at about 70 fathom.

This morning fair wind and pleasant, and as I sat on deck, my heart was overcome with the love of God, and melted into contrition before him, and in this state, the prospect of that work to which I [have] felt my mind drawn when in my Native land, being in some degree opened before me, I felt like a little child, and my cries were put up to my Heavenly Father for preservation, that in a humble dependence on him, my Soul may be Strengthened in his love, and kept inwardly waiting for his Counsel.

This afternoon we saw that part of England, called the Lizard.

Some dunghill fowls yet remained of those the passengers took for their [eating] I believe about 14 perished in the Storms at Sea, by the waves breaking over the quarter-deck; and a considerable number with sickness, at different times. I observed the Cocks crew coming down Delaware, & while we were near the land; but afterward I think I did not hear one of them Crow till we came near the land in England, when they again crowed a few times.

In Observing their dull appearance at Sea, and the pineing sickness of some of them, I once remembered the Fountain of goodness, who gave being to all creatures, and whose love extends to that of careing for the Sparrows, and believe where the

love of God is verily perfected, & the true Spirit of government watchfully attended to a tenderness toward all creatures made Subject to us will be experienced & a care felt in us that we do not lessen that Sweetness of life in the animal Creation, which the great Creator intends for them under our government, [and believe a less number carried off to eat at Sea may be more agreeable to the pure wisdom.] ¹

da mo

4: 6: 1772 Wet weather, high winds, and so dark that we could see but a little way. I perceived our seamen were apprehensive of danger of missing the Channel, which I understood was narrow. In a while it grew lighter, and they saw the land, and knew where we were [at which sight I discerned a visible alteration in the Countenances of Several, who appeared very thankful.] ² Thus the Father of mercies was pleased to try us with the Sight of dangers, and then graciously, from time to time deliver from them, thus Sparing our lives that in humility and Reverence we may walk before him, and put our trust in him.

About noon a pilot came of from Dover where my beloved friend Samuel Emlen⁷ [& Sarah]^{59,3} went on Shore, and to London, about 72 miles by land, but I felt easie in staying in the Ship.

da mo st

7: 6: & 1. of the week. Clear morning, lay at anchor for the tide, and had a parting meeting with the Ships Company, in which my heart was enlarged in a fervent concern for them that they may come to experience salvation through Christ. Had a head wind up the thames, lay sometimes at Anchor, saw many ships passing, and some at anchor near, and had large opportunity of feeling the spirit in which the poor bewildered Sailors too generally live. That Lamentable degeneracy, which so much prevails among the people employed on the Seas, so affected my heart that I may not easily convey the feeling I have had to another.

The present state of the sea-faring life in general, appears

¹ This has been omitted by first Editors.

² Erased with the pen on each line, by editors.

³ Sarah Logan.

so opposite to that of a pious education. So full of Corruption, and extreme alienation from God. So full of examples, the most dangerous to *young people*, that in looking toward a young generation I feel a care for them, that they may have an education different from the present Education of Lads at Sea: And that all of us who are acquainted with the pure Gospel Spirit, may lay this case to heart, may remember the lamentable Corruptions which attend the conveyance of merchandize across the Seas; and so abide in the love of [Christ] that, being delivered from the love of money, from the entangling expenses of a curious, delicate, luxurious life, [that] we may learn Contentment with a little, and promote the Sea fareing life no further than the Spirit which leads into all Truth, attends us in our proceedings.

At this end of the Journal of the Voyage, on the fifth day after landing, is the following note by John Woolman; the endorsement is on the back of the blue cover of the outside. It has been crossed off with two strokes of the pen, by the first editors. Sophia Hume¹¹⁰ was then living in London.

da mo

13: 6: 1772.

"I commit these notes to the care and keeping of Sophia Hume, and if she hath a mind to revise them, and place them in better order, I am free to it; but I desire she may not shew them to any one, but with a very weighty Consideration.

John Woolman."

The remaining portion of the Journal in England has been written on similar paper and afterward stitched in with that relating to the voyage.

CHAPTER XII¹

1772

da mo

8: 6: 1772 Landed at London & went Straitway to the yearly meeting of Ministers and Elders, which had been gathered (I suppose) half an hour.

In this meeting, my mind was humbly contrite. Afternoon meeting of business opened, which by adjournments, held near a week. In these meetings, I often felt a living concern for the Establishment of Friends in the pure life of Truth and my heart was Enlarged in the meeting of Ministers, Meeting of business, and in Several meetings for publick worship, & I felt my mind united in true love to the faithful labourers, now gathered [from the several parts of] this Yearly Meeting.

da mo

15: 6: left London, and went to a quarterly meeting in Hertford.

da mo

1: 7: 1772. have been at quarterly meetings at Sherrington, at Northampton, at Banbury and at Shipton, and had sundry meetings between. My mind hath been bowed under a Sence of divine goodness manifested amongst us; and my heart hath often been enlarged in true love, both amongst Ministers and Elders, and in public meetings. That through the Lords goodness I believe it hath been a fresh Visitation to many, in particular to the Youth.

da mo

17: 7: Was this day at Birmingham had been at Coventry, at Warwick, [and have been at Meetings in Oxfordshire &] sundry other places; have felt the humbling hand of the Lord upon me,

¹J. Woolman has made a note at top of page, "P. Charron, on Gold. Wm. Pen's Works. 83 page."

and through his tender mercies find peace in the labours I have gone through.

da mo

26: 7: 1772 have continued travelling northward, visiting meetings; was this day at Nottingham which in the forenoon especially was through divine Love, a heart-tendering Season: next day had a Meeting in a friends house with friends Children & some friends, this, through the Strengthening arm of the Lord, was a time to be thankfully remembered.

da mo

2: 8: 1st of week was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town have been at Sundry meetings last week and feel inward thankfulness for that Divine support which hath been graciously extended to me.

da mo

9: 8: 1st of week was at Rushworth have lately passed through some painful labour, but have been comforted, under a sence of that divine Visitation which I feel extended toward many young people.

da mo

16: 8: and first of the week, was at Settle. It hath of late been a time of inward poverty, under which my mind hath been preserved in a watchful tender state, feeling for the mind of the holy leader, and find peace in the labours I have passed through.

s.

On Enquiry in many places I find the price of Rie about 5,

s.

s.

wheat about 8, p. bushel, Oatmeal, 12 for 120 pound, mutton,

d d

d d

d d

from 3 to 5 per pound, bacon from 7 to 9. Cheese from 4 to 6

d d

s s

butter from 8 to 10 house rent for a poor man from 25 to 40 per year to be paid weekly, wood for fire very scarce and dear,

s d

Coal some places, 2 6 per hundred weight, but near the pits, not a quarter so much. O may the wealthy consider the poor!

The wages of labouring men in several Counties toward

d

London, 10 per day in common business, the Employer finds

I have felt great distress of mind since I came on this Island on account of the members of our Society being mixed with the world in various Sorts of business and traffick carried on in impure Channels. Great is the trade to Africa for Slaves! and in loading these Ships, abundance of people are employed in the factories amongst whom are many of our society! Friends in Early times refused on a religious principle to make or trade in Superfluities, of which we have many large testimonies on record, but for want of faithfulness some gave way; even some whose examples were of note in Society, and from thence others took more liberty. Members of our society worked in Superfluities, and bought and Sold them, and thus dimness of sight came over many. At length friends got into the use of Some Superfluities in dress, and in the furniture of their houses, and this hath spread from less to more, till Superfluity of some kinds is common amongst us.

In this declining State many look at the examples one of another, and too much neglect the pure feeling of Truth. Of late years [this increasing,] a deep exercise hath attended my mind, that friends may dig deep, may carefully cast forth the loose matter, and get down to the Rock, the Sure foundation, and there hearken to that divine voice which gives a Clear & certain Sound, and I have felt in that which doth not deceive, that if friends who have known the Truth, keep in that tenderness of heart, where all views of outward gain are given up, and their trust is only in the Lord, He will graciously lead some to be patterns of deep Self denial in things relating to trade and handicraft labour, and that some who have plenty of the treasures of this world, will example in a plain, frugal life, and pay wages to such whom they may hire, more liberally than is now customary in some places.¹

mo

23: 8: Was this day at preston-patrick [here I dream'd of Mother,] and had a comfortable meeting. I have several times been entertained at the houses of friends who had sundry things

¹ In the margin of this page is written thus,

"Seal words with silence flatter no man	}	Chuse well and hold fast use time well	}	Virtue maketh bold; learn to forgive injuries."
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The sentences suggest copy-book headings, which in all probability they are.

about them which had the appearance of outward greatness, and as I have kept inward way hath opened for Conversation in private in which divine Goodness hath favoured us together with heart tendering times.

A deviation amongst us as a Society from the Simplicity that there is in Christ becoming so general; and the trade from this Island to Africa for Slaves, and other trades carried on through oppressive Channels and abundance of the Inhabitants being employed in factories to Support a trade in which there is unrighteousness, and Some growing outwardly great by gain of this Sort. The weight of this degeneracy hath lain so heavy upon me, the depth of this revolt, been so evident, and desires in my heart been so ardent for a reformation, that we may come to that right use of things, where liveing on a little we may inhabit that holy Mountain, in which they neither *hurt nor destroy!* and may not only Stand clear from oppressing our fellow-creatures, but may be so disentangled from connexions in Interest with known oppressors, that in us may be fulfilled that prophecie, *Thou shalt be far from oppression.*

Under the weight of this exercise the sight of innocent birds in the branches and sheep in the pastures, who are according to the will of their Creator, hath at times tended to mitigate my trouble.

da mo

26: 8: 1772 being now at George Crosfields⁸⁴ in Westmoreland [county in England,] I feel a concern to commit to writing that which to me hath been a Case uncommon.

In a time of Sickness with the plurisie,¹ a little upward of two years and a half ago I was brought so Near the gates of death, that I forgot my name. being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy collour, between the South and the East, and was informed that this mass was human beings, in as great misery as they could be, & live, and that I was mixed in with them, & henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or Separate being. In this state I remained several hours. I then heard a soft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any voice I had heard with my ears before, and I believed it was the voice of an angel who spake

¹ See page 285, where this illness is more fully described, at date of occurrence.

to the other angels. The words were *John Woolman is dead*. I soon remembered that I once was John Woolman, and being assured that I was alive in the body, I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean.

I believed beyond doubting that it was the voice of an holy Angel, but as yet it was a mystery to me.

I was then carried in Spirit to the mines, where poor Oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called Christians, and heard them blaspheme the name of Christ, at which I was grieved for his Name to me was precious.

Then I was informed that these heathen were told that those who oppressed them were the followers of Christ; and they said amongst themselves, If Christ directed them to use us in this Sort then Christ is a cruel tyrant.

All this time the Song of the Angel remained a Mystery, and in the morning my dear wife and some others coming to my bedside I asked them if they knew who I was, and they telling me I was John Woolman, thought I was only light-headed, for I told them not what the Angel said, nor was I disposed to talk much to any one; but was very desirous to get so deep that I might understand this Mystery.

My tongue was often so dry that I could not speak till I had moved it about and gathered some moisture, and as I lay still for a time, at length I felt divine power prepare my mouth that I could speak, and then I said, 'I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live yet not I, but Christ [that] liveth in me, and the life I now live in the flesh is by faith [in] the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me.'

Then the Mystery was opened and I perceived there was Joy in heaven over a Sinner who had repented, and that that language, *John Woolman is dead*, meant no more than the death of my own will.

Soon after this I coughed and raised much bloody matter, which I had not during this Vision, and now my natural understanding returned as before. Here I saw, that people getting Silver Vessels to set of their Tables at entertainments was often stained with worldly Glory, and that in the present state of things, I should take heed how I fed myself from out of Silver Vessels.

Soon after my recovery I going to our monthly¹ meeting dined at a friends house where drink was brought in Silver Vessels and not in any other, and I wanting some drink told him my case with weeping, and he ordered some drink for me in another Vessel.

The like I afterwards went through in several friends houses in America, and have also in England, since I came here, and have cause with humble reverence to acknowledge the loving kindness of my heavenly Father, who hath preserved me in such a tender frame of mind, that none, I believe, have ever been offended at what I have said on that Occasion. [John Woolman.]

After this sickness I spake not in public meetings for worship for near one year, but my mind was very often in company with the oppressed slaves as I sat in meetings, and [it was to me a time of] abundance of weeping [and tho' I think I never felt the spring of the ministry Opened in me more powerfully.]² It being so long since I passed through this dispensation and the matter remaining fresh and livingly in my mind I believe it safest for me to commit it to writing.

da mo

30: 8: 1772 This morning I wrote a letter in substance as follows³

Beloved friend,

My mind is often affected as I pass along, under a sense of the state of many poor people, who sit under that sort of ministry which requires much outward labour to support it; And the loving kindness of our heavenly Father in opening a pure gospel Ministry in this nation hath often raised thankfulness in my heart toward him. I often remember the Conflicts of the faithful under persecution, and now look at the free exercise of⁴ the pure gift uninterrupted by outward laws as a trust committed to us, which requires our deepest gratitude, and most careful attention. I feel a tender concern that the work of reformation so prosperously carried on in this land

¹ Burlington, New Jersey. Probably at John Smith's.¹⁵

² In a fine running hand, overleaf, is the following completion of this paragraph. "And though under this dispensation I was shut up from speaking, yet the Spring of the Gospel Ministry was many times livingly open'd in me & the divine Gift operated by abundance of weeping in feeling the oppression of this People." A note is added by William Tuke: "By J. W.'s order in his illness, the above to stand instead of that wrote in the margin on the other side of this page."

³ This letter was written to Rachel Wilson, wife of Isaac, of Kendal, then absent on a preaching tour. [See Biog. Note 66.]

within a few ages past may go forward and spread amongst the nations, and may not go backward through dust gathering on our garments, who have been called to a work so great and so precious.

Last evening I had a little opportunity at thy house, with some of thy family in thy absence, in which I rejoiced, and feeling a Sweetness on my mind toward thee I now endeavour to open a little of the feeling I had there.

I have heard that you in these parts have, at certain Seasons meetings of Conference, in relation to friends living up to our principles in which several meetings unite in one, with which I feel unity: I having in some measure felt Truth lead that way amongst friends in America; and have found my dear friend, that, in these labours, all Superfluities in our own living are against us. I feel that pure love toward thee in which there is freedom.

I look at that precious gift bestowed on thee, with Awfulness before Him who gave it and feel a care that we may be so Separated to the gospel of Christ that those things which proceed from the Spirit of this world may have no place amongst us. thy fr^d

JOHN WOOLMAN.

I rested a few days in body and mind with our friend Jane Crosfield,³⁴ who was once in America: was on Sixth day of the week at Kendal in Westmoreland and at Greyrig meeting
da mo
the 30: 8: and first of the week.

I have known poverty of late, and been graciously Supported to keep in the patience, and am thankful under a sense of the goodness of the Lord toward those that are of a contrite Spirit.

da mo

6: 9: 1 of week. Was this day at Counterside, a large meeting house, and very full, and through the opening of pure love it was a Strengthening time to me, and I believe to many more.

da mo

13: 9: Was this day at Richmond, a small meeting, but the town's people coming in, the house was crowded. It was a time of heavy labour, and I believe was a profitable meeting.

[When I was at Richmond, I being now in Yorkshire,] I heard that my kinsman William Hunt⁹ from North Carolina who was on a religious visit to Friends in England, departed this life on the 9th day of the 9th month instant of the small-pox, at Newcastle. He appear'd in the ministry when a youth, and his

labours therein were of good savour. He travell'd much in that work in America. I once heard him say in public testimony that his concern was in that visit to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself, which words, joined with his example was a means of stirring up the pure mind in me.¹

Having of late travelled often in wet weather, through narrow streets in towns & villages, where was dirtiness under foot, and the scent arising from that Filth which more or less infects the air of all thick settled towns, and I being but weakly, have felt distress both in body and mind with that which is impure.

In these journeys I have been where much cloath hath been dyed, and sundry times have walked over ground where much of their die stuffs have drained away.

Here I have felt a longing in my mind, that people might come into Cleanness of spirit, Cleanness of person, Cleanness about their houses and Garments.

Some who are great, carry delicacy to a great hight themselves, and yet the real cleanliness is not generally promoted. Dies being invented partly to please the Eye, and part to hide dirt, I have felt in this weak state, travelling in dirtiness and affected with unwholesome Scents, a strong desire that the nature of dieing cloth to hide dirt may be more fully considered.

To hide dirt in our garments appears opposite to the real cleanliness.

To wash garments, and keep them sweet, this appears cleanly.

Through giving way to hiding dirt in our garments, a Spirit which would cover that which is disagreeable is strengthened.

Real cleanness becometh a holy people, but hiding that which is not clean by colouring our garments appears contrary to the Sweetness of Sincerity.

Through some Sorts of dies, Cloath is less useful: and if the value of die stuffs, the expense of dieing, and the damage done to Cloath, were all added together and that expense applied to keep all sweet and clean, how much more cleanly would people be!

[Near large towns there are many beasts Slain to Supply the Market & from their Blood & filth ariseth that which mixeth in the Air: this with the Cleaning of many Stables & other

¹ The ink in this paragraph has nearly faded out.

Scents in the Air in Citties in a Calm, wetish time, is so opposite to the clean pure Country air that I think even the Minds of people are in some degree hindered from the pure Operation of the Holy Spirit, where they breathe a great deal in it.

With God, all things are possible, and the Sincere in heart find help under the greatest difficulties, but I believe if Truth be singly adhered to, way may be Open'd for some to live a Country life, who are now in Citties.]¹

CONCERNING THE MINISTRY.

On² this visit to England I have felt some instructions sealed on my mind, which I am concerned to leave in writing, for the use of such who are called to the station of a minister of Christ.

Christ being the Prince of Peace, and we being no more than ministers, I find it necessary for us, not only to feel a concern in our first going forth, but to experience the renewing thereof in the appointment of meetings.

¹ This paragraph, from one of the last pages of the English Journal, has been omitted in all previous editions. The first edition [1774] has, however, the catch-word "Near" at bottom of page 240, while the paragraph at top of page 241 opens with, "on this visit," &c., conclusively proving that the original Manuscript was in use, and that the omission was made *after the type was set up and printed*.

Below is a curious waif, which fits in here like a mosaic. Note on fly leaf of Dublin Edit. (1776) of Woolman's *Journal*, owned by Mary Awmack, & given by E. C. Jellett, of Germantown, to The Woolman Memorial in Mount Holly, N. J. in 1918.

"As I have the following Memorandum in John Woolman's own handwriting, tho't it not improper to insert it here, as it is left out in the following Journal.

"17th day of 9th mo. was at Thirsk. Many of the towns people coming in, the house was much crowded amongst whom my heart was enlarged & the gospel love flowed forth toward them.

"On the 20th come from Wm. Martins to Huby attended the meeting there went to John Johnson's to dinner, after which Came to James Hersey's at Towthorp, near York & to York the 21st: attended the Select meeting next day the Quarterly meeting for Worship & discipline, Except the last."

This note appears valuable, but is so far unexplained, as to its source. The writer may have possessed a lost leaf.

² This brief little Essay forms the concluding section of the English Journal. It was probably written by John Woolman in the leisure of the few days rest which he took in "body and mind" at the hospitable home of George and Jane Crosfield. It is retained here, apart from the Essays, as a portion of the Journal proper, because of personal references, and the light which it casts upon Woolman's travels and his state of mind. A copy remains, with its separate heading, at Almery Garth, with the other English essays, and it has also been printed as a separate pamphlet, of which a copy is in the library of Haverford College, Pa. The first edition is followed in this arrangement. Compare also, Woolman's remarks on the same subject in 1760.

I felt a concern in America, to prepare for this voyage; and being through the mercy of God brought safe here, my heart was like a vessel that wanted vent; and for several weeks at first, when my mouth was opened in meetings, it often felt like the raising of a gate in a water course, where a weight of water lay upon it; and in these labours there appeared a fresh visitation of love to many, especially the youth. But some time after this, I felt empty and poor, and yet felt a necessity to appoint meetings.

In this state I was exercised to abide in the pure life of Truth, and in all my labours to watch diligently against the motions of self in my own mind.

I have frequently felt a necessity to stand up, when the spring of the ministry was low, and to speak from the necessity, in that which subjecteth the will of the creature; and herein I was united with the suffering seed, and found inward sweetness in these mortifying labours.

As I have been preserved in a watchful attention to the Divine leader under these dispensations, enlargement at times hath followed, and the power of Truth hath rose higher in some meetings, than I ever knew it before through me.

Thus I have been more and more instructed, as to the necessity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America to come on a visit to England, but upon the fresh instructions of Christ, the prince of peace, from day to day.

Now of late, I have felt a stop in the appointment of meetings, not wholly but in part; and I do not feel liberty to appoint them so quick one after another as I have heretofore, [and I feel thankful that I have not noise with me in these slow proceedings.]

The work of the ministry being a work of Divine love, I feel that the openings thereof are to be waited for, in all our appointments.

Oh! how deep is Divine wisdom! Christ puts forth his ministers, and goeth before them; and Oh! how great is the danger of departing from the pure feeling of that which leadeth safely!

Christ knoweth the state of the people, and in the pure feeling of the gospel ministry, their states are opened to his servants.

Christ knoweth when the fruit-bearing branches themselves have need of purging.

Oh! that these lessons may be remembered by me! and that all who appoint meetings, may proceed in the pure feeling of duty.

I have sometimes felt a necessity to stand up; but that spirit which is of the world hath so much prevailed in many, and the pure life of Truth been so pressed down, that I have gone forward, not as one travelling in a road cast up, and well prepared, but as a man walking through a miry place, in which are stones here and there, safe to step on; but so situated that one step being taken, time is necessary to see where to step next.

Now I find that in pure obedience the mind learns contentment in appearing weak and foolish to that wisdom which is of the world: and in these lowly labours, they who stand in a low place, rightly exercised under the cross, will find nourishment.

The gift is pure; and while the eye is single in attending thereto, the understanding is preserved clear; self is kept out; and we rejoice in filling up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ for his body's sake, which is the church.

The natural man loveth eloquence, and many love to hear eloquent orations: and if there is not a careful attention to the gift men who have once laboured in the pure gospel ministry, growing weary of suffering, and ashamed of appearing weak, may kindle a fire, compass themselves about with sparks, and walk in the light,—not of Christ who is under suffering,—but of that fire which they, going from the gift, have kindled: And that in hearers, which is gone from the meek suffering state, into the worldly wisdom, may be warmed with this fire, and speak highly of these labours, [“and thus the false Prophet in man may form likenesses & his coming may be with Signs and Wonders and lying Miracles; but the Sorcerers, however powerful—they remain without in Company with the Idolaters and Adulterers.”] That which is of God gathers to God; and that which is of the world is owned by the world.

In this journey a labour hath attended my mind, that the ministers amongst us may be preserved in the meek feeling life of Truth, where we have no desire but to follow Christ and be with him; that when he is under suffering we may suffer with him; and never desire to rise up in dominion, but as he by the virtue of his own Spirit may raise us.

CHAPTER XIII

1772

At this point ends the Journal proper of John Woolman. The following portion, usually given in previous editions as the concluding pages of the narrative, describing his illness and death, demands further explanation.

Thomas Priestman⁶⁰ and his wife, in whose house at York John Woolman died, together with William⁶⁸ and Esther Tuke,⁶⁸ their intimate friends, were his constant attendants. As the former states in his own Journal, he and William Tuke "minuted down" all of the dying man's expressions, and kept a record of every occurrence during the thirteen days of his illness. Thomas Priestman's Journal and this record are still in existence, and through the courtesy of Malcolm Spence, the late owner of Almery Garth, the manuscripts have been placed at the editor's service in the form of photographic reproductions. These pages correspond exactly with the handwriting, undoubtedly that of William Tuke, in the last pages of Woolman's own English Journal, now at Swarthmore College. In sending to America the news of the illness and death of John Woolman, William Tuke used this narrative, and embodied it almost verbatim in letter form, adding besides much of interesting detail. All previous editions have this account attached to the concluding pages of the Journal in the original form of the memorandum at York, as it was written first by William Tuke, with various important omissions. It is felt that this letter, in its fuller form, will be welcomed by Woolman lovers, since only from it we learn valuable facts. The additions which were made by William Tuke in forwarding the letter with Woolman's effects, to his cousin Reuben Haines,⁶¹ in Philadelphia, as the dying man had desired, are indicated by square brackets. The only printed copy of the letter which has come under the notice of the present editor, is

separately published in John Comly's "Friends' Miscellany," Volume VIII.

The "Testimonies" to Woolman are taken from the Minute Books of the Meetings at York, England, and Burlington, New Jersey, respectively.

York, 26th, 10th mo. 1772.

[DEAR FRIEND, REUBEN HAINES: ⁵¹

It falls to my lot, in the fulfilling of the precious request of our beloved friend, John Woolman, hereby to inform thee that he departed this life at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman,⁶⁰ in the suburbs of this city, the 7th day of the 10th mo. 1772, about the sixth hour in the morning, and was interred in Friends' burying-ground here, the 9th of the same, after a large and solid meeting held on the occasion in our great meeting house.]

He came to this city the 21st day of the ninth month, and second day of the week, and having been poorly in health for some time before; apprehended the like feverish disorder he usually had at this season of the year was coming upon him.

The Quarterly meeting of Ministers and Elders was held in the Evening of 3^d day, and the sittings of the Quarterly meeting for Business & meetings for Worship on 4th & 5th days, all which he was enabled to attend, except the parting meeting for Worship.

He appeared in the Ministry greatly to the Comfort & Satisfaction of Friends; the Spring of the Gospel flowing through him with great purity & Sweetness. His last Testimony was in a Meeting for Discipline, on the Subject of the Slave Trade; remarking, that as Friends had been solicitous for, and obtain'd relief from many of their Sufferings, so he recommended this oppressed part of the Creation to their Notice, that they may, in an Individual Capacity, as way may open, remonstrate their hardships & Sufferings to those in Authority, especially the Legislative Power in this Kingdom. [I am persuaded that this his last public labour made a deep impression on many minds, and I wish the great sufferings he hath passed through on account of this oppressed and injured people, may deeply affect the minds of those in America, among whom he hath faithfully and painfully laboured, and of whom he said he was clear.]

His Illness growing upon him, some Spotts appeared upon his Face like the small Pox on 7th day, & the next day it appeared beyond a doubt that this was his disorder. As he had seldom eaten Flesh for some Time, and from the Symptoms at first, we entertained hopes he would have the disorder favourably; but a great quantity of Spotts began to appear the 3^d & 4th days, so that he was pretty full, and though not so loaded as many, yet for the most part was greatly afflicted, but bore it with the utmost Meekness, Patience, Resignation and Christian Fortitude frequently uttering many comfortable & Instructive Expressions, some of which were minuted down or remembered.¹ [Nothing was wanting that could be devised to make him easy, and to have restored him, had it been consistent with the Divine will.]

The Friend² and his wife at whose house he was, as well as divers others of us, being nearly united to him in much tenderness of Affection and near Sympathy, and having the Opportunity of attending him, thought it a blessing to behold his exemplary conduct, which appeared throughout. My Wife³ and I were much with him, both of us seldom leaving him at once, either Day or Night, as it was his Request about a Week before his Death that she would not sleep out of the House until she saw an Alteration, which we freely complied with, and neither of us lodged at Home from that time.

[In the beginning of his Illness he expressed a desire to see his Neighbour And shipmate, John Bispham,⁵³ and an Opportunity offering of sending him Word, to his and our Satisfaction he came, about two days before his Decease, and stayed till after the Funeral.

It seemed according to natural probability, that the Malignancy of the Disorder was not so great but he might Survive it; however, the Danger lay in his Constitution being so enfeebled as not to be able to struggle through the putrid state of the latter part of the Disease: which appeared to be the Case: for about eight

¹ In the margin of the York MS. is written, "He often said it was hid from him, whether he should recover or not, & he was not desirous to know it, but from his own feeling of the disorder, and his feeble constitution, thought he should not."

² Thomas Priestman: see Biog. Note 69.

³ Esther Tuke.

hours before his Departure, the Fever (which had not been immoderate), left him, and Nature sunk under its Load.

In the Forepart of his Illness, he gave Directions concerning his Papers and Funeral with the same Ease and Composure as if going a journey, and during the whole time, his Understanding was wonderfully preserved clear and sound, and his Mind so Supported in Stillness, patience, resignation and fortitude, as made it very edifying and instructive to be with him.]

First day, 27th. of 9th. mo. Being asked to have the advice of a Doctor, he signified he had not liberty in his Mind so to do, standing wholly resigned to his Will who gave him Life, and whose Power he had witnessed to heal him in Sickness before, when he seemed nigh unto Death; and if he was to wind up now, he was perfectly resigned, having no Will either to live or die, and did not choose any should be sent for to him; but a Young Man of our Society, an Apothecary, coming of his own accord the next day, & desiring to do something for him, he said he found freedom to confer with him & the other Friends about him, and if any thing should be proposed as to Medicine that did not come through defiled Channels or oppressive Hands, he should be willing to consider and take it so far as he found freedom.

The next day he said he felt the Disorder affect his Head, so that he could think little & but as a Child, & desired, if his Understanding should be more affected, to have nothing given him that those about him knew he had a Testimony against.

The same day. He desired a friend to write, and brake forth as follows: "O Lord my God! the amazing Horrors of Darkness were gath'd around me, and Covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth. I felt the depth & Extent of the Misery of my fellow Creatures, separated from the Divine Harmony; and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it. I lifted up my hand, and I stretched out my Arm, but there was none to help me; I looked round about, and was amazed in the depths of Misery. O Lord! I remembered that thou are Omnipotent; that I had called thee Father, and I felt that I loved thee; and I was made quiet in thy Will, and I waited for Deliverance from thee; Thou hadst pity upon me when no Man could help me; I saw that Meekness under Suffering, was showed unto us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and thou wast

teaching me to follow Him; and I said, thy will, O Father, be done."

4th day morning, being asked how he felt himself, he meekly answered, "I don't know that I have slept this Night. I feel the Disorder making its progress; but my Mind is mercifully preserved in stillness & Peace." Some time after, he said he was sensible the pains of Death must be hard to bear, but if he escaped them now, he must some time pass through them, and did not know he could be better prepared, but had no Will in it. He said he had settled his outward affairs to his own Mind, had taken leave of his Wife & Family as never to return, leaving them to the Divine protection; adding, "and though I feel them near to me at this Time, yet I freely give them up, having a hope they will be provided for;" and a little after, said, "This trial is made easier than I could have thought, by my Will being wholly taken away; for if I was anxious as to the Event, it would be harder; but I am not, and my mind enjoys a perfect calm."

At another Time, he said he was a little uneasy lest any should think he had put himself into the hands of the Young Man and another Apothecary who of their own choice attended him; and desired Friends might be informed, & he would inform the young man, upon what bottom they attended him, being of the same Judgment his Friends in America and some here knew he had been of; but that he found a freedom to confer with them, finding Nature needed Support, during the Time permitted to struggle with the disorder; that he had no Objection to use the Things in the Creation for real Use, & in their proper places; but anything that came through defiled Channels or Oppressive Hands, he could not touch with; having had a Testimony to bear against those things, which he hoped to bear to the last.

He lay for a considerable time in a Still, sweet frame; uttering many broken expressions, part of which were thus; "My Soul is poured out unto thee like Water, and my Bones are out of joint. I saw a Vision, in which I beheld the great Confusion of those that depart from thee. I saw their Horror & great distress. I was made sensible of their Misery, then was I greatly distressed; I looked unto thee; thou wast underneath & supported me. I likewise saw the great Calamity that is coming upon this disobedient Nation."

In the Night, a young woman¹ having given him something to drink, he said, "My child! thou seemest very kind to me a poor Creature, the Lord will reward thee for it." A while after he cried out with great earnestness of Spirit, "O my Father, my Father!" and soon after he said, "O my Father, my Father! How comfortable are thou to my Soul in this trying Season!"

Being ask'd if he could take a little Nourishment, after some pause, he replied, "My child, I cannot tell what to say to it; I seem nearly arriv'd where my Soul shall have rest from all its troubles."

After giving in something to be put into his Journal he said, "I believe the Lord will now excuse me from Exercises of this kind, and I see now no Work but one, which is to be the last wrought by me in this World; the Messenger will come that will release me from all these troubles, but it must be in the Lord's Time, which I am waiting for. I have laboured to do whatever was required according to the Ability received, in the remembrance of which I have peace; and though the disorder is strong at Times and would come over my Mind like a Whirlwind, yet it has hitherto been kept steady and centred in Everlasting Love, and if that is mercifully continued, I ask nor desire more."

Among the insertions which John Woolman dictated to be added to his Journal, was the following, spread upon two and a half pages of the English Journal, in the hand of Thomas Priestman.² It is followed by the letter to John Wilson, copied in.

"28: 9mo:—Being now at the house of my Fr'd Thomas Priestman^m in the City of York, so weak in body that I know not how my sickness may end. I am concern'd to leave in writing a Case the remembrance wherof hath often affected me.

An Honest hearted Fr'd in America who departed this life a little less than a year ago, some months before his Departure, told me in substance as follows:

That he saw in a Dream or night Vision a great Pond of blood from which a fog rose up some distance from him. He saw this fog spread round about and great numbers of people walking backwards & forwards in it, the garments of whom had a tincture of blood on 'em.

¹ Sarah Tuke, afterwards Grubb, daughter of William & Esther Tuke. She was then about 16. [Note 70.]

² The signature has been crossed off.

I perceived he apprehended that by the pool of blood was represented the state of those hard hearted men through whose means much blood is shed in Africa and many lives destroyed through insupportable Stench and other hardships in crossing the Sea, and thro' whose extreme oppression Many Slaves are brought to an untimely end, and that the Fog in which the people were walking represented the gain arising on Merchandise or Traffick which many were taking hold of and at the same time that the gain was the gain of Oppression. This Friend in his last illness having several days had an inclination to see me at length sent a Messenger and I without delay went. He ask'd to be with me in private, which was granted; he then told me some matters in particular in regard to the gain of oppression which he felt not easie to leave the world without opening to me. All this time he appeared tranquil, and the family coming in with his consent, death in about one Hour appear'd evidently upon him, and I believe in about five hours from my going in he quietly breathed his last; and as I believe he left no memorandum in writing of that Dream or Vision of the Night, at this time I believe it seasonable for me to do it.

(Signed) John Woolman.

At another Time, said, he had long had a View of visiting this Nation & some time before he came, had a Dream in which he saw himself in the Northern parts of it; & that the Spring of the Gospel was opened in him, much as in the beginning of Friends, such as George Fox and William Dewsbury; & he saw the different States of the People as clear as he have ever seen Flowers in a Garden; but in his going on, he was suddenly stopt, though he could not see for what End; but looking towards home, he thereupon fell into a flood of Tears which waked him. At another time he said, "My Draught seemed strongest to the North, and I mentioned in my own Monthly Meeting that attending the Quarterly meeting at York, & being there, looked like home to me."

5th day night. Having repeatedly consented to take a Medicine with a View to settle his Stomach, but without Effect; the friend then waiting on him said, through Distress, "What shall I do now?" He answered with great Composure, "Rejoice evermore, and in everything give thanks": but added a little after, "This is sometimes hard to come at."

6th day morning, early. He brake forth in supplication in

this Wise; "O Lord! it was thy power that enabled me to forsake Sin in my Youth, and I have felt thy Bruises since for disobedience, but as I bowed under them, thou healedst me; and though I have gone through many Trials and sore Afflictions, thou hast been with me, continuing a Father and a Friend. I feel thy Power now, and beg that in the approaching trying Moments, thou wilt keep my Heart stedfast unto thee."

Upon giving the same Friend Directions concerning some little things, she said, I will take care, but hope thou mayest live to order them thyself; he replied, "My hope is in Christ; and though I may now seem a little better, a change in the Disorder may soon happen and my little Strength be dissolved; and if it so happen, I shall be gather'd to my everlasting Rest." On her saying she did not doubt that, but could not help Mourning to see so many faithful Servants removed at so low a Time, he said, "All good cometh from the Lord, whose Power is the same and can work as he sees best."

The same day, after giving her directions about wrapping his Corps, and perceiving her to Weep, he said, "I had rather thou wouldest guard against Weeping and sorrowing for me, my Sister; I sorrow not, though I have had some painful Conflicts; but now they seem over, and Matters all settled; and I look at the Face of my Dear Redeemer, for Sweet is his Voice and his Countenance Comely."

1st day, 4th of 10th mo. Being very weak, and in general difficult to be understood, he uttered a few Words in commemoration of the Lord's Goodness to him, and added; "How tenderly have I been waited on in this Time of Affliction, in which I may say in Job's Words, Tedious days and wearisome Nights are appointed to me; and how many are spending their Time and Money in Vanity & Superfluities, while Thousands and Tens of Thousands want the Necessaries of Life, who might be relieved by them, and their distress at such a Time as this, in some degree softened by the administering of suitable things."

2nd day morning. The Apothecary not in profession with us who also appeared very anxious to assist him being present, he queried about the probability of such a Load of Matter being thrown off his weak Body. And the Apothecary making some remarks, implying he thought it might, he spoke with an Audible

Voice on this wise: "My Dependence is in the Lord Jesus Christ, who I trust will forgive my Sins, which is all I hope for; and if it be his Will to raise up this Body again, I am content; and if to die, I am resigned; and if thou canst not be easy without trying to assist Nature in order to lengthen out my Life, I submit."

After this, his throat was so much affected that it was very difficult for him to speak so as to be understood, & he frequently wrote, though blind, when he wanted anything.

About the 2nd hour on 4th day morning, he asked for Pen and Ink, and at several times with much difficulty wrote thus: "I believe my being here is in the Wisdom of Christ; I know not as to Life or Death." About a quarter before Six the same Morning, he seemed to fall into an easy sleep, which continued about half an Hour; when seeming to awake, he breathed a few Times with a little more difficulty, & so expired without Sigh, Groan or Struggle.

Thus this [Patient & faithful Servant of the Lord] finished [a Life of deep exercise & many Sorrows.] [May the consideration of his extraordinary faithfulness, and devotedness to do whatsoever he believed his duty, excite those who survive him to diligence in doing or suffering whatsoever may be required of them; so would the many obvious inconsistencies amongst us as a people be removed, and the great work of reformation go forward and prosper in the earth.]

My dear love to those few in America to whom I am personally known, and to all who love the Truth unto whom this may come.

With the salutation of true brotherly love I conclude, and remain thy sincere friend,

WILLIAM TUKE.

[P.S. Our friend J. Woolman inquired what kind of Coffins are mostly used by Friends here? how the Corps are usually wrapped, &c. and the expense? I told him Friends would be very willing to bear those charges, in case of his Decease; but he was not easy they should, and therefore, after some consideration, ordered me to write the inclosed, which he signed, and said

I might send to thee: giving his Clothes to defray the Expenses of his Funeral.

He was not willing to have the Coffin made of Oak, because it is a wood more useful than ash for some other purposes.

I gave the Carpenter some part of his Clothes, which I thought equal to the value of the coffin; as also some other part to a friend for flannel; but they seeming to prefer Money, John Bispham⁵³ gave them to the value, and has ordered the Clothes to be sent to America, with the rest of what belonged to him. His shoes were given to the Grave-digger.] W. T.

"An ash coffin made plain without any manner of superfluities, the corpse to be wrapped in cheap flannel, the expense of which I leave my wearing clothes to defray, as also the digging of the grave; and I desire that W[illiam] T[uke] may take my clothes after my decease, and apply them accordingly.

JOHN WOOLMAN."

York, 29th of 9th month, 1772.

Minute of

York Quarterly Meeting, held at York,
30th. and 31st. of 12th. mo., 1772.¹

As our esteemed Friend, John Woolman from West New Jersey in North America, who attended our last Quarterly Meeting, departed this Life at York, it is become the Concern of this Meeting to give forth a Testimony on his Account, for which purpose the following Friends are appointed to prepare One, to be laid before our Next, for its approbation, Viz: W^m Tuke, W^m Chapman, Rob^t. Proud, Tho^s Priestman, and Dan^l Snowdon.

Minute of

York Quarterly Meeting held at York,
24th. & 25th. of 3d. Mo., 1773.

The Friends appointed last quarter produced a Testimony concerning our Deceased Friend, John Woolman, which being approved, is signed on behalf of this Meeting by many Friends."

¹ Minutes and Testimony are from the Records of York Quarterly Meeting. Until a comparatively recent date, the local meeting at York did not place upon record the presence of traveling ministers, possibly because such visits were so numerous. This is the only record of the presence of John Woolman at the meeting held three months before.

THE TESTIMONY

of Friends in Yorkshire, at their Quarterly Meeting held at York, the 24th and 25th of the 3rd month, 1773, concerning

JOHN WOOLMAN,

Of Mount Holly, in the Province of New Jersey, in America, who departed this Life at the House of our friend Thomas Priestman, in the Suburbs of this City, the 7th of the 10th Month, 1772, and was interred in the burying ground of Friends the 9th of the same, Aged about fifty-two years.

This our Valuable Friend having been under a Religious Engagement for some Time to visit Friends in this Nation, and more especially us in the Northern parts, undertook the same, in full concurrence and near sympathy with his Friends and Brethren at Home, as appeared by Certificates from the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings to which he belonged, and from the Spring Meeting of Ministers and Elders, held at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

He arrived in the City of London at the beginning of the last Yearly Meeting and after attending that Meeting, travelled Northward, visiting the Quarterly meetings of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Worcestershire, and divers Particular Meetings in his Way.

He visited many Meetings on the West side of this County, also some in Lancashire and Westmoreland, from whence he came to our Quarterly meeting in the last ninth Month, and though much out of Health, yet was enabled to attend all the Sitzings of that Meeting, except the last.

His disorder then, which proved the small-pox, increased speedily upon Him, and was very afflicting; under which he was supported in much meekness, patience, and Christian Fortitude. To those who attended Him in his illness his mind appeared to be centred in divine Love; under the precious influence whereof we believe he finished his Course, and is entered into the Mansions of everlasting Rest.

In the early part of his illness he requested a Friend to write and broke forth thus:

"O Lord my God the amazing Horrors of Darkness were gathered around me, and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth; I felt the misery of my Fellow Creatures separated from the divine Harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it I lifted up my Hand and stretched out my Arm but there was none to help me. I looked round about and was amazed in the Depths of Misery. O Lord I remembered that thou art Omnipotent, that I had called Thee Father, and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in thy Will, and I waited for Deliverance from Thee. Thou hadst Pity upon me when no man could help me. I saw that Meekness under Suffering was shewed to us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and thou wast teaching me to follow Him and I said, thy will, O Father be done!"

Many more of his weighty expressions might have been inserted here, but it was deemed unnecessary they being already published in print.¹

He was a man endued with a large Natural Capacity, and being obedient to the manifestations of divine Grace, having in patience and humility endured many deep Baptisms, he became thereby sanctified and fitted for the Lord's Work, and was truly serviceable in his Church, dwelling in awful fear and watchfulness, he was careful in his public appearances to feel the putting forth of the divine Hand so that the Spring of the Gospel Ministry often flowed through him with great Purity and Sweetness as a refreshing stream to the weary Travellers towards the City of God. Skilful in dividing the Word, he was furnished by Him in whom are hid all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge, to communicate freely to the several States of the People where his lot was cast; his Conduct at other times was seasoned with the like watchful circumspection, and attention to the Guidance of Divine Wisdom; which rendered his whole conversation uniformly edifying.

He was fully persuaded that as the Life of Christ comes to reign in the Earth all abuse and unnecessary oppression, both of the human and brute creation, will come to an end, But under

¹ Mary Hinde, London, "Remarks on Sundry Subjects."

the Sense of a deep revolt, and an overflowing stream of unrighteousness his Life has been often a life of mourning.

He was deeply concerned on account of that inhuman and iniquitous practice of making Slaves of the People of Africa, or holding them in that state, and on that account we understand he hath not only wrote some books, but travelled much on the Continent of America, in order to make the Negro Masters (especially those in profession with us) sensible of the evil of such a practice, and though in this journey to England he was far removed from the outward Sight of their Sufferings, yet his deep exercise of mind remained, as appears by a short Treatise he wrote in this journey,¹ and his frequent concern to open the miserable State of this deeply injured people. His Testimony in the last meeting he attended was on this Subject; wherein he remarked, that as we as a society when under outward Sufferings, had often found it our concern to lay them before those in Authority, and thereby, in the Lord's time, had obtained relief; so he recommended this oppressed part of the Creation to our notice, that we may, as way may open, represent their sufferings in an individual (if not in a Society) capacity to those in Authority.

Deeply sensible that the desire to gratify people's inclinations in luxury and superfluities, is the principal ground of oppression, and the occasion of many unnecessary wants, he believed it his Duty to be a pattern of great Self Denial, with respect to the things of this life and earnestly to Labour with Friends in the meekness of Wisdom, to impress on their minds the great importance of our Testimony in these things; recommending to the Guidance of the Blessed Truth in this and all other concerns, and cautioning such as are experienced therein against contenting themselves with acting up to the standard of Truth manifested to them the measure of their obedience: "for," said he, "That Purity of Life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the Spirit of Truth, that State where our minds are devoted to serve God, and all our wants are bounded by his Wisdom, this Habitation has often been opened before me as a place of Retirement for the Children of the Light, where they may stand separated from that which disordereth and confuseth

¹ "On the Slave Trade."

the Affairs of society, and where we may have a Testimony of our Innocence in the Hearts of those who behold us."

We conclude with fervent desires that we as a people may thus by our example promote the Lord's Work in the earth, and our Hearts being prepared, may unite in prayer to the great Lord of the Harvest, that as in his infinite Wisdom he hath greatly stripped the Church by removing of late, divers faithful Ministers and Elders, he may be pleased to send forth many more faithful Labourers into his Harvest.

Signed in by Order and on behalf of said Meeting.

by

JOHN ARMITAGE	BENJ. NORTH	MORRIS BIRKBECK
JOSHUA MARSDEN	EDW. HORNOR	JOHN SWAINE
JOHN PAYNE	WM EMPSON	WM TUKE
EMANUEL ELAM	THOS HARTLEY	BENJ. HIRD
THOS PENNITT	WM FAIRBANK	JONATHAN HARDCASTLE
JOHN STORR	ROBT MILNER	RALPH HART
JOSEPH WRIGHT	JAMES KENDAL	WM CHAPMAN
JOSEPH EGLIN	DANIEL SNOWDON	WM ROWNTREE
THOS PARKINSON	JOHN KILDEN	JOSHUA ROBINSON
SAMUEL BRISCOE	ROBERT PROUD	THOS PRIESTMAN
JOHN TURNER	JOHN ROBINSON	JOHNATHAN HODGSON
AMBROSE STICKNEY	ROBERT WALKER	NATHAN ^L BELL
SAMUEL ELAM	JOHN HUSTLER	RICH ^D SMITH, SENR.

A *Testimony* of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, held in Burlington, the First Day of the Eighth Month in the Year of our Lord 1774, concerning our esteemed friend, John Woolman.

He was born in Northampton, in the County of Burlington and province of West New Jersey, in the eighth month 1720 of religious parents, who instructed him very early in the principles of the Christian Religion as professed by the people called Quakers, which he esteemed a blessing to him even in his younger years, tending to preserve him from the infection of wicked children. But through the workings of the enemy and the levity incident to youth, he frequently deviated from those parental precepts by which he laid a renewed foundation for repentance that was finally succeeded by a "godly sorrow not to be repented of"; and so he became acquainted with that sanctifying power which qualifies for true gospel ministry, into which he was called about the twenty second year of his age, and by a faithful use

of the talents committed to him, he experienced an increase, until he arrived at the age of a father, capable of dividing the word aright to the different states he ministered unto, dispensing milk to babes and meat to those of riper years. Thus he found the efficacy of that power to arise, which, in his own expressions, "prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet through which the Lord speaks to his people." He was a loving husband, a tender father, and was very humane to every part of the creation under his care.

His concern for the poor and those under affliction was evident by his visits to them, whom he frequently relieved by his assistance and charity. He was for many years deeply exercised on account of the poor enslaved Africans, whose cause, as he mentioned, lay almost continually upon him; and he laboured to obtain liberty for those captives both in public and in private, and was favoured to see his endeavours crowned with considerable success. He was particularly desirous that Friends should not be instrumental to lay burdens on this oppressed people, but should remember the days of suffering from which they had been providentially delivered, that, if times of trouble should return, no injustice done to those in slavery might arise in judgment against us, but being clear, we might on such occasions address the Almighty with a degree of confidence for his interposition and relief, being particularly careful as to himself not to countenance slavery even by the use of those conveniences of life which were furnished by their labour.

He was desirous to have his own mind and the minds of others redeemed from the pleasures and immoderate profits of this world and to fix them on those joys which fade not away; his principal care being after a life of purity, endeavouring to avoid not only the grosser pollutions, but those also which, appearing in a more refined dress, are not sufficiently guarded against by some well-disposed people. In the latter part of his life he was remarkable for the plainness and simplicity of his dress, and as much as possible avoided the use of plate, costly furniture and feasting, thereby endeavouring to become an example of temperance and self-denial, which he believed himself called unto; and he was favoured with peace therein, although it carried the appearance of great austerity in the view of some.

He was very moderate in his charges in the way of business, and in desires after gain; and though a man of industry, avoided and strove much to lead others out of extreme labour and anxiety after perishable things, being desirous that the strength of our bodies might not be spent in procuring things unprofitable, and that we might use moderation and kindness to the brute animals under our care, to prize the use of them as a great favour, and by no means to abuse them; that the gifts of Providence should be thankfully received and applied to the uses they were designed for.

He several times opened a school in Mount Holly, for the instruction of poor Friends' children and others, being concerned for their help and improvement therein. His love and care for the rising youth amongst us was truly great, recommending to parents and those who have the charge of them to choose conscientious and pious tutors, saying, "It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children," and that "to labour for their help against that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them."

His ministry was sound, very deep and penetrating, some times pointing out the dangerous situation which indulgence and custom lead into, frequently exhorting others, especially the youth, not to be discouraged at the difficulties which occur, but to press after purity. He often expressed an earnest engagement that pure wisdom should be attended to, which would lead into lowliness of mind and resignation to the Divine will, in which state small possessions here would be sufficient.

In transacting the affairs of the discipline his judgment was sound and clear, and he was very useful in treating those who had done amiss; he visited such in a private way in that plainness which truth dictates, showing great tenderness and Christian forbearance. He was a constant attender of our Yearly Meeting, in which he was a good example and particularly useful, assisting in the business thereof with great weight and attention. He several times visited most of the meetings of Friends in this and in the neighboring provinces with the concurrence of the monthly Meeting to which he belonged, and we have reason to believe he had good service therein, generally or always expressing at his return how it had fared with him, and the evi-

dence of peace in his mind for thus performing his duty. He was often concerned with other Friends in the important service of visiting families, which he was enabled to go through with satisfaction.

In the minutes of the meeting for ministers and elders for this quarter, at the foot of a list of members of that meeting, made about five years before his death, we find in his handwriting the following observations and reflections;

“As looking over the minutes made by persons who have put off this body hath sometimes revived in me a thought how ages pass away, so this list may probably revive a like thought in some when I and the rest of the persons above named are centred in another state of being. The Lord who was the guide of my youth hath in tender mercies helped me hitherto; He hath healed my wounds; He hath helped me out of grievous entanglements; He remains to be the strength of my life; to whom I desire to devote myself in time and in eternity.

JOHN WOOLMAN.”

In the Twelfth month, 1771 he acquainted this meeting that he found his mind drawn towards a religious visit to Friends in some parts of England, particularly Yorkshire. In the first month, 1772, he obtained our certificate, which was approved and indorsed by our Quarterly Meeting and by the Half-Year's Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia. He embarked on his voyage in the fifth month and arrived in London in the sixth month following, at the time of their Annual Meeting in that city. During his short visit to Friends in that kingdom, we are informed that his services were acceptable and edifying. In his last illness he uttered many lively and comfortable expressions, being “resigned, having no will either to live or die” as appears by the testimony of Friends at York, in Great Britain, in the suburbs whereof, at the house of our friend, Thomas Priestman, he died of the small-pox on the 7th of the tenth month, 1772, and was buried in the Friends' burial ground in that city, on the 9th. of the same, after a solid meeting held on the occasion at their great meeting house. He was aged near fifty two, having been a minister upwards of thirty years, during which time he belonged to Mount Holly particular meeting which he dili-

gently attended when at home and in health of body, and his labours of love and pious care for the prosperity of Friends in the blessed truth we hope may not be forgotten, but that his good works may be remembered to edification.

Signed in and by order of the said meeting, by

SAMUEL ALLINSON, CLERK.

Read and approved at our Quarterly Meeting held at Burlington, the 29th. of the eighth month, 1774.

Signed by order of the said meeting,

DANIEL SMITH, CLERK.

THE ESSAYS OF JOHN WOOLMAN

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE KEEPING OF NEGROES.

Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of every
Description.

1746

PART I.

The Manuscript of this Essay was written in 1746, after John Woolman's return from his first Southern journey, and was not printed until eight years after, in 1754. It was then examined by the Publication Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, (now the Representative Meeting) and the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia ordered it printed in that year.

The originals of this, and of Part II, are from John Woolman's manuscript in the folio, A. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

INTRODUCTION.

Customs generally approved, and *Opinions* received by youth from their Superiors, become like the natural Produce of a Soil, especially when they are suited to favourite Inclinations: But as the Judgments of God are without partiality, by which the State of the Soul must be tried, it would be the highest Wisdom to forego Customs and popular Opinions, and try the Treasures of the Soul by the infallible Standard TRUTH.

SOME

CONSIDERATIONS

On the KEEPING of

NEGROES.

Recommended to the PROFESSORS
of CHRISTIANITY of every
DENOMINATION.

By JOHN WOOLMAN.

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed and Sold by JAMES CHATTIN,
in Church-Alley. 1754.



SOME CONSIDERATIONS

On the KEEPING of

NEGROES.

*How much as ye did it to the least of these my
Brethren, ye did it unto me, Matt. xxv.
40.*

AS Many Times there are
different Motives to the same
Actions; and one does that
from a generous Heart,
which another does for selfish Ends :---
The like may be said in this Case.
There are various Circumstances a-
mongst them that keep Negroes, and dif-
ferent

Title and First Page of John Woolman's First Essay.
From Collection of the late Charles Roberts, Philadelphia, Pa.

CONSIDERATIONS
ON KEEPING
NEGROES;

Recommended to the PROFESSORS of
CHRISTIANITY, of every Denomination.

PART SECOND.

By JOHN WOOLMAN.

*You shall not respect Persons in Judgment; but you shall
bear the Small as well as the Great: You shall not be
afraid of the Face of Man; for the Judgment is
God's. Deut. i. 17.*



PHILADELPHIA:
Printed by B. FRANKLIN, and D. HALL. 1762.

"Considerations," etc. Part II.
Titlepage of First Edition, 1762.

Printed by Benjamin Franklin.

Natural Affection needs a careful Examination: Operating upon us in a soft Manner, it kindles Desires of Love and Tenderness, and there is Danger of taking it for something higher. To me it appears an Instinct like that which inferior Creatures have: each of them, we see, by the Ties of Nature, love *Self* best; that which is a Part of *Self*, they love by the same Tie or Instinct. In them, it in some Measure does the Offices of Reason; by which, among other Things, they watchfully keep, and orderly feed their helpless Offspring. Thus *Natural Affection* appears to be a Branch of *Self-love*, good in the Animal Race, in us likewise, with proper Limitations; but otherwise is productive of Evil, by exciting Desires to promote *some* by Means prejudicial to *others*.

Our Blessed Lord seems to give a Check to this irregular Fondness in nature, and, at the same Time, a Precedent for us: *Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?* Thereby intimating, that the earthly Ties of Relationship, are comparatively, inconsiderable to such who thro' a steady Course of Obedience, have come to the happy Experience of the Spirit of God bearing witness with their Spirits that they are his Children: And he stretched forth his hands towards his disciples, and said, Behold my mother, and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in Heaven, (*arrives at the more noble part of true relationship*) the same is my Brother, and Sister and Mother. Matt. xii. 48.

This doctrine agrees well with a State truly compleat, where LOVE necessarily operates according to the agreeableness of Things, on principles unalterable and in themselves perfect.

If endeavouring to have my Children eminent amongst Men after my Death, be that which no reasons grounded on these Principles can be brought to support; then, to be temperate in my Pursuit after Gain, and to keep always within the Bounds of those Principles, is an indispensable Duty; and to depart from it, a dark unfruitful Toil.

In our present Condition, to Love our Children is needful; but except this Love proceeds from the true heavenly Principle which sees beyond earthly Treasures, it will rather be injurious than of any real Advantage to them: Where the Fountain is corrupt, the Streams must necessarily be impure.

That important Injunction of our Saviour, Matt. vi. 33, with the Promise annexed, contains a short but comprehensive View of our Duty and Happiness: If then the Business of Mankind in this Life, is, to first seek another; if this cannot be done, but by attending to the Means; if a Summary of the Means is, [*not to do that to another which, in like Circumstances, we would not have done unto us;*]¹ then these are Points of Moment, and worthy of our most serious Consideration.

[What I write on this Subject is with Reluctance, and]² the Hints given are in as general Terms as my Concern would allow: [I know it is a Point about which, in all its Branches, Men that appear to aim well are not generally agreed; and for that reason, I choose to avoid being very particular:]³ If I may happily have let drop any Thing that may excite such as are concerned in the Practice to a close thinking on the Subject treated of, the Candid amongst them may easily do the Subject such further Justice, as, on an impartial Enquiry, it may appear to deserve; and such an Enquiry I would earnestly recommend.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

Forasmuch as ye did it to the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me.—*Matt.* xxv. 40.

As Many Times there are different Motives to the same Actions; and one does that from a generous Heart, which another does for selfish Ends; The like may be said in this Case.

There are various Circumstances amongst them that keep *Negroes*, and different Ways by which they fall under their Care; and, I doubt not, there are many well-disposed Persons amongst them, who desire rather to manage wisely and justly in this difficult Matter, than to make gain of it.

But the general Disadvantage which these poor *Africans*, lie under in an enlightened Christian Country, having often filled

¹ In reprinting this Essay, to accompany Part II, in 1762, certain alterations were suggested by John Woolman. For these words was substituted, "to love the Lord our God with all our hearts, and our neighbours as ourselves:" the alterations, however, were not printed.

² This line omitted by John Woolman, but retained by Publication Committee.

³ As with (1), retained by the Committee, although omitted by the author.

me with real sadness, and been like undigested Matter on my Mind, I now think it my Duty, through Divine Aid, to offer some Thoughts thereon to the Consideration of others.

When we remember that all Nations are of one Blood, Gen. iii. 20, that in this World we are but Sojourners, that we are subject to the like Afflictions and Infirmities of Body, the like Disorders and Frailties in Mind, the like Temptations, the same Death, and the same Judgment, and that the Alwise Being is Judge and Lord over us all, it seems to raise an Idea of a general Brotherhood, and a Disposition easy to be touched with a Feeling of each others Afflictions: But when we forget these Things, and look chiefly at our outward Circumstances, in this and some Ages past, constantly retaining in our Minds the Distinction betwixt us and them, with respect to our Knowledge and Improvement in Things divine, natural and artificial, our Breasts being apt to be filled with fond Notions of Superiority, there is Danger of erring in our Conduct toward them.

We allow them to be of the same Species with ourselves, the Odds is, we are in a higher Station, and enjoy greater Favours than they: And when it is thus, that our heavenly Father endoweth some of his Children with distinguished Gifts, they are intended for good Ends: but if those thus gifted are thereby lifted up above their Brethren, not considering themselves as Debtors to the Weak, nor behaving themselves as faithful Stewards, none who judge impartially can suppose them free from Ingratitude.

When a People dwell under the liberal distribution of Favours from Heaven, it behoves them carefully to inspect their Ways, and consider the purposes for which those Favours were bestowed lest, through Forgetfulness of God, and Misusing his Gifts, they incur his heavy Displeasure whose Judgments are just and equal, who exalteth and humbleth to the Dust as he seeth meet.

It appears, by Holy Record, that Men under high Favours have been apt to err in their Opinions concerning others. Thus *Israel*, according to the Description of the Prophet Isaiah lxxv. 5. when exceedingly corrupted and degenerated, yet remembered they were the chosen People of God; and could say, *Stand by thyself, come not near me, for I am holier than thou*. That this was no chance Language, but their common Opinion of other Peo-

ple, more fully appears, by considering the Circumstances which attended when God was beginning to fulfil his precious Promises concerning the gathering of the *Gentiles*.

The Most High, in a Vision, undeceived Peter, first prepared his Heart to believe; and, at the House of *Cornelius*, showed him of a certainty, that God was no Respecter of Persons.

The Effusion of the Holy Ghost upon a People, with whom they, the *Jewish* Christians would not so much as eat, was strange to them: All they of the Circumcision were astonished to see it: and the Apostles and Brethren of *Judea* contended with *Peter* about it, till he, having rehearsed the whole Matter, and fully shown that the Father's Love was unlimited, they were thereat struck with Admiration, and cried out, *Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life.*

The Opinion of peculiar Favours being confined to them, was deeply rooted, or else the above Instance had been less strange to them, for these Reasons: *First*, They were generally acquainted with the Writings of the Prophets, by whom this Time was repeatedly spoken of, and pointed at. *Secondly*, Our Blessed Lord shortly before expressly said, *I have other sheep, not of this fold, them also must I bring, &c.* *Lastly*, His words to them after his Resurrection, at the very Time of his Ascension, *Ye shall be witnesses to me, not only in Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria, but to the uttermost parts of the earth.*

Those concurring Circumstances, one would think, might have raised a strong Expectation of seeing such a Time: yet, when it came, it proved Matter of Offence and Astonishment.

To consider Mankind otherwise than Brethren, to think Favours are peculiar to one Nation, and exclude others, plainly supposes a Darkness in the Understanding. For, as God's Love is universal, so where the Mind is sufficiently influenced by it, it begets a Likeness of itself, and the Heart is enlarged towards all Men. Again, to conclude a People forward, perverse, and worse by Nature than others, (who ungratefully receive Favours, and apply them to bad Ends) this will excite a Behaviour toward them, unbecoming the Excellence of true Religion.

To prevent such Error, let us calmly consider their Circumstance; and, the better to do it, make their Case ours. Suppose then, that our Ancestors and we had been exposed to constant

Servitude, in the more servile and inferior Employments of Life; that we had been destitute of the Help of Reading and good Company; that amongst ourselves we had had few wise and pious Instructors; that the Religious amongst our Superiors seldom took Notice of us; that while others, in Ease, have plentifully heaped up the Fruit of our Labour, we had receiv'd barely enough to relieve Nature, and being wholly at the Command of others, had generally been treated as a contemptible, ignorant Part of Mankind: Should we, in that Case, be less abject than they now are? Again, if Oppression be so hard to bear, that a wise Man is made mad by it, Eccl. vii. 7, then a Series of those Things, altering the Behaviour and Manners of a People, is what may reasonably be expected.

When our Property is taken contrary to our Mind, by Means appearing to us unjust, it is only through Divine Influence, and the Enlargement of Heart from thence proceeding, that we can love our reputed Oppressors: If the *Negroes* fall short in this, an uneasy, if not a disconsolate Disposition will be awaken'd, and remain like Seeds in their Minds, producing Sloth and many other Habits appearing odious to us; with which, being free Men, they perhaps had not been chargeable. These and other Circumstances, rightly considered, will lessen that too great Disparity which some make between us and them.

Integrity of Heart hath appeared in some of them: so that, if we continue in the Word of Christ (previous to Discipleship, *John viii. 31*) and our Conduct toward them be seasoned with his Love, we may hope to see the good Effect of it: The which, in a good Degree, is the Case with some into whose Hands they have fallen: But that too many treat them otherwise, not seeming conscious of any Neglect, is, alas! too evident.

When *Self-love* presides in our Minds, our Opinions are bias'd in our own Favour. In this Condition, being concerned with a People so situated that they have no Voice to plead their own Cause, there's Danger of using ourselves to an undisturbed Partiality, till, by long Custom, the Mind becomes reconciled with it, and the Judgment itself infected.

To humbly apply to God for Wisdom, that we may thereby be enabled to see Things as they are, and ought to be, is very needful; hereby the hidden Things of Darkness may be brought to Light,

and the Judgment made clear: We shall then consider Mankind as Brethren: though different Degrees and a variety of Qualification and Abilities, one dependant on another, be admitted, yet high Thoughts will be laid aside, and all men treated as becometh the Sons of one Father, agreeable to the Doctrine of Christ Jesus.

"He hath laid down the best Criterion, by which Mankind ought to judge of their own Conduct, and others judge for them of theirs, one towards another, viz. *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.* I take it, that all Men by Nature are equally entitled to the Equity of this Rule, and under the indispensable Obligations of it. One Man ought not to look upon another Man, or Society of Men, as so far beneath him, but that he should put himself in their place, in all his Actions towards them, and bring all to this Test, viz. How should I approve of this Conduct, were I in their Circumstances, and they in mine? A. Arscot's Considerations, p. III. fol. 107.¹

This Doctrine being of a moral, unchangeable Nature, hath been likewise inculcated in the former dispensation; *If a Stranger sojourn with thee in your Land, ye shall not vex him: but the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be as One born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself.* Lev. xix. 33, 34. Had these People come voluntary and dwelt amongst us, to have called them Strangers would be proper; and their being brought by Force, with Regret, and a languishing Mind, may well raise Compassion in a heart rightly disposed: but there is Nothing in such Treatment, which, upon a wise and judicious Consideration, will any ways lessen their right of being treated as Strangers. If the Treatment which many of them meet with, be rightly examined, and compared with these Precepts, *Thou shalt not vex him nor oppress him; he shall be as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself,* Lev. xix. 33. Deut. xxvii. 19, there will appear an important Difference betwixt them.

¹ Alexander Arscott [1677-1737]: "Some Considerations relating to the Present State of the Christian Religion, wherein the Nature, End and Design of Christianity, as well as the Principal Evidence of the Truth of it, are Explained and Recommended out of the Holy Scriptures; with a general appeal to the Experience of all Men for a confirmation thereof." In Three Parts, Part I appeared in 1730: III in 1734—[London: Assigns of J. Sowle]. The author was a schoolmaster of Bristol, England, eldest son of a clergyman of South Moulton, Devonshire. He was educated at Oxford, and joined the Friends about 1700, according to Jos. Smith. He signs the Yearly Meeting Epistles from London as Clerk in 1722, 1725, 1728 and 1736. He was author of other works.

It may be objected there is Cost of Purchase, and Risque of their Lives to them who possess them, and therefore needful that they make the best use of their Time; In a Practice just and reasonable, such Objections may have Weight; but if the Work be wrong from the beginning, there is little or no Force in them. If I purchase a Man who hath never forfeited his Liberty, the natural Right of Freedom is in him; and shall I keep him and his Posterity in Servitude and Ignorance? *How should I approve of this conduct, were I in his Circumstances, and he in mine?* It may be thought, that to treat them as we would willingly be treated, our Gain by them would be inconsiderable: And it were, in divers Respects, better that there were none in our Country.

We may further consider that they are now amongst us, and those of our Nation the cause of their being here; that whatsoever Difficulty accrues thereon, we are justly chargeable with, and to bear all Inconveniencies attending it, with a serious and weighty Concern of Mind to do our Duty by them, is the best we can do. To seek a Remedy by continuing the Oppression, because we have Power to do it and see others do it, will, I apprehend, not be doing as we would be done by.

How deeply soever Men are involved in the most exquisite Difficulties, Sincerity of Heart and upright Walking before God, freely submitting to his Providence, is the most sure Remedy. He only is able to relieve, not only Persons, but Nations in their greatest Calamities.

David, in a great Strait, when the Sense of his past Error, and the full Expectation of an impending Calamity as the Reward of it, were united to the aggravating his Distress, after some deliberation, saith, *Let me fall now into the Hand of the Lord, for very great are his Mercies; but let me not fall into the Hand of Man.* I Chron. xxi. 13.

To Act continually with Integrity of Heart, above all narrow or selfish Motives, is a Pure Token of our being partakers of the Salvation which *God hath appointed for Walls and Bulwarks.* Isa. v. 26; Rom. xv. 8, and is, beyond all Contradiction, a more happy Situation than can ever be promised by the utmost Reach of Art and Power united, not proceeding from heavenly Wisdom.

A supply to Nature's lawful Wants, joined with a peaceful, humble Mind, is the truest Happiness in this Life; and if here

we arrive to this, and remain to walk in the Path of the Just, our case will be truly happy: And though herein we may part with, or miss of some glaring Shows of Riches, and leave our Children little else but wise Instructions, a good Example, and the Knowledge of some honest Employment, these, with the Blessing of Providence, are sufficient for their Happiness, and are more likely to prove so, than laying up Treasures for them, which are often rather a Snare, than any real Benefit; especially to them, who, instead of being exampled to Temperance, are in all Things taught to prefer the getting of Riches, and to eye the temporal Distinctions they give, as the principal business of this Life. These readily overlook the true Happiness of Man, as it results, from the enjoyment of all Things in the Fear of God, and, miserably substituting an inferior Good, dangerous in the Acquiring, and uncertain in the Fruition, they are subject to many Disappointments; and every Sweet carries its Sting.

It is the Conclusion of our blessed Lord and his Apostles, as appears by their Lives and Doctrines, that the highest Delights of Sense, or most pleasing Objects visible, ought ever to be accounted infinitely inferior to that real intellectual Happiness suited to Man in his primitive Innocence, and now to be found in true Renovation of Mind; and that the Comforts of our present Life, the Things most grateful to us, ought always to be received with Temperance, and never made the chief Objects of our Desire, Hope, or Love: But that our whole Heart and Affections be principally looking to that *city which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God*. Did we so improve the Gifts bestowed on us, that our Children might have an Education suited to these Doctrines, and our Example to confirm it, we might rejoice in Hopes of their being Heirs of an Inheritance incorruptible.

This Inheritance, as Christians, we esteem the most valuable; and how then can we fail to desire it for our Children? Oh that we were consistent with ourselves, in pursuing Means necessary to obtain it!

It appears, by Experience, that where Children are educated in Fulness, Ease and Idleness, evil Habits are more prevalent than in common amongst such who are prudently employed in the necessary Affairs of Life! And if Children are not only educated in the Way of so great Temptation, but have also the Opportunity

of lording it over their Fellow Creatures, and being Masters of Men in their Childhood, how can we hope otherwise than that their tender Minds will be possessed with Thoughts too high for them? Which, by Continuance, gaining Strength, will prove like a slow Current, gradually separating them from (or keeping from Acquaintance with) that Humility and Meekness in which alone lasting Happiness can be enjoyed.

Man is born to labour, and Experience abundantly sheweth that it is for our Good: But where the Powerful lay the Burthen on the Inferior, without affording a Christian Education, and suitable Opportunity of improving the Mind, and a treatment which we, in their Ease, should approve, that themselves may live at Ease, and fare sumptuously, and lay up Riches for their posterity, this seems to contradict the Design of Providence, and, I doubt, is sometimes the Effect of a perverted Mind: For while the Life of one is made grievous by the Rigour of another, it entails Misery on both.

Amongst the manifold Works of Providence, displayed in the different Ages of the World, these which follow (with many others) may afford Instruction.

Abraham was called of God to leave his Country and Kindred, to sojourn amongst Strangers: Through Famine and danger of Death, he was forced to flee from one Kingdom to another: He, at length, not only had Assurance of being the Father of many Nations, but became a mighty Prince. Gen. xxiii. 6.

Remarkable were the Dealings of God with *Jacob* in a low Estate, the just Sense he retained of them after his Advancement, appears by his words: *I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies.* Gen. xxxii. 10. xlviii. 15.

The numerous Afflictions of *Joseph* were very singular; the particular Providence of God therein, no less manifested. He, at length, became Governor of Egypt, and famous for Wisdom and Virtue.

The series of Troubles which *David* passed through, few amongst us are ignorant of; and yet he afterwards became as one of the great Men of the Earth.

Some Evidences of the Divine Wisdom appear in these Things, in that such who are intended for high Stations, have first been very low and dejected, that Truth might be sealed on their Hearts;

and that the Characters there imprinted by Bitterness and Adversity, might in after Years remain; suggesting Compassionate ideas, and, in their Prosperity, quickening their Regard to those in the like Condition. Which yet further appears in the Case of *Israel*: They were well acquainted with grievous Sufferings, a long and rigorous Servitude, then through many notable Events, were made Chief amongst the Nations: To them we find a Repetition of Precepts to the Purpose above-said: Though, for Ends agreeable to infinite Wisdom they were chose as a peculiar People for a Time; yet the Most High acquaints them, that his Love is not confined, but extends to the Stranger; and, to excite their Compassion, reminds them of Times past; *Ye were Strangers in the Land of Egypt*, Deut. x. 19. Again, *Thou shalt not oppress a Stranger, for ye know the Heart of a Stranger, seeing ye were Strangers in the Land of Egypt*. Exod. xxiii. 9.

If we call to Mind our Beginning, some of us may find a Time, wherein our Fathers were under Afflictions, Reproaches, and manifold Sufferings.

Respecting our Progress in this Land, the Time is short since our Beginning was small and our Number few, compared with the native Inhabitants. He that sleeps not by Day nor by Night, hath watched over us, and kept us as the Apple of his Eye. His Almighty Arm hath been round about us, and saved us from Dangers.

The Wilderness and solitary Desarts in which our Fathers passed the Days of their Pilgrimage, are now turned into pleasant Fields; the Natives are gone from before us, and we established peaceably in the Possession of the Land, enjoying our civil and religious Liberties; and, while many Parts of the World have groaned under the heavy Calamities of War, our Habitation remains quiet, and our Land fruitful.

When we trace back the Steps we have trodden, and see how the Lord hath opened a Way in the Wilderness for us, to the Wise it will easily appear, that all this was not done to be buried in Oblivion; but to prepare a People for more fruitful Returns, and the Remembrance thereof ought to humble us in Prosperity, and excite in us a Christian Benevolence towards our Inferiors.

If we do not consider these Things aright, but, through a

stupid Indolence, conceive Views of Interest, separate from the general Good of the great Brotherhood, and, in Pursuance thereof, treat our Inferiors with Rigour, to increase our Wealth, and gain Riches for our Children, what then shall we do when God riseth up and when he visiteth, what shall we answer him? Did not he that made us, make them? and *Did not one fashion us in the womb?* Job xxxi. 14.

To our great Master we stand or fall, to judge or condemn us as is most suitable to his Wisdom or Authority. My Inclination is to persuade, and entreat, and simply give Hints of my Way of Thinking.

If the Christian Religion be considered, both respecting its Doctrines, and the happy Influence which it hath on the Minds and Manners of all real Christians, it looks reasonable to think that the miraculous Manifestation thereof to the World, is a Kindness beyond Expression.

Are we the People thus favoured? Are we they whose Minds are opened, influenced, and govern'd by the Spirit of Christ, and thereby made Sons of God? Is it not a fair conclusion, that we, like our heavenly Father, ought in our Degree to be active in the same great Cause, of the Eternal Happiness of at least our whole Families, and more, if thereto capacitated.

If we, by the Operation of the Spirit of Christ, become Heirs with him in the Kingdom of his Father, and are redeemed from the alluring counterfeit Joys of this World, and the Joy of Christ remain in us, to suppose that One remaining in this happy Condition, can, for the sake of earthly Riches, not only deprive his Fellow Creatures of the Sweetness of Freedom, (which, rightly used, is one of the greatest temporal Blessings,) but therewith neglect using proper Means for their Acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and the advantage of true Religion, seems, at least, a Contradiction to Reason.

Whoever rightly advocates the Cause of some, thereby promotes the Good of all. The State of Mankind was harmonious in the Beginning, and tho' sin hath introduced Discord, yet through the wonderful Love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, the Way is open for our Redemption, and Means are appointed to restore us to primitive Harmony. That if one suffer by the Un-

faithfulness of another, the Mind, the most noble Part of him that occasions the Discord, is hereby alienated from its true and real Happiness.

Our Duty and Interest are inseparably united; and when we neglect or misuse our Talents, we necessarily depart from the heavenly Fellowship, and are in the Way to the greatest of Evils.

Therefore to examine and prove ourselves, to find what Harmony the Power presiding in us bears with the Divine Nature, is a Duty not more incumbent and necessary, than it would be beneficial.

In Holy Writ, the Divine Being saith of himself, *I am the Lord, which exercise Loving Kindness, Judgment and Righteousness in the Earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord.* Jer. ix. 24. Again, speaking in the Way of Man, to show his Compassion to *Israel* whose Wickedness had occasioned a Calamity, and then being humbled under it, it is said, *His Soul was grieved for their Miseries.* Judges x. 16. If we consider the Life of our Blessed Saviour when on Earth, as it is recorded by his Followers, we shall find that one uniform Desire for the eternal and temporal Good of Mankind, discovered itself in all his Actions.

If we observe Men, both Apostles and others, in many different Ages, who have really come to the Unity of the Spirit and the Fellowship of the Saints, there still appears the like Disposition, and in them the Desire of the real Happiness of Mankind, has out-balanced the Desire of Ease, Liberty, and many times Life itself.

If upon a true Search, we find that our Natures are so far renewed, that to exercise Righteousness and Loving Kindness (according to our Ability) towards all men, without Respect of Persons, is easy to us, or is our Delight; if our Love be so orderly and regular, that he who doth the Will of our Father who is in Heaven, appears in our View to be our nearest Relation, our Brother, and Sister, and Mother; if this be our Case, there is a good Foundation to Hope that the Blessing of God will sweeten our Treasures during our Stay in this Life, and our Memory be savory, when we are entered into Rest.

To conclude. 'Tis a Truth most certain, that a Life guided by the Wisdom from above, agreeable with Justice, Equity, and Mercy, is throughout consistent and amiable, and truly beneficial to Society; the Serenity and Calmness of Mind in it, affords an unparalleled Comfort in this Life, and the End of it is blessed.

And, no less true, that they who in the Midst of high Favours, remain ungrateful, and under all the Advantages that a Christian can desire, are selfish, earthly, and sensual, do miss the true Fountain of Happiness, and wander in a Maze of dark Anxiety, where all their Treasures are insufficient to quiet their Minds: Hence, from an insatiable Craving, they neglect doing Good with what they have acquired, and too often add Oppression to Vanity, that they may compass more.

O that they were Wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter End! Deut. xxxii. 29.

CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
KEEPING OF NEGROES.

Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of every
Denomination.

1760

PART II.

The second part of this Essay, written in the six years between 1754 and 1760—probably nearer the latter date,—has interesting light cast upon it from several letters to Israel Pemberton, who was sponsor for a great deal of John Woolman's work:

Beloved Friend

The piece J. Churchman took home he perus'd, but being taken poorly, made no remark in writeing on it. My brother Asher being at their last Monthly Meeting, and I writeing to J. C. about it, he sent it, and George, I expect by his agreement, sent a letter to me refering it to me carefully to review and transcribe it. Since which I have spent some time therein, and am now come to Town in order that, if way should open for Friends to meet again upon it, I may be near in Case they should want to speak with me. I am a little Cautious of being much at thy House, on acct. of the Small pox, but would gladly meet thee at Such house as thou thinks Sutable, to have a little Conversation with thee:

I have not yet offered it to any of the Committee. I lodge at Reuben Haines', and am mostly there.

I remain thy loveing f'rd

da mo

John Woolman.

17: 11: 1761¹

Endorsed, "For Israel Pemberton, when he comes home." By I. P.
"From John Woolman, about his treatise."

¹ Pemberton Papers. Vol. XV, p. 74—1761-2. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

After the Publication Committee had handed it to Israel Pemberton, the author thus writes, dating it, "Same Evening, after we met;,"

"Beloved Friend: As I expect to go out of Town (if well) in the Morning, and it's likely, may not Se thee, I thought it best to Acquaint thee That I remain Well satisfied with what thou propos'd relating to the preface, and though I have look'd over the piece with Some care and done according to the best of my Understanding, I have all along been apprehensive that if it be made publick There was a further labour for some other person necessary, and if thou can feel liberty from thy other concerns, and freedom to Spend some time in a deliberate reviewing and correcting of it, and make such alterations or additions as thou believes may be usefull, the prospect of it is agreeable to me.

In true brotherly love I
remain thy fr'd

John Woolman.

"The Committee gave it to Anthony" (Benezet) "with a message with it to thee. J. W."

This is endorsed by Israel Pemberton, "From John Woolman, a^b his Treatise. 1761."¹

A third letter is written after the acceptance of the Essay, and relates to the printing;—

da mo

9: 2: 1762

"Beloved Friend

Since I saw thee I have been thoughtful in case some of the first part should be printed, whether it would not be best to have them, or a part of them, stitched Separate; As they have been plenty (sic) in and about these parts, I expect some would chuse to have one of the Second part who of Choise would not take both together; that it hath been a Query with me if the First part be printed, whether a less Number would not be sufficient of them than the Second. Having thus hinted what I had thought, I am free to leave it to friends, either to omit printing them, or to print as many as to you may appear best.

With love to thee and family I remain thy loveing fr'd,

John Woolman.

¹ Pemberton Papers. Vol. XV, p. 111. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Enclos'd are some Alterations propos'd to be made in preface to first part if printed.¹

For Israel Pemberton,
in Phila^{da}."

Endorsed, "9 2mo. 1762. From Jno. Woolman, ath his Treatise."

The Publication Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1762 offered to print this Essay and pay for it from the Meeting's stock, giving copies away. John Woolman declined the offer, and preferred to print it at his own expense, giving as his reason that those who kept negroes would conceal it from their educated slaves; he felt that, since "those who make a purchase generally buy that which they have a mind for," the sale of the essay would command closer attention. It was very widely sold at the cost price of printing and binding. (See Journal.)

PART THE SECOND.

Ye shall not respect Persons in Judgment; but ye shall hear the Small as well as the Great; ye shall not be afraid of the Face of Man; for the Judgment is God's.—*Deut. i. 17.*

THE PREFACE.

All our Actions are of like Nature with their Root; and the Most High weigheth them more skilfully than Men can weigh them one for another.

I believe that one Supreme Being made and supports the World; nor can I worship any other Deity without being an Idolater, and guilty of Wickedness.

Many Nations have believed in, and worshipped a Plurality of Deities; but I do not believe they were therefore all wicked. Idolatry indeed is Wickedness; but it is the Thing, not the Name, which is so. Real Idolatry is to pay that Adoration to a Creature, which is known to be due only to the true God.

¹ The alterations will be found in the notes to the text. Pemberton Papers. Vol. IV, p. 112. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

He who professeth to believe one Almighty Creator, and in his son Jesus Christ, and is yet more intent on the Honours, Profits and Friendships of the World, than he is in Singleness of Heart to stand faithful to the Christian Religion, is in the Channel of Idolatry: while the Gentile, who, under some mistaken Opinions, is notwithstanding established in the true Principle of Virtue, and humbly adores an Almighty Power, may be of that Number who fear God and work Righteousness.

I believe the Bishop of Rome assumes a Power that does not belong to any Officer in the Church of Christ; and if I should knowingly do any Thing tending to strengthen him in that Capacity, it would be great Iniquity. There are many Thousands of People, who by their Profession acknowledge him to be the Representative of Jesus Christ on Earth: and to say that none of them are upright in Heart, would be contrary to my Sentiments.

Men who sincerely apply their Minds to true Virtue, and find an inward Support from above, by which all vicious Inclinations are made subject; (so) that they love God sincerely, and prefer the real Good of Mankind universally to their own private Interest: though these, through the Strength of Education and Tradition, may remain under some speculative and great Errors, it would be uncharitable to say, that therefore God rejects them. He who creates, supports, and gives Understanding to all Men, his Knowledge and Goodness is superior to the various Cases and Circumstances of his Creatures, which to us appear the most difficult.

The Apostles and primitive Christians did not censure all the Gentiles as wicked Men. Rom. ii. 14. Col. iii. 11. But as they were favoured with a Gift to discern Things more clearly respecting the Worship of the true God, they with much Firmness declared against the worshiping of Idols; and with true Patience endured many Sufferings on that Account.

Great Numbers of faithful Protestants have contended for the Truth, in Opposition to Papal Errors; and with true Fortitude laid down their Lives in the Conflict, without saying, That no Man was saved who made Profession of that Religion.

While we have no right to keep men as Servants for Term of Life, but that of superior Power; to do this, with Design by their Labour to profit ourselves and our Families, I believe is wrong: but I do not believe that all who have kept Slaves, have therefore

been chargeable with Guilt. If their Motives thereto were free from Selfishness, and their Slaves content, they were a Sort of Freemen; which I believe hath sometimes been the Case.

Whatever a Man does in the Spirit of Charity, to him it is not Sin: and while he lives and acts in this Spirit, he learns all things essential to his Happiness, as an Individual: And if he doth not see that any Injury or Injustice to any other Person, is necessarily promoted by any Part of his Form of Government, I believe the merciful Judge will not lay Iniquity to his Charge. Yet others, who live in the same Spirit of Charity, from a clear Convincement, may see the Relation of one Thing to another, and the necessary Tendency of each; and hence it may be absolutely binding on them to desist from some Parts of Conduct, which some good Men have been in.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

As some in most religious Societies amongst the English are concerned in importing or purchasing the Inhabitants of Africa as Slaves; and as the Professors of Christianity of several other Nations do the like; these Circumstances tend to make People less apt to examine the Practice so closely as they would, if such a Thing had not been, but was now proposed to be entered upon. It is, however our Duty, and what concerns us individually, as Creatures accountable to our Creator, to employ rightly the Understanding which he hath given us, in humbly endeavouring to be acquainted with his Will concerning us, and with the Nature and Tendency of those Things which we practise. For as Justice remains to be Justice, so many people of Reputation in the World, joining with wrong Things, do not excuse others in joining with them, nor make the Consequence of their Proceedings less dreadful in the final Issue, than it would be otherwise.

Where Unrighteousness is justified from one Age to another, it is like dark Matter gathering into Clouds over us. We may know that this Gloom will remain till the Cause be removed by a Reformation, or Change of Times; and may feel a Desire, from a Love of Equity, to speak on the Occasion: yet where Error is so Strong that it may not be spoken against without some Prospect

of Inconvenience to the Speaker, this Difficulty is likely to operate on our Weakness, and quench the good Desires in us; except we dwell so steadily under the Weight of it, as to be made willing to *endure Hardness* on that Account.

Where Men exert their Talents against Vices, generally accounted such, the ill Effects whereof are presently perceived in a Government, all Men who regard their own temporal Good, are likely to approve the Work. But when that which is inconsistent with perfect Equity, hath the Law, or Countenance of the Great, in its Favour, though the Tendency thereof be quite contrary to the true Happiness of Mankind, in an equal, if not greater Degree, than many Things accounted reproachful to Christians; yet as these ill Effects are not generally perceived, they who labour to dissuade from such Things, which People believe accord with their Interest, have many Difficulties to encounter.

The repeated Charges which God gave to his Prophets, imply the Danger they were in of erring on this Hand. *Be not afraid of their Faces; for I am with thee, to deliver thee, saith the Lord.* Jer. i. 8. *Speak all the words that I command thee to speak to them, diminish not a word.* Jer. xxvi. 2. *And thou, son of man, be not afraid of them, nor dismayed at their looks. Speak my words to them, whether they will hear or forbear.* Ezek. ii. 6, 7.

Under an Apprehension of Duty, I offer some further Considerations on this Subject, having endeavoured some Years to consider it candidly. I have observed People of our own Colour, whose Abilities have been inferior to the Affairs which relate to their convenient Subsistence, who have been taken Care of by others, and the Profit of such Work as they could do, applied toward their Support. I believe there are such amongst *Negroes*; and that some People in whose Hands they are, keep them with no View of outward Profit, do not consider them as black Men, who, as such, ought to serve white Men; but account them Persons who have Need of Guardians, and as such take Care of them. Yet where equal Care is taken in all Parts of Education, I do not apprehend Cases of this Sort are likely to occur more frequently amongst one Sort of People than another.

It looks to me that the Slave Trade was founded, and hath generally been carried on, in a wrong Spirit; that the Effects of it are detrimental to the real Prosperity of our Country; and will

be more so, except we cease from the common Motives of keeping them, and treat them in future agreeable to Truth and pure Justice.

Negroes may be imported, who, for their Cruelty to their Countrymen, and the evil Disposition of their Minds, may be unfit to be at Liberty; and if we, as Lovers of Righteousness, undertake the Management of them, we should have a full and clear Knowledge of their Crimes, and of those Circumstances which might operate in their Favour; but the Difficulty of obtaining this is so great, that we have great Reason to be cautious therein. But, should it plainly appear that absolute Subjection was a Condition the most proper for the Person who is purchased, yet the innocent Children ought not to be made Slaves, because their Parents sinned.

We have Account in Holy Scripture of some Families suffering, where mention is only made of the Heads of the Family committing Wickedness: and it is likely that the degenerate Jews, misunderstanding some Occurrences of this Kind, took Occasion to charge God with being unequal; so that a Saying became common; *The Fathers have eaten sour Grapes, and the Children's Teeth are set on Edge*. Jeremiah and Ezekiel, two of the inspired Prophets who lived near the same Time, were concerned to correct this Error. Ezekiel is large on the Subject. First, he reproves them for their Error. *What mean ye, that ye do so?* chap. xviii. verse 2. *As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel*. The Words, any more, have Reference to Time past; intimating, that though they had not rightly understood some Things they had heard or seen, and thence supposed the Proverb to be well grounded; yet henceforth they might know of a Certainty, that the Ways of God are all equal; that as sure as the Most High liveth, so sure men are only answerable for their own sins. He thus sums up the Matter; *The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him; and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him*.

Where Men are wicked, they commonly are a Means of corrupting the succeeding Age; and thereby hasten those outward Calamities, which fall on Nations when their Iniquities are full.

Men may pursue Means which are not agreeable to perfect Purity, with a View to increase the Wealth and Happiness of their Offspring; and thereby may make the Way of Virtue more difficult to them. And though the ill Example of a Parent, or a Multitude, does not excuse a Man in doing Evil, yet the Mind being early impressed with vicious Notions and Practices, and nurtured up in Ways of getting Treasure, which are not the Ways of Truth: this wrong Spirit getting first Possession, and being thus strengthened, frequently prevents due Attention to the true Spirit of Wisdom, so that they exceed in Wickedness those who lived before them. And in this Channel, though Parents labour, as they think, to forward the Happiness of their Children, it proves a Means of forwarding their Calamity. This being the Case, in the Age next before the grievous Calamity in the Siege of *Jerusalem*, and carrying *Judah* captive to *Babylon*, they might say with Propriety, This came upon us, because our Fathers forsook God, and because we did worse than our Fathers.

As the Generation next before them inwardly turned away from God, who yet waited to be gracious; and as they in that Age continued in those Things which necessarily separated from perfect Goodness, growing more stubborn, till the Judgments of God were poured out upon them; they might properly say, *Our fathers have sinned, and we have borne their iniquities*. And yet, wicked as their Fathers were, had they not succeeded them in their Wickedness, they had not borne their Iniquities.

To suppose it right that an innocent Man shall at this Day be excluded from the common Rules of Justice; be deprived of that Liberty which is the natural Right of human Creatures; and be a Slave to others during Life, on Account of a sin committed by his immediate Parents; or a Sin committed by *Ham*, the Son of *Noah*, is a Supposition too gross to be admitted into the Mind of any Person, who sincerely desires to be governed by solid Principles.

It is alledged in Favour of the Practice, that *Joshua* made slaves of the *Gibeonites*.

What Men do by the Command of God, and what comes to pass as a Consequence of their Neglect, are different; such as the latter Case now mentioned was. It was the express Command of the Almighty to Israel, concerning the Inhabitants of the promised

land, *Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their Gods: They shall not dwell in thy land.* Exod. xxiii. 32. Those *Gibeonites* came craftily, telling *Joshua* that they were come from a far Country; that their Elders had sent them to make a League with the People of Israel; and as an Evidence of their being Foreigners, showed their old Cloaths, &c. *And the men took of their Victuals, and asked not Counsel at the Mouth of the Lord: and Joshua made peace with them, and made a League with them, to let them live; and the Princes sware to them.* Josh. ix. 14, 15.

When the Imposition was discovered, the Congregation murmured against the Princes: *But all the Princes said to all the Congregation, we have sworn to them by the Lord God of Israel; now therefore we may not touch them: we will even let them live, lest Wrath be upon us; but let them be Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water unto the Congregation.*

Omitting to ask Counsel, involved them in great Difficulty. *The Gibeonites were of those Cities, of which the Lord had said, Thou shalt save alive nothing that breaketh; and of the Stock of the Hivites, concerning whom he commanded by Name, Thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them: Thou shalt make no Covenant with them, nor show Mercy unto them.* Deut. vii. 1. Thus *Joshua* and the Princes, not knowing them, had made a League with them to let them live; and in this Strait they resolved to make them Servants. *Joshua* and the Princes suspected them to be Deceivers: *Peradventure you dwell amongst us; and how shall we make a League with you!* Which Words show, that they remembered the Command before-mentioned; and yet did not inquire at the Mouth of the Lord, as *Moses* directed *Joshua*, when he gave him a Charge respecting his Duty as chief Man among that People. Numb. xxvii. 21. By this Omission, Things became so situated, that *Joshua* and the Princes could not execute the Judgments of God on them, without violating the Oath which they had made.

Moses did amiss at the Waters of Meribah: and doubtless he soon repented; for the Lord was with him. And it is likely that *Joshua* was deeply humbled under a sense of his Omission; for it appears that God continued him in his Office, and spared the Lives of those People, for the Sake of the League and Oath made in his Name.

The Wickedness of these People was great, and they worthy to die, or perfect Justice had not passed Sentence of Death upon them; and as their Execution was prevented by this League and Oath, they appear content to be Servants: *As it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto us, do.*

These Criminals, instead of Death, had the Sentence of Servitude pronounced on them in these Words: *Now therefore ye are cursed; and there shall none of you be freed from being Bond-men, and Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water for the House of my God.*

We find, Deut. xx. 10, that there were Cities far distant from Canaan, against which Israel went to Battle; unto whom they were to proclaim Peace, and if the Inhabitants made Answer of Peace and opened their Gates, they were not to destroy them, but make them Tributaries.

The Children of *Israel* were then the Lord's Host, and Executioners of his Judgments on People hardened in Wickedness. They were not to go to Battle, but by his Appointment. The Men who were chief in his Army, had their Instructions from the Almighty; sometimes immediately, and sometimes by the Ministry of Angels. Of these, amongst others, were *Moses, Joshua, Othniel, and Gideon*; See Exod. iii. 2, and xviii. 19. Josh. v. 13. These People far off from Canaan, against whom *Israel* was sent to Battle, were so corrupt that the Creator of the Universe saw it good to change their Situation: and in case of their opening their Gates, and coming under Tribute, this their Subjection, though probably more mild than absolute Slavery, was to last little or no longer than while *Israel* remained in the true Spirit of Government.

It was pronounced by *Moses* the Prophet, as a Consequence of their Wickedness, *The stranger that is within thee shall get above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low: He shall be the Head, and thou the Tail.* Deut. xxviii. 43, 44.

This we find in some Measure verified in their being made Tributaries to the *Moabites, Midianites, Amorites* and *Philistines*.

It is alleged in Favour of the Practice of Slave keeping, that the *Jews* by their Law made Slaves of the Heathen. Levit, xxv. 45. *Moreover, of the Children of the Strangers that do sojourn amongst you, of them shall ye buy, and of their Children, which*

are with you, which they beget in your Land: and they shall be your Possession; and you shall take them as an Inheritance for your Children after you, to inherit them as a Possession; they shall be your Bondmen for ever. It is difficult for us to have any certain Knowledge of the Mind of *Moses*, in Regard to keeping Slaves, any other Way than by looking upon him as a true Servant of God, whose Mind and Conduct were regulated by an inward Principle of Justice and Equity. To admit a Supposition that he in that Case was drawn from perfect Equity by the Alliance of outward Kindred, would be to disown his Authority.

Abraham had Servants born in his House, and bought with his Money: *And the Almighty said of Abraham, I know him, that he will order his House after him.* Which implies that he was as a Father, an Instructor, and a good Governor over his People. And *Moses*, considered as a Man of God, must necessarily have had a Prospect of some real Advantage in the Strangers and Heathens being Servants to the Israelites for a Time.

As Mankind had received and established many erroneous Opinions and hurtful Customs, their living and conversing with the *Jews*, while the *Jews* stood faithful to their principles, might be helpful to remove those Errors, and reform their Manners. But for Men, with private Views, to assume an absolute Power over the Persons and Properties of others; and continue it from Age to Age in the Line of natural Generation, without regard to the Virtues and Vices of their Successors, as it is manifestly contrary to true universal Love, and attended with great Evils, there requires the clearest Evidence to beget a Belief in us, that *Moses* intended that the Strangers should, as such, be Slaves to the *Jews*.

He directed them to buy Strangers and Sojourners. It appears that there were Strangers in *Israel* who were free Men, and considering with what Tenderness and Humanity the *Jews*, by their law, were obliged to use their Servants, and what Care was to be taken to instruct them in the true Religion, it is not unlikely that some Strangers in Poverty and Distress were willing to enter into Bonds to serve the *Jews* as long as they lived: and in such Case the *Jews*, by their Law, had a Right to their Service during Life.

When the Awl was bored through the Ear of the *Hebrew*

Servant, the Text saith, *He shall serve for ever*; yet we do not suppose that by the Word *for ever* it was intended that none of his Posterity should afterwards be free; when it is said in regard to the Strangers which they bought, *they shall be your possession*, it may be well understood to mean only the Persons so purchased: all preceding relates to buying them; and what follows, to the Continuance of their Service. *You shall take them as an Inheritance to your Children after you; they shall be your Bondmen for ever*. It may be well understood to stand limited to those they purchased.

Moses, directing *Aaron* and his Sons to wash their Hands and Feet, when they went into the Tabernacle of the Congregation, saith, *It shall be a statute for ever to them, even to him and his Seed throughout all generations*. And to express the Continuance of the Law, it was his common Language, *It shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations*. So that had he intended the Posterity of the Strangers so purchased to continue in Slavery to the *Jews*, it looks likely that he would have used some Terms clearly to express it. The *Jews* undoubtedly had Slaves, whom they kept as such from one Age to another: but that this was agreeable to the genuine Design of their inspired Law-giver, is far from being a clear Case.

Making Constructions of the Law contrary to the true Meaning of it, was common amongst that People. *Samuel's* Sons took Bribes, and perverted Judgment. *Isaiah* complained that they justified the Wicked for Reward. *Zephaniah*, Contemporary with *Jeremiah*, on Account of the Injustice of the civil Magistrates, declared that those Judges were Ravening Wolves; and that the Priests did Violence to the Law.

Jeremiah acquaints us, that the Priests cried Peace, Peace, when there was no Peace; by which Means the People grew bold in their Wickedness; and having committed Abominations, were not ashamed: but, through wrong Constructions of the Law, they justified themselves, and boastingly said, *We are wise; and the law of the Lord is with us*. These Corruptions continued till the Days of our Saviour, who told the *Pharisees*, *You have made the Commandment of God of none Effect through your Tradition*.

Thus it appears that they corrupted the Law of *Moses*; nor

is it unlikely that among many others this was one; for oppressing the Strangers was a heavy Charge against the *Jews*, and very often strongly represented by the Lord's faithful Prophets.

That the Liberty of Man was, by the inspired Law-giver, esteemed precious, appears in this; that such who unjustly deprived Men of it, were to be punished in like Manner as if they had murdered them. *He that stealeth a Man, and selleth him; or if he be found in his Hand, shall surely be put to Death.* This part of the Law was so considerable, that *Paul*, the learned *Jew*, giving a brief Account of the Uses of the Law, adds this, *It was made for Men-stealers.* 1 Tim. i. 10.

The great Men amongst that People were exceedingly oppressive; and, it is likely, exerted their whole Strength and Influence to have the Law construed to suit their Turns. The honest Servants of the Lord had heavy Work with them in regard to their Oppression; a few instances follow: *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, amend your Ways, and your Doings; and I will cause you to dwell in this Place. If you thoroughly execute Judgment between a Man and his Neighbour; if you oppress not the Stranger, the Fatherless and the Widow; and shed not innocent Blood in this Place; neither walk after other Gods to your Hurt, then will I cause you to dwell in this Place.* Jer. vii. Again, a Message was sent not only to the inferior Ministers of Justice, but also to the chief Ruler. *This saith the Lord, go down to the House of the King of Judah, and speak there this Word: execute ye Judgment and Righteousness, and deliver the Spoiled out of the hand of the Oppressor; and do no Wrong; do no Violence to the Stranger, the Fatherless and the Widow; neither shed innocent Blood in this Place.* Then adds, That in so doing they should prosper; but if ye will not hear these Words, I swear by myself, saith the Lord, that this House shall become a Desolation. Jer. xxii.

The King, the Princes and Rulers, were agreed in Oppression before the *Babylonish* Captivity: for, whatever Courts of Justice were retained amongst them; or however they decided matters betwixt Men of Estates, it is plain that the Cause of the Poor was not judged in Equity.

It appears that the great Men amongst the *Jews* were fully resolved to have Slaves, even of their own Brethren. Jer. xxxiv.

Notwithstanding the Promises and Threatenings of the Lord, by the Prophet, and their solemn Covenant to set them free, confirmed by the Imprecation of passing between the Parts of a Calf cut in twain; intimating, by that Ceremony, that on Breach of the Covenant, it were just for their Bodies to be so cut in Pieces; —Yet after all, they held fast to their old Custom, and called Home the Servants whom they had set free. *And ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming Liberty every man to his Neighbour; and ye had made a covenant before me, in the House which is called by my Name. But ye turned, and polluted my Name, and caused every Man his Servant, whom he had set at Liberty at their Pleasure, to return, and brought them into Subjection, to be unto you for Servants, and for Handmaids. Therefore thus saith the Lord, ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming Liberty every one to his Neighbour, and every one to his brother. Behold, I proclaim a Liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the Sword, to the Pestilence, and to the Famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the Kingdoms of the Earth. The Men who transgressed my Covenant which they made, and passed between the Parts of the calf, I will give into the hands of their Enemies, and their dead Bodies shall be for Meat unto the Fowls of the Heaven, and the Beasts of the Earth.*

Soon after this their City was taken and burnt; the King's Sons and the Princes slain; and the King, with the chief Men of his Kingdom, carried Captive to *Babylon*. *Ezekiel*, prophesying the Return of that People to their own Land, directs, *Ye shall divide the land by lot, for an Inheritance unto you, and to the Strangers that sojourn amongst you; in what Tribe the Stranger sojourns, there shall ye give him his Inheritance, saith the Lord God.* Nor is this particular Direction, and the Authority with which it is enforced, without a tacit Implication, that their Ancestors had erred in their Conduct towards the Stranger.

Some who keep Slaves, have doubted as to the Equity of the Practice; but as they knew Men, noted for their Piety, who were in it, this, they say, has made their Minds easy.

To lean on the Example of Men in doubtful Cases, is difficult: For only admit, that those Men were not faithful and upright to the highest Degree, but that in some particular Case they erred, and it may follow that this one Case was the same, about which

we are in Doubt; and to quiet our Minds by their Example, may be dangerous to ourselves; and continuing in it, prove a Stumbling-block to tender-minded People who succeed us, in like manner as their Examples are to us.

But, supposing Charity was their only Motive, and they not foreseeing the Tendency of paying Robbers for their Booty, were not justly under the Imputation of being Partners with a Thief, Prov. xxix. 24, but were really innocent in what they did, are we assured that we keep them with the same Views they kept them? If we keep them from no other Motive than a real Sense of Duty, and true Charity governs us in all our Proceedings toward them, we are so far safe: But if another Spirit, which inclines our Minds to the Ways of this World, prevail upon us, and we are concerned for our own outward Gain more than for their real Happiness, it will avail us nothing that some good Men have had the Care and Management of *Negroes*.

Since Mankind spread upon the earth, many have been the Revolutions attending the several Families, and their Customs and Ways of Life different from each other. This diversity of Manners, though some are preferable to others, operates not in Favour of any, so far as to justify them to do Violence to innocent Men; or to bring them from their own to another Way of Life. The Mind, when moved by a Principle of true Love, may feel a Warmth of Gratitude to the universal Father, and a lively Sympathy with those Nations, where Divine Light has been less manifest.

This Desire for their real Good may beget a Willingness to undergo Hardships for their Sakes, that the true Knowledge of God may be spread amongst them. But to take them from their own Land, with Views of Profit to ourselves, by means inconsistent with pure Justice, is foreign to that Principle which seeks the Happiness of the whole Creation. Forced Subjection on innocent Persons of full Age, is inconsistent with right Reason; on one Side, the human Mind is not naturally fortified with that Firmness in Wisdom and Goodness necessary to an independent Ruler; on the other Side, to be subject to the uncontrollable Will of a Man, liable to err, is most painful and afflicting to a conscientious Creature.

It is our Happiness faithfully to serve the Divine Being, who

made us. His Perfection makes our Service reasonable; but so long as Men are biassed by narrow Self-love, so long an absolute Power over other Men is unfit for them.

Men, taking on them the Government of others, may intend to govern reasonably, and to make their Subjects more happy than they would be otherwise; but, as absolute Command belongs only to him who is perfect, where frail Men, in their own Wills, assume such Command, it hath a direct Tendency to vitiate their Minds, and make them more unfit for Government.

Placing on Men the ignominious Title, SLAVE, dressing them in uncomely Garments, keeping them to servile Labour, in which they are often dirty, tends gradually to fix a Notion in the Mind, that they are a Sort of People below us in Nature, and leads us to consider them as such in all our Conclusions about them. And, moreover, a Person which in our Esteem is mean and contemptible, if their Language or Behaviour toward us is unseemly or disrespectful, it excites Wrath more powerfully than the like Conduct in one we accounted our Equal or Superior: and where this happens to be the Case, it disqualifies for candid Judgment; for it is unfit for a Person to sit as Judge in a Case where his own personal Resentments are stirred up; and, as Members of Society in a well framed Government, we are mutually dependent. Present Interest incites to Duty, and makes each Man attentive to the Convenience of others: but he whose Will is a Law to others, and can enforce Obedience by Punishment; he whose Wants are supplied without feeling any Obligation to make equal Returns to his Benefactor, his irregular Appetites find an open Field for Motion, and he is in Danger of growing hard, and inattentive to their Convenience who labour for his Support; and so loses that Disposition in which alone Men are fit to govern.

The *English* Government hath been commended by candid Foreigners for the Disuse of Racks and Tortures, so much practised in some States; but this multiplying Slaves now leads to it; for where People exact hard Labour of others, without a suitable Reward, and are resolved to continue in that Way, Severity to such who oppose them becomes the Consequence: and several *Negro* criminals, among the *English* in *America*, have been executed in a lingering, painful Way, very terrifying to others.

It is a happy Case to set out right, and persevere in the same Way. A wrong Beginning leads into many Difficulties; for to support one Evil another becomes customary: two produces more: and the further Men proceed in this Way, the greater their Dangers, their Doubts and Fears; and the more painful and perplexing are their Circumstances. So that such who are true Friends to the real and lasting Interest of our Country, and candidly consider the Tendency of Things, cannot but feel some Concern on this Account.

There is that Superiority in Men over the Brute Creatures, and some of them are so manifestly dependent on Men for a Living, that for them to serve us in Moderation, so far as relates to the right Use of Things, looks consonant to the Design of our Creator.

There is nothing in their Frame, nothing relative to the propagating their Species, which argues the contrary; but in Men there is. The Frame of Men's Bodies, and the Disposition of their Minds, are different; some, who are tough and strong, and their Minds active, chuse Ways of Life requiring much Labour to support them; others are soon weary; and though Use makes Labour more tolerable, yet some are less apt for Toil than others, and their Minds less sprightly. These latter labouring for their Subsistence, commonly chuse a Life easy to support, being content with a little. When they are weary they may rest, take the most advantageous Part of the Day for Labour; and in all cases proportion one Thing to another, so that their Bodies be not oppressed.

Now, while each is at Liberty, the latter may be as happy, and live as comfortably as the former; but, where Men of the first Sort having the latter under absolute Command, not considering the Odds in Strength and Firmness, do sometimes, in their eager Pursuit, lay on Burthens grievous to be borne; by Degrees grow rigorous, and, aspiring to Greatness, they increase Oppression, and the true Order of kind Providence is subverted.

There are Weaknesses sometimes attending us, which make little or no Alteration in our Countenances, nor much lessen our Appetite for Food, and yet so affect us, as to make Labour very uneasy. In such Case Masters, intent on putting forward Business, and jealous of the Sincerity of their Slaves, may disbelieve what they say, and grievously afflict them.

Action is necessary for all Men, and our exhausting Frame requires a support, which is the Fruit of Action. The Earth must be laboured to keep us alive. Labour is a proper Part of our Life; to make one answer the other in some useful Motion, looks agreeable to the Design of our Creator. Motion, rightly managed, tends to our Satisfaction, Health, and Support.

Those who quit all useful Business, and live wholly on the Labour of others, have their Exercise to seek. Some such use less than their Health requires; others choose that which, by the Circumstances attending it, proves utterly reverse to true Happiness. Thus, while some are divers Ways distressed for want of an open Channel of useful Action, those who support them sigh and are exhausted in a Stream too powerful for Nature, spending their Days with too little Cessation from Labour.

Seed sown with the Tears of a confined oppressed People, Harvests cut down by an overborne discontented Reaper, makes Bread less sweet to the Taste of an honest Man, than that which is the Produce or just Reward of such voluntary action, which is one proper Part of the Business of human Creatures.

Again, the weak State of the human Species is bearing and bringing forth their Young, and the helpless Condition of their Young beyond that of other Creatures, clearly show that *Perfect Goodness* designs a tender Care and Regard should be exercised toward them; and that no imperfect, arbitrary Power should prevent the cordial Effects of that Sympathy, which is in the Minds of well-met Pairs to each other, and toward their Offspring.

In our Species, the mutual Ties of Affection are more rational and durable than in others below us; the Care and Labour of raising our Offspring, much greater. The Satisfaction arising to us in their innocent Company, and in their Advances from one rational Improvement to another, is considerable, when two are thus joined, and their Affections sincere, it however happens among Slaves, that they are often situate in different Places; and their seeing each other depends on the Will of Men, liable to human Passions and a bias in Judgment; who, with Views of Self-interest, may keep them apart more than is right. Being absent from each other, and often with other Company, there is a Danger of their Affections being alienated, Jealousies arising, the Happiness otherwise resulting from their Offspring frustrated,

and the Comforts of Marriage destroyed. These Things being considered closely, as happening to a near Friend, will appear to be hard and painful.

He who reverently observes that Goodness manifested by our Gracious Creator toward the various Species of Beings in this World, will see, that in our Frame and Constitution is clearly shown, that innocent Men, capable to manage for themselves, were not intended to be Slaves.

A Person lately travelling amongst the *Negroes* near *Senegal*, hath this Remark; "Which Way soever I turned my Eyes on this pleasant Spot, I beheld a perfect Image of pure Nature; an agreeable Solitude, bounded on every Side by charming landskips the rural Situation of Cottages in the Midst of Trees. The Ease and Indolence of the *Negroes*, reclined under the Shade of their spreading Foliage; the Simplicity of their Dress and Manners; the Whole revived in my Mind the Idea of our first Parents, and I seemed to contemplate the World in its primitive State." M. Adanson, page 55.¹

Some *Negroes* in these Parts, who have had an agreeable Education, have manifested a Brightness of Understanding equal to many of us. A Remark of this Kind we find in Bosman, page 328. "The *Negroes* of *Fida*," saith he, "are so accurately quick in their Merchandize Accounts, that they easily reckon as justly and quickly in their Heads only, as we with the Assistance of Pen and Ink, though the Sum amounts to several Thousands."

Through the Force of long Custom, it appears needful to speak in Relation to Colour. Suppose a white Child, born of Parents of the meanest Sort, who died and left him an Infant, falls into the Hands of a Person who endeavours to keep him a Slave, some Men would account him an unjust Man in doing so, who

¹ Michel Adanson [1727-1806]: "Voyage to Senegal, Isle of Goree and River Gambia. Translated from the French, with notes by an English Gentleman who resided in that Country." London, 1759. The original copy, still in the Loganian Library, Philadelphia [Ridgway Branch], may easily have been the identical copy read and noted by John Woolman. This work first appeared in Paris, 1757, as "Histoire Naturelle du Senegal." Adanson in Woolman's time was the leading naturalist of France, having been made a member of the French Academy at the early age of 30. The Revolution of 1793 brought him to poverty, and his later pension only came in time to prolong his old age. When he died at 79, his last words were, "Adieu: l'immortalité n'est pas de ce monde." He was born at Aix, Provence, April 7, 1727, and died in Paris, August 3, 1806. [Nouvelle Biographie Générale.]

yet appear easy while many Black People, of honest Lives and good Abilities, are enslaved in a Manner more shocking than the Case here supposed. This is owing chiefly to the Idea of Slavery being connected with the Black Colour, and Liberty with the White: and where false Ideas are twisted into our Minds, it is with difficulty we get fairly disentangled.

A Traveller in cloudy Weather, misseth his Way, makes many Turns while he is lost; still forms in his Mind the Bearing and Situation of Places; and though the Ideas are Wrong, they fix as fast as if they were right. Finding how Things are, we see our Mistake; yet the Force of Reason, with repeated Observations on Places and Things, do not soon remove those false Notions, so fastened upon us, but it will seem, in the Imagination as if the annual Course of the Sun was altered: and though, by Recollection, we are assured it is not, yet those Ideas do not suddenly leave us.

Selfishness being indulged, clouds the Understanding; and where selfish Men, for a long Time, proceed on their Way without Opposition, the Deceivableness of Unrighteousness gets so rooted in their Intellects, that a candid Examination of Things relating to Self-interest is prevented; and in this Circumstance, some who would not agree to make a Slave of a Person whose Colour is like their own, appear easy in making Slaves of others of a different Colour, though their Understandings and Morals are equal to the Generality of Men of their own Colour.

The Colour of a Man avails nothing in Matters of Right and Equity. Consider Colour in Relation to Treaties; by such, Disputes betwixt Nations are sometimes settled. And should the Father of us all so dispose Things, that Treaties with black Men should sometimes be necessary, how then would it appear amongst the Princes and Ambassadors, to insist on the Prerogative of the white Colour?

Whence is it that Men, who believe in a righteous Omnipotent Being, to whom all Nations stand equally related, and are equally accountable, remain so easy in it; but for that the Ideas of *Negroes* and Slaves are so interwoven in the Mind, that they do not discuss this Matter with that Candour and Freedom of Thought, which the Case justly calls for?

To come at a right Feeling of their Condition, requires humble,

serious Thinking; for, in their present Situation, they have but little to engage our natural Affection in their Favour.

Had we a Son or a Daughter involved in the same Case in which many of them are, it would alarm us, and make us feel their Condition without seeking for it. The Adversity of an intimate Friend will incite our Compassion, while others, equally good, in the like Trouble, will but little affect us.

Again, the Man in worldly Honour, whom we consider as our Superior, treating us with Kindness and Generosity, begets a Return of Gratitude and Friendship toward him. We may receive as great Benefits from Men a Degree lower than ourselves, in the common Way of reckoning, and feel ourselves less engaged in Favour of them. Such is our Condition by Nature; and these Things being narrowly watched and examined, will be found to centre in Self-love.

The Blacks seem far from being our Kinsfolks; and did we find an agreeable Disposition and sound Understanding in some of them, which appeared as a good Foundation for a true Friendship between us, the Disgrace arising from an open Friendship with a Person of so vile a Stock, in the common Esteem, would naturally tend to hinder it. They have neither Honours, Riches, outward Magnificence nor Power; their Dress coarse, and often ragged; their Employ Drudgery, and much in the Dirt: they have little or nothing at Command; but must wait upon and work for others to obtain the Necessaries of Life: so that, in their present Situation, there is not much to engage the Friendship, or move the Affection of selfish Men. But such who live in the Spirit of true Charity, to sympathize with the Afflicted in the lowest Stations of Life, is a Thing familiar to them.

Such is the Kindness of our Creator, that People, applying their Minds to sound Wisdom, may, in general, with moderate Exercise, live comfortably, where no misapplied Power hinders it. We in these Parts have Cause gratefully to acknowledge it. But Men leaving the true Use of Things, their Lives are less calm, and have less of real Happiness in them.

Many are desirous of purchasing and keeping Slaves, that they may live in some Measure conformable to those Customs of the Times, which have in them a Tincture of Luxury. For when we, in the least Degree, depart from that use of the Crea-

tures, which the Creator of all things intended for them, there Luxury begins.

And if we consider this Way of Life seriously, we shall see there is nothing in it sufficient to induce a wise Man to chuse it, before a plain, simple Way of living. If we examine stately Buildings and Equipage, delicious Food, superfine Cloaths, Silks and Linens; if we consider the Splendour of choice Metal fastened upon Raiment, and the most showy Inventions of Men, it will yet appear that the humble-minded Man, who is contented with the true Use of Houses, Food and Garments, and cheerfully exerciseth himself agreeable to his Station in Civil Society, to earn them, acts more reasonably, and discovers more Soundness of Understanding in his Conduct, than such who lay heavy Burdens on others to support themselves in a luxurious Way of living.

George Buchanan, in his *History of Scotland*, page 62, tells of some ancient Inhabitants of Britain, who were derived from a people that "had a Way of marking their Bodies, as some said, with Instruments of Iron, with Variety of Pictures, and with Animals of all Shapes, and wear no Garments, that they should not hide their Pictures; and were therefore called Picts."¹ Did we see those People shrink with Pain, for a considerable Time together, under the Point or Edge of this Iron Instrument, and their Bodies all bloody with the Operation; did we see them sometimes naked, suffering with Cold, and refuse to put on Garments, that those imaginary Ensigns of Grandeur might not be concealed, it is likely we should pity their Folly and Fondness for those Things. But if we candidly compare their Conduct, in that Case, with some Conduct amongst ourselves, will it not appear that our Folly is the greatest?

In true Gospel Simplicity, free from all wrong Use of Things, a Spirit which breathes Peace and good Will is cherished: but when we aspire after Imaginary Grandeur, and apply to selfish Means to attain our End, this Desire, in its Original, is the same with the *Picts* in cutting Figures on their Bodies; but the evil Consequences attending our Proceedings are the greatest.

A COVETOUS Mind, which seeks Opportunity to exalt

¹ "The History of Scotland," by George Buchanan, published originally in Latin, was translated and published in English in two volumes, in London. The third edition, 1733, in Volume I, p. 66 contains the quotation given above.

itself, is a great Enemy to true Harmony in a Country: Envy and Grudging usually accompany this Disposition, and it tends to stir up its Likeness in others. And where this Disposition ariseth so high as to embolden us to look upon honest industrious Men as our own Property during Life, and to keep them to hard Labour to support us in those Customs which have not their Foundation in right Reason, or to use any Means of Oppression, a haughty Spirit is cherished on one Side, and the Desire of Revenge frequently on the other, till the Inhabitants of the Land are ripe for great Commotion and Trouble. And thus Luxury and Oppression have the Seeds of War and Desolation in them.

Some Account of the Slave Trade, taken from the writings of persons who have been at the places where they are first purchased.

Bosman on Guinea, who was a factor for the Dutch about sixteen years in that country, (page 339) ¹ thus remarks: "But since I have so often mentioned that commerce, I shall describe how it is managed by our factors. The first business of one of our factors, when he comes to Fida, is to satisfy the customs of the king, and the great men, which amounts to about one hundred pounds in Guinea value, as the goods must sell there. After which we have free license to trade, which is published throughout the whole land by the crier. And yet, before we can deal with any person, we are obliged to buy the king's whole stock of slaves at a set price; which is commonly one third or fourth higher than ordinary: after which, we have free leave to deal with all his subjects, of what rank soever. But if there happen to be no stock of slaves, the factor must resolve to run the risk of trusting the inhabitants with goods to the value of one or two hundred slaves; which commodities they send into the inland country, in order to buy with them slaves at all markets, and that sometimes two hundred miles deep in the country: for you ought to be informed that markets of men are here kept in the same manner as those of beasts are with us.

¹ William Bosman: "A Description of the Coast of Guinea, containing Geographical, Political and Natural History," &c. The second English Translation from the original Dutch was published in London in 1721. The book was much read. Wm. Bosman was for sixteen years the Dutch Factor at Delmina.

"Most of the slaves which are offered to us, are prisoners of war, which are sold by the victors as their booty. When these slaves come to Fida, they are put in prisons all together; and when we treat concerning them, they are all brought out in a large plain, where, by our surgeons, whose province it is, they are thoroughly examined, even to the smallest member, and that naked, both men and women, without the least distinction or modesty. Those which are approved as good, are set on one side. The invalids and maimed being thrown out, the remainder are numbered, and it is entered who delivered them. In the meanwhile, a burning iron, with the arms or name of the company, lies in the fire, with which ours are marked on the breast. This is done, that we may distinguish them from the slaves of the English, French, or others. When we have agreed with the owners of the slaves, they are returned to their prisons, where, from that time forward, they are kept at our charge; cost us two-pence a day a slave, which serves to subsist them, like our criminals, on bread and water: so that, to save charges, we send them on board our ships the first opportunity; before which their masters strip them of all they have on their backs, so that they come aboard stark naked, as well women as men; in which condition they are obliged to continue, if the master of the ship is not so charitable (which he commonly is) as to bestow something on them, to cover their nakedness."

Same author, page 310—"The inhabitants of Popo, as well as those of Coto, depend on plunder and the slave trade, in both which they very much exceed the latter; for being endowed with more courage, they rob more successfully, and by that means increase their trade. Notwithstanding which, to freight a vessel with slaves, requires some months attendance. In the year 1697, in three days time I could get but three slaves; but they assured me, that if I would have patience for other three days only, they should be able to deliver one or two hundred."

Bosman, page 440—"We cast anchor at cape Mizurada, but not one negro coming on board, I went on shore; and being desirous to be informed why they did not come on board, was answered, That about two months before, the English had been there with two vessels, and had ravaged the country, destroyed all their canoes, plundered their houses, and carried off some of

their people for slaves ; upon which the remainder fled to the inland country. They tell us they live in peace with all their neighbours, and have no notion of any other enemy than the English ; of which nation they had taken some then ; and publicly declared, that they would endeavour to get as many of them as the two mentioned ships had carried off of their natives. These unhappy English were in danger of being sacrificed to the memory of their friends, which some of their nation carried off."

*Extracts from a Collection of Voyages.*¹—Vol. I.

The author, a popish missionary, speaking of his departing from the negro country to Brazil, saith, "I remember the duke of Bambay (a negro chief) one day sent me several blacks to be my slaves ; which I would not accept of, but sent them back to him. I afterwards told him I came not into his country to make slaves ; but rather to deliver those from the slavery of the devil, whom he kept in miserable thralldom. The ship I went aboard was loaded with elephants teeth and slaves, to the number of six hundred and eighty men, women, and children. It was a pitiful sight to behold how all these people were stowed. The men were standing in the hold, fastened one to another with stakes, for fear they should rise and kill the whites : the women were between the decks, and those that were with child in the great cabin : the children in the steerage, pressed together like herrings in a barrel ; which caused an intolerable heat and stench." Page 507.

"It is now time," saith the same author, "to speak of a brutish custom these people have amongst them in making slaves ; which I take not to be lawful for any person of a good conscience to buy."

He then describes how women betray men into slavery, and adds, "There are others going up into the inland country, and through pretence of jurisdiction, seize men upon any trifling offence, and sell them for slaves." Page 537.

¹ "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," &c., 1743, appeared in an English translation by Lockman, as "Travels of the Jesuits in Various Parts of the World, Particularly China and the East Indies." It became a very popular work. The Second Edition was just out in 1762. Andrew Brue, a noted traveler, also published his account with the King's sanction, in Ashley's "Collection of Voyages" in the year 1745. With both of these works John Woolman had become familiar, probably through Anthony Benezet.

The author of this treatise, conversing with a person of good credit, was informed by him, that in his youth, while in England, he was minded to come to America, and happening on a vessel bound for Guinea, and from thence into America, he, with a view to see Africa, went on board her, and continued with them in their voyage, and so came into this country. Among other circumstances, he related these: "They purchased on the coast about three hundred slaves; some of them he understood were captives of war; some stolen by other negroes privately. When they had got many slaves on board, but were still on that coast, a plot was laid by an old negro, notwithstanding the men had irons on their hands and feet, to kill the English and take the vessel: which being discovered, the man was hanged, and many of the slaves made to shoot at him as he hung up."

"Another slave was charged with having a design to kill the English; and the captain spoke to him in relation to the charge brought against him, as he stood on deck; whereupon he immediately threw himself into the sea, and was drowned."

"Several negroes, confined on board, were, he said, so extremely uneasy with their condition, that after many endeavours used, they could never make them eat nor drink after they came in the vessel; but in a desperate resolution starved themselves to death, behaving toward the last like madmen."

In Randall's Geography, printed 1744,¹ we are informed, that in a time of full peace, nothing is more common than for the negroes of one nation to steal those of another, and sell them to the Europeans. It is thought that the English transmit annually near fifty thousand of these unhappy creatures; and the other European nations together, about two hundred thousand more.

It is through the Goodness of God that the Reformation from gross Idolatry and Barbarity hath been thus far effected; if we consider our Condition as Christians, and the Benefits we enjoy, and compare them with the Condition of those People, and consider that our Nation trading with them for their Country Produce, have had an Opportunity of imparting useful Instructions to them, and remember that but little Pains have been taken therein, it must look like an Indifference in us. But when we reflect on a Custom the most shocking of any amongst them, and remember

¹ Joseph Randall. This work appeared in 1744, and became an authority.

that, with a View to outward Gain, we have joined as Parties in it; that our Concurrence with them in their barbarous Proceedings, has tended to harden them in Cruelty, and been a Means of increasing Calamities in their Country, we must own that herein we have acted contrary to those Worthies whose Lives and Substance were spent in propagating Truth and Righteousness amongst the Heathen.

When *Saul*, by the Hand of *Doeg*, slew Four Score Priests at once, he had a Jealousy that one of them at least was confederate with *David*, whom he considered as his Enemy. *Herod* slaying all the Male Children in *Bethlehem* of two Years old and under, was an Act of uncommon Cruelty; but he supposed there was a Male Child there, within that Age, who was likely to be King of the *Jews*; and finding no Way to destroy him but by destroying them all, thought this the most effectual Means to secure the Kingdom to his own Family.

When the Sentence against the Protestants of *Marindol*, &c. in *France*, was put in Execution, great Numbers of people fled to the Wilderness; amongst whom were ancient People, Women great with Child, and others with Babes in their Arms, who endured Calamities grievous to relate; and in the End some perished with Hunger, and many were destroyed by Fire and Sword: but they had this Objection against them, That they obstinately persisted in Opposition to Holy Mother Church, and being Heretics, it was right to work their Ruin and Extirpation, and raze out their Memory from among Men. Foxe's ¹ *Acts and Monuments*, page 646.

In Favour of those Cruelties, every one had what they deemed a Plea. These Scenes of Blood and Cruelty among the barbarous Inhabitants of *Guiney*, are not less terrible than those now mentioned. They are continued from one Age to another, and we make ourselves Parties and Fellow-helpers in them: nor do I see that we have any Plea in our Favour more plausible than the Plea of *Saul*, of *Herod*, or the *French*, in those Slaughters.

Many who are Parties in this Trade, by keeping Slaves with Views of Self-interest, were they to go as Soldiers in one of these Inland Expeditions to catch Slaves, they **must** necessarily grow

¹ John Foxe, whose "Acts and Monuments" [1563, London] is best known as the "Book of Martyrs."

dissatisfied with such Employ, or cease to profess their religious Principles. And though the first and most striking Part of the Scene is done at a great Distance, and by other Hands, yet every one who is acquainted with the Circumstances, and notwithstanding joins in it for the Sake of Gain only, must, in the Nature of Things, be chargeable with the others.

Should we consider ourselves present as Spectators, when cruel *Negroes* privately catch innocent Children who are employed in the Fields; and hear their lamentable Cries, under the most terrifying Apprehensions; or should we look upon it as happening in our own Families, having our Children carried off by Savages, we must needs own, that such Proceedings are contrary to the Nature of Christianity: Should we meditate on the Wars which are greatly increased by this Trade, and on that Affliction which many Thousands live in, through Apprehensions of being taken or slain; on the Terror and Amazement that Villages are in, when surrounded by these Troops of Enterprisers; on the great Pain and Misery of groaning, dying Men, who get wounded in those Skirmishes; we shall necessarily see that it is impossible to be Parties in such a Trade, on the Motives of Gain, and retain our Innocence.

Should we consider the Case of Multitudes of those People, who in a fruitful Soil, and hot Climate, with a little Labour, raise Grain, Roots and Pulse to eat; spin and weave Cotton, and fasten together the large Feathers of Fowls, to cover their Nakedness; many of whom, in much Simplicity, live inoffensively in their Cottages, and take great Comfort in raising up Children.

Should we contemplate on their Circumstances, when suddenly attacked, and labour to understand their inexpressible Anguish of Soul who survive the Conflict; should we think on inoffensive Women, who fled at the Alarm, and at their Return saw that Village in which they and their acquaintance were raised up, and had pleasantly spent their youthful Days, now lying in a gloomy Desolation; some shocked at finding the mangled Bodies of their near Friends amongst the Slain; others bemoaning the Absence of a Brother, a Sister, a Child, or a whole Family of Children, who, by cruel Men, are bound and carried to Market to be sold, without the least Hopes of seeing them again: Add to *this, the afflicted Condition of these poor Captives, who are

separated from Family Connexions, and all the Comforts arising from Friendship and Acquaintance; carried amongst a People of a strange Language, to be parted from their Fellow Captives, put to Labour in a Manner more servile and wearisome than what they were used to, with many sorrowful Circumstances attending their Slavery; and we must necessarily see that it belongs not to the Followers of Christ to be Parties in such a Trade, on the Motives of outward Gain.

Though there were Wars and Desolation among the *Negroes*, before the Europeans began to trade there for Slaves; yet now the Calamities are greatly increased; so many Thousands being annually brought from thence: and we, by purchasing them, with Views of Self-interest, are become Parties with them, and necessary to that Increase.

In this Case, we are not joining against an Enemy who is fomenting Discords on our Continent, and using all possible Means to make Slaves of us and our Children; but against a People who have not injured us.

If those who were spoiled and wronged, should at length make Slaves of their Oppressors, and continue Slavery to their Posterity, it would look rigorous to candid Men. But to act that Part toward a People, when neither they nor their Fathers have injured us, hath something in it extraordinary, and requires our serious Attention.

Our Children breaking a Bone; getting so bruised, that a Leg or an Arm must be taken off; lost for a few Hours, so that we despair of their being found again; a Friend hurt, so that he dieth in a day or two; these things move us with Grief. And did we attend to these Scenes in *Africa*, in like Manner as if they were transacted in our Presence; and sympathize with the *Negroes*, in all their Afflictions and Miseries, as we do with our Children or Friends; we should be more careful to do nothing in any Degree helping forward a Trade productive of so many, and so great Calamities. Great Distance makes nothing in our Favour. To willingly join with Unrighteousness, to the Injury of Men who live some Thousand Miles off, is the same in Substance, as joining with it to the Injury of our Neighbours.

In the Eye of pure Justice, Actions are regarded according to the Spirit and Disposition they arise from. Some Evils are

accounted scandalous; and the Desire of Reputation may keep selfish Men from appearing openly in them: but he who is shy on that Account, and yet by indirect Means promotes that Evil and shares in the Profit of it, cannot be innocent.

He who, with a View to Self-interest, buys a Slave, made so by Violence, and only on the Strength of such Purchase holds him a Slave, thereby joins Hands with those who committed that Violence, and in the Nature of Things becomes chargeable with the Guilt.

Suppose a Man wants a Slave, and being in *Guiney*, goes and hides by the Path where Boys pass from one little Town to another, and there catches one the Day he expects to Sail; and taking him on board, brings him home, without any aggravating Circumstances. Suppose another buys a Man, taken by them who live by Plunder and the Slave-Trade: they often steal them privately, and often shed much Blood in getting them. He who buys the Slave thus taken, pays those Men for their Wickedness, and makes himself Party with them.

Whatever Nicety of Distinction there may be, betwixt going in Person on Expeditions to catch Slaves, and buying those, with a View to Self-interest, which others have taken; it is clear and plain to an upright Mind, that such Distinction is in Words, not in Substance; for the Parties are concerned in the same Work, and have a necessary Connection with, and Dependence on, each other. For, were there none to purchase Slaves, they who live by stealing and selling them, would of Consequence do less at it.

Some would buy a *Negro* brought from *Guiney*, with a View to Self-interest, and keep him a Slave, who yet would seem to Scruple to take Arms, and join with men employed in taking Slaves.

Others have civil *Negroes*, who were born in our Country, capable and likely to manage well for themselves; whom they keep as Slaves, without ever trying them with Freedom, and take the Profit of their Labour as a part of their Estates; and yet disapprove bringing them from their own Country.

If those *Negroes* had come here, as Merchants, with their Ivory and Gold Dust, in order to trade with us, and some Powerful Person had took their Effects to himself, and then put them to

hard Labour, and ever after considered them as Slaves, the Action would be looked upon as unrighteous.

Those *Negro* Merchants having Children after their being among us, whose Endowments and Conduct were like other Peoples in common, who attaining to mature Age, and requesting to have their Liberty, they should be told they were born in Slavery, and were lawful Slaves, and therefore their Request denied; the Conduct of such Persons toward them, would be looked upon as unfair and oppressive.

In the present Case, relating to Home-born *Negroes* whose Understandings and Behaviour are as good as common among other People, if we have any Claim to them as Slaves, that Claim is grounded on their being the Children or Offspring of Slaves, who, in general, were made such through Means as unrighteous, and attended with more terrible Circumstances than the Case here supposed; so that when we trace our Claim to the Bottom, these Home-born *Negroes* having paid for their Education, and given reasonable Security to those who owned them, in case of their becoming chargeable, we have no more equitable Right to their Service, than we should if they were the Children of honest Merchants who came from *Guiney* in an *English* Vessel to trade with us.

If we claim any Right to them as the Children of Slaves, we build on the Foundation laid by them who made Slaves of their Ancestors; so that of Necessity we must either justify the Trade, or relinquish our Right to them as being the Children of Slaves.

Why should it seem right to honest Men to make Advantage by these People, more than by others? Others enjoy Freedom, receive Wages equal to their Work, at or near such Time as they have discharged these equitable Obligations they are under to those who educated them. These have made no Contract to serve; been no more expensive in raising up than others, and many of them appear as likely to make a right Use of Freedom as other People: which Way then can an honest Man withhold from them that Liberty, which is the free Gift of the Most High to his rational Creatures?

The Upright in Heart cannot succeed the Wicked in their Wickedness; nor is it consonant to the Life they live, to hold fast an Advantage unjustly gained.

The *Negroes* who live by Plunder and the Slave-Trade, steal poor innocent Children, invade their Neighbours Territories, and spill much Blood to get these Slaves. And can it be possible for an honest Man to think that, with View to Self-interest, we may continue Slavery to the Offspring of these unhappy Sufferers, merely because they are the Children of Slaves, and not have a share of this Guilt?

It is granted by Many, that the Means used in getting them are unrighteous, and that buying them, when brought here, is wrong; yet as setting them free is attended with some Difficulty, they do not comply with it; but seem to be of the Opinion, that to give them Food and Raiment, and keep them Servants, without any other Wages, is the best Way to manage them that they know of: And hoping that their Children after them will not be cruel to the *Negroes*, conclude to leave them as Slaves to their Children.

While present outward Interest is the chief Object of our Attention, we shall feel many Objections in our Minds against renouncing our Claim to them, as the Children of Slaves: for, being prepossessed with wrong Opinions, prevents our seeing Things clearly, which to indifferent Persons, are easy to be seen.

Suppose a Person Seventy Years past, in low Circumstances, bought a *Negro* Man and Woman; and that the Children of such Person are now wealthy, and have the Children of Such Slaves. Admit that the first *Negro* Man and his Wife did as much Business as their Master and Mistress, and that the Children of the Slaves have done some more than their young Masters: Suppose, on the whole, that the Expence of Living has been less on the *Negroes* side, than on the other, (all of which are no improbable Suppositions), it follows that in Equity these *Negroes* have a Right to a Part of this Increase; that should some Difficulties arise on their being set free, there is Reason for us patiently to labour through them.

As the Conduct of Men varies, relating to Civil Society; so different Treatment is justly due to them. Indiscreet Men occasion Trouble in the World; and it remains to be the Care of such who seek the Good of Mankind, to admonish as they find Occasion.

The Slothfulness of some of them, in providing for themselves and Families, it is likely, would require the Notice of their Neighbours; nor is it unlikely that some would, with Justice, be made

Servants, and others punished for their Crimes. Pure Justice points out to each Individual their Due, but to deny a People the Privilege of human Creatures, on a Supposition that, being free, many of them would be troublesome to us, is to mix the Condition of good and bad Men together, and treat the whole as the worst of them deserve.

If we seriously consider that Liberty is the Right of innocent Men; that the Mighty God is a Refuge for the Oppressed; that in Reality we are indebted to them; that they being set free, are still liable to the Penalties of our Laws, and as likely to have Punishment for their crimes as other People: This may answer all our Objections. And to retain them in perpetual Servitude, without just Cause for it, will produce Effects, in the Event, more grievous than setting them free would do, when a real Love to truth and Equity was the Motive to it.

Our Authority over them stands originally in a Purchase made from those who, as to the general, obtained theirs by Unrighteousness. Whenever we have Recourse to such Authority, it tends more or less to obstruct the Channels through which the perfect Plant in us receives Nourishment.

There is a Principle which is pure, placed in the human Mind, which in different Places and Ages hath had different Names: it is, however, pure, and proceeds from God. It is deep, and inward, confined to no Forms of Religion, nor excluded from any, where the Heart stands in perfect Sincerity. In whomsoever this takes Root and grows, of what Nation soever, they become Brethren, in the best Sense of the Expression. Using ourselves to take Ways which appear most easy to us, when inconsistent with that Purity which is without Beginning, we thereby set up a Government of our own, and deny Obedience to Him whose Service is true Liberty.

He that hath a Servant, made so wrongfully, and knows it to be so, when he treats him otherwise than a free Man, when he reaps the Benefit of his Labour, without paying him such Wages as are reasonably due to free Men for the like Service, Cloaths excepted; these Things, tho' done in Calmness, without any Shew of Disorder, do yet deprave the Mind in like Manner, and with as great Certainty, as prevailing Cold congeals Water. These Steps taken by Masters, and their Conduct striking the Minds of their

Children, whilst young, leave less Room for that which is good to work upon them. The Customs of their Parents, their Neighbours, and the People with whom they converse, working upon their Minds; and they, from thence, conceiving Ideas of Things, and Modes of Conduct, the Entrance into their Hearts becomes, in a great Measure, shut up against the gentle Movings of uncreated Purity.

From one Age to another, the Gloom grows thicker and darker, till Error gets established by general Opinion: so that whoever attends to perfect Goodness, and remains under the melting Influence of it, finds a Path unknown to many, and sees the Necessity to lean upon the arm of Divine Strength, and dwell alone, or with a few, in the right, committing their Cause to Him who is a Refuge for his People in all their Troubles.

Where, through the Agreement of a Multitude, some Channels of Justice are stopped, and Men may support their Characters as just Men, by being just to a Party, there is great Danger of contracting an Alliance with that Spirit which stands in Opposition to the God of Love, and spreads Discord, Trouble, and Vexation among such who give up to the Influence of it.

Negroes are our Fellow Creatures, and their present Condition amongst us requires our serious Consideration. We know not the Time when those Scales in which Mountains are weighed, may turn. The Parent of Mankind is gracious; His Care is over his smallest Creatures; and a Multitude of men Escape not his Notice. And though many of them are trodden down, and despised, yet he remembers them: He seeth their Affliction, and looketh upon the spreading, increasing Exaltation of the Oppressor. He turns the Channels of Power, humbles the most haughty People, and gives Deliverance to the Oppressed, at such Periods as are consistent with his infinite Justice and Goodness. And wherever Gain is Preferred to Equity, and wrong Things publicly encouraged, to that Degree that Wickedness takes Root, and spreads wide amongst the Inhabitants of a Country, there is real Cause for Sorrow to all such whose Love to Mankind stands on a true Principle, and who wisely consider the End and Event of Things.

CONSIDERATIONS
ON
PURE WISDOM AND HUMAN POLICY;
ON LABOUR; ON SCHOOLS;
AND ON THE RIGHT USE OF
THE LORD'S OUTWARD GIFTS.

1758.

Both Joseph Smith ("Catalogue of Friends' Books") and R Hildeburn ("Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania") give the date of publication of this Essay, following the statement of the first edition of the "Works," as 1768. A note by John Woolman himself, however, prefacing the Essay, "Serious Considerations on Trade" fixes the first printing of this as ten years earlier, i.e. 1758. This is hardly a slip of the pen. The original manuscript has apparently disappeared, nor has been found any copy of the essay as a separate pamphlet, except in modern form. The collation has therefore been made with the earliest edition available, that of Mary Hinde, who printed it in London in 1773, under the title "Serious Considerations on Various Subjects of Importance" including also the brief essays written in England, the American "Epistle," and the earlier essay, "On the True Harmony of Mankind."

The wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy, and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.—*James* iii. 17.

S E R I O U S
CONSIDERATIONS
ON VARIOUS
SUBJECTS OF IMPORTANCE.

By JOHN WOOLMAN,
Of MOUNT HOLLY, in the JERSEYS;
NORTH AMERICA, deceased;

With some of his
DYING EXPRESSIONS.

L O N D O N:

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INTRODUCTION

My Mind hath often been affected with Sorrow, on Account of the prevailing of that Spirit, which leads from an humble waiting on the inward Teaching of Christ, to pursue Ways of Living, attended with unnecessary Labour; and which draws forth the Minds of many People to seek after outward Power, and to strive for Riches, which frequently introduce Oppression, and bring forth Wars and grievous Calamities.

It is with Reverence that I acknowledge the Mercies of our Heavenly Father, who, in Infinite Love, did visit me in my Youth, and wrought a Belief in me, that through true Obedience a State of inward Purity may be known in this Life; in which we may love Mankind in the same Love with which our Redeemer loveth us, and therein learn Resignation to endure Hardships, for the real Good of others.

"While the Eye is single, the whole Body is full of Light." Mat. vi. 22. But for want of this, selfish Desires, and an imaginary Superiority, darken the Mind: hence Injustice frequently proceeds; and where this is the Case, to convince the Judgment, is the most effectual Remedy.

Where violent Measures are pursued in opposing Injustice, the Passions and Resentments of the Injured frequently operate in the Prosecution of their Designs: and after Conflicts productive of very great Calamities, the Minds of contending Parties often remain as little acquainted with the pure Principle of Divine Love as they were before. But where People walk in that pure Light in which all their "Works are wrought in God;" and under Oppression persevere in the meek Spirit, and abide firm in the Cause of Truth, without actively complying with oppressive Demands, through those the Lord hath often manifested his Power, in opening the Understandings of others, to the promoting Righteousness in the Earth.

A Time, I believe, is coming, wherein this Divine Work will so spread and prevail, that "Nation shall not lift up Sword against Nation, nor learn War any more." Isaiah ii. 4. And as we, through the tender Mercies of God, do feel that this precious Work is begun, I am concerned to encourage my Brethren and

Sisters in a Holy Care and Diligence, that each of us may so live, under the sanctifying Power of Truth, as to be redeemed from all unnecessary Cares; that our Eye being single to him, no Customs, however prevalent, which are contrary to the Wisdom from above, may hinder us from faithfully following his Holy Leadings, in whatsoever he may graciously appoint for us.

ON PURE WISDOM AND HUMAN POLICY.

To have our Trust settled in the Lord, and not to seek after, nor desire outward Treasures, any further than his Holy Spirit leads us therein, is a happy State, as saith the Prophet, "Blessed is the Man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose Hope the Lord is."

Pure Wisdom leads People into Lowliness of Mind, in which they learn Resignation to the Divine Will, and Contentment in suffering for his Cause, when they cannot keep a clear Conscience without suffering.

In this pure Wisdom the Mind is attentive to the Root and Original spring of Motions and Desires; and as we know "the Lord to be our Refuge," and find no Safety, but in humbly walking before him, we feel an Holy Engagement, that every Desire which leads therefrom may be brought to Judgment.

While we proceed in this precious Way, and find ardent Longings for a full Deliverance from every thing which defiles, all Prospects of Gain that are not consistent with the Wisdom from above, are considered as Snares, and an inward Concern is felt, that we may live under the Cross, and faithfully attend to that Holy Spirit which is sufficient to preserve out of them.

When I have considered that Saying of Christ, Mat. vi. 19, "Lay not up for yourselves Treasures upon Earth," his Omnipotence hath often occurred to my Mind.

While we believe that he is every where present with his People, and that perfect Goodness, Wisdom and Power, are united in him, how comfortable is the Consideration.

Our Wants may be great, but his Power is greater. We may be oppressed and despised, but he is able to turn our patient Sufferings into Profit to ourselves, and to the Advancement of his Work on Earth. His People, who feel the Power of his Cross, to crucify all that is selfish in them, who are engaged in outward

Concerns from a Convincement that it is their Duty, and resign themselves and their Treasures to him; these feel that it is dangerous to give way to that in us which craves Riches and Greatness in this World.

As the Heart truly contrite, earnestly desires "to know Christ, and the Fellowship of his Sufferings," Phil. iii. 10, so far as the Lord for gracious Ends may lead into them; as such feel that it is their Interest to put their Trust in God, and to seek no Gain but that which he, by his Holy Spirit, leads into; so, on the contrary, they who do not reverently wait for this Divine Teacher, and are not humbly concerned, according to their Measure, "to fill up that which is behind of the Afflictions of Christ," Col. i. 24, in patiently suffering for the Promoting Righteousness in the Earth; but have an Eye toward the Power of Men and the outward Advantage of Wealth; these are often attentive to those Employments which appear profitable, even though the Gains arise from such Trade and Business which proceeds from the Workings of that Spirit, which is estranged from the self-denying Life of an humble contrite Christian.

While I write on this Subject, I feel my Mind tenderly affected toward those honestly disposed People, who have been brought up in Employments attended with those Difficulties.

To such I may say, in the feeling of our Heavenly Father's Love, and number myself with you, O! that our Eyes may be single to the Lord! May we reverently wait on him for Strength to lay aside all unnecessary Expence of every Kind, and learn Contentment in a plain simple Life.

May we, in Lowliness, submit to the Leadings of his Spirit, and enter upon any outward Employ which he graciously points out to us; and then, whatever Difficulties arise in Consequence of our Faithfulness, I trust they will work for our Good.

Small Treasure to a resigned Mind is sufficient. How happy is it to be content with a little, to live in Humility, and feel that in us, which breathes out this Language, Abba, Father!

If that, called the Wisdom of this World, had no Resemblance of true Wisdom, the Name of Wisdom, I suppose, had not been given to it.

As wasting outward Substance to gratify vain Desires, on one hand; so Slothfulness and Neglect, on the other, do often

involve Men and their Families in Trouble, and reduce them to Want and Distress: to shun both these opposite Vices, is good in itself, and hath a Resemblance of Wisdom. But while People, thus provident, have it principally in View to get Riches, and Power, and the Friendship of this World, and do not humbly wait for the Spirit of Truth to lead them in Purity; these, through an anxious Care to obtain the End desired, reach forth for Gain in worldly Wisdom, and, in regard to their inward State, fall into divers Temptations and Snares. And though such may think of applying Wealth to good Purposes, and to use their Power to prevent Oppression, yet Wealth and Power is often applied otherwise, nor can we depart from the Leadings of our Holy Shepherd, without going into Confusion.

Great Wealth is frequently attended with Power, which nothing but Divine Love can qualify the Mind to use rightly: and as to the Humility and Uprightness of our Children after us, how great is the Uncertainty! If, in acquiring Wealth, we take hold on the Wisdom which is from beneath, and depart from the Leadings of Truth, and Example our Children herein, we have great Cause to apprehend that Wealth may be a Snare to them; and prove an Injury to others over whom their Wealth may give them Power.

To be redeemed from that Wisdom which is from beneath, and walk in the Light of the Lord, is a precious Situation. Thus his People are brought to put their Trust in him; and in this humble Confidence in his Wisdom, Goodness and Power, the Righteous find a Refuge in Adversities, superior to the greatest outward Helps, and a Comfort more certain than any worldly Advantages can afford.

ON LABOUR.

Having, from my Childhood, been used to Bodily Labour for a Living, I may express my Experience therein.

Right Exercise affords an innocent Pleasure in the Time of it, and prepares us to enjoy the Sweetness of Rest; but from the Extremes each Way, arise Inconveniences.

Moderate Exercise opens the Pores, gives the Blood a lively Circulation, and the better enables us to judge rightly respecting that Portion of Labour which is the true Medium.

“The Fowls of the Air sow not, nor gather into Barns, yet our Heavenly Father feedeth them.” Mat. vi. 26. Nor do I believe that Infinite Goodness and Power would have allotted Labour to us, had he not seen that Labour was proper for us in this Life.

The original Design and true Medium of Labour, is a Subject that to me appears worthy of our serious Consideration.

Idle Men are often a Burden to themselves, neglect the Duty they owe to their Families, and become burdensome to others also.

As outward Labour, directed by the Wisdom from above, tends to our Health, and adds to our Happiness in this Life; so, on the contrary, entering upon it in a selfish Spirit, and pursuing it too long, or too hard, hath a contrary Effect.

I have observed that too much Labour not only makes the Understanding dull, but so intrudes upon the Harmony of the Body, that after ceasing from our Toil, we have another to pass through, before we can be so composed as to enjoy the Sweetness of Rest.

From too much Labour in the Heat, frequently proceed immoderate Sweats, which do often, I believe, open the Way for Disorders, and impair our Constitutions.

When we go beyond the true Medium, and feel Weariness approaching, but think Business may suffer if we cease; at such a Time, spirituous Liquours are frequently taken, with a View to support Nature under these Fatigues.

I have found that too much Labour in the Summer heats the Blood, that taking strong Drink to support the Body under such Labour, increaseth that Heat, and though a Person may be so far temperate as not to manifest the least Disorder, yet the Mind, in such a Circumstance, doth not retain that Calmness and Serenity which we should endeavour to live in.

Thus toiling in the Heat, and drinking strong Liquor, makes Men more resolute and less considerate, and tends very much to disqualify from successfully following Him who is meek and low of Heart.

As laying out Business more than is consistent with pure Wisdom, is an Evil, so this evil frequently leads into more. Too much Business leads to Hurry. In the Hurry and Toil, too much strong Drink is often used, and hereby many proceed to Noise

and Wantonness, and some, though more considerate, do often suffer Loss as to a true Composedness of Mind.

I feel sincere Desires in my Heart, that no Rent nor Interest might be laid so high as to be a Snare to Tenants; that no Desires of Gain may draw any too far in Business; that no Cares to support Customs which have not their Foundation in pure Wisdom, may have Place in our Minds; but that we may build on the sure Foundation, and feel our Holy Shepherd to lead us, who alone is able to preserve us, and bring forth from every Thing which defiles.

Having several Times, in my Travels, had Opportunity to observe the Labour and manner of Life of great Numbers of Slaves, it appears to me that the true Medium is lamentably neglected by many who assign them their Portion of Labour.

Without saying much at this Time, concerning buying and selling Men for Term of Life, who have as just a Right to Liberty as we have; nor about the great Miseries and Effusion of Blood, consequent on promoting the Slave trade; and to speak as favourably as may be, with regard to continuing those in Bondage who are amongst us, we cannot say there is no Partiality in it. For, whatever Tenderness may be manifested by Individuals in their Lifetime toward them, yet for People to be transmitted from a Man to his Posterity in the helpless Condition of slaves, appears inconsistent with the Nature of the Gospel Spirit. From such Proceedings it often follows, that Persons in the Decline of Life are deprived of Monies equitably due to them, and committed to the Care, and subjected to the absolute Power of young, unexperienced Men, who know but little about the Weakness of old Age, nor understand the Language of declining Life.

Where Parents give their Estates to their Children, and then depend on them for a Maintenance, they sometimes meet with great Inconveniences; but if the Power of Possession, thus obtained, doth often reverse the Obligations of Gratitude and filial Duty, and makes manifest that Youth are often ignorant of the Language of old Age, how hard is the Case of ancient Negroes, who, deprived of the Wages equitably due to them, are left to young People who have been used to look upon them as their Inferiors.

For Men to behold the Fruits of their Labour withheld from them, and possessed by others, and in old Age find themselves destitute of those comfortable Accommodations, and that tender Regard which their Time of Life requires :

When they feel Pains, and Stiffness in their Joints and Limbs, Weakness of Appetite, and that a little Labour is wearisome, and still behold themselves in the neglected, uncomfortable Condition of a Slave, and oftentimes to a young unsympathizing Man :

For Men to be thus treated from one Generation to another, who, besides their own Distresses, think on the Slavery entailed on their Posterity, and are grieved : What disagreeable thoughts must they have of the professed Followers of Jesus ! and how must their Groans ascend to that Almighty Being, who "will be a Refuge for the Oppressed." Psalm ix. 9.

ON SCHOOLS.¹

"Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God." Mark x. 14.

To encourage Children to do Things with a View to get Praise of Men, to me appears an Obstruction to their being inwardly acquainted with the Spirit of Truth. For it is the Work of the Holy Spirit to direct the Mind to God, that in all our Proceedings we may have a single Eye to him to give Alms in secret, to fast in secret, and labour to keep clear of that Disposition reproved by our Saviour, "But all their Works they do for to be seen of Men." Mat. xxiii. 5.

That Divine Light which enlightens all Men, I believe, does often shine in the Minds of Children very early ; and to humbly wait for Wisdom, that our Conduct toward them may tend to forward their Acquaintance with it, and strengthen them in Obedience thereto, appears to me to be a Duty on all of us.

By cherishing the Spirit of Pride and the Love of Praise in them, I believe they may sometimes improve faster in Learning, than otherwise they would ; but to take Measures to forward

¹ A similar brief essay On Schools is to be found in "A Plea for the Poor" (usually printed under the title, "A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich"), Chapter XIV.

Children in Learning, which naturally tend to divert their Minds from true Humility, appears to me to savour of the Wisdom of this World.

If Tutors are not acquainted with Sanctification of Spirit, nor experienced in an humble waiting for the Leadings of Truth, but follow the Maxims of the Wisdom of this World, such Children who are under their Tuition, appear to me to be in Danger of imbibing Thoughts and Apprehensions, reverse to that Meekness and Lowliness of Heart, which is necessary for all the true Followers of Christ.

Children at an Age fit for Schools, are in a time of Life which requires the patient Attention of pious People, and if we commit them to the Tuition of such, whose Minds we believe are not rightly prepared to "train them up in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord," we are in Danger of not acting the Part of faithful Parents toward them; for our Heavenly Father doth not require us to do Evil, that Good may come of it. And it is needful that we deeply examine ourselves, lest we get entangled in the Wisdom of this World, and, through wrong Apprehensions, take such Methods in Education as may prove a great Injury to the Minds of our Children.

It is a lovely Sight to behold innocent Children and when they are sent to such Schools, where their tender Minds are in imminent Danger of being led astray by Tutors who do not live a self-denying Life, or by the Conversation of such Children who do not live in Innocence, it is a Case much to be lamented.

While a pious Tutor hath the Charge of no more Children than he can take due Care of, and keeps his Authority in the Truth, the good Spirit in which he leads and governs, works on the Minds of such who are not hardened, and his Labours not only tend to bring them forward in outward Learning, but to open their Understandings with respect to the true Christian Life. But where a Person hath Charge of too many, and his Thoughts and Time are so much employed in the outward Affairs of his School, that he does not so weightily attend to the Spirit and Conduct of each Individual, as to be enabled to administer rightly to all in due Season; through such Omission, he not only suffers as to the State of his own Mind, but the Minds of the Children are in Danger of Suffering also.

To watch the Spirit of Children, to nurture them in Gospel Love, and labour to help them against that which would mar the Beauty of their Minds, is a Debt we owe them: and a faithful Performance of our Duty, not only tends to their lasting Benefit and our own Peace, but also to render their Company agreeable to us.

Instruction, thus administered, reaches the pure Witness in the Minds of such Children who are not hardened, and begets Love in them toward those who thus lead them on. But where too great a Number are committed to a Tutor, and he, through much Cumber, omits a careful Attention to the Minds of Children, there is Danger of Disorders gradually increasing amongst them, till the Effects thereof appear in their Conduct, too strong to be easily remedied.

A Care hath lived on my Mind, that more Time might be employed by Parents at Home, and by Tutors at School, in weightily attending to the Spirit and Inclinations of Children, and that we may so lead, instruct, and govern them, in this tender Part of Life, that nothing may be omitted in our Power, to help them on their Way to become the Children of our Father who is in Heaven.

Meditating on the Situation of Schools in our Provinces, my Mind hath, at Times, been affected with Sorrow; and under these Exercises it hath appeared to me, that if those who have large Estates, were faithful Stewards, and laid no Rent nor Interest, nor other Demand, higher than is consistent with universal Love; and those in lower Circumstances would, under a moderate Employ, shun unnecessary Expense, even to the smallest Article; and all unite in humbly seeking to the Lord, he would graciously instruct us, and strengthen us, to relieve the Youth from various Snares, in which many of them are entangled.

ON THE RIGHT USE OF THE LORD'S OUTWARD GIFTS.

As our Understandings are opened by the pure Light, we experience that through an inward approaching to God, the Mind is strengthened in Obedience; and that by gratifying those Desires

which are not of his begetting, those Approaches to him are obstructed, and the deceivable Spirit gains Strength.

These Truths, being as it were engraven upon our Hearts, and our everlasting Interest in Christ evidently concerned herein, we become fervently engaged, that nothing may be nourished which tends to feed Pride or Self-love in us. Thus, in pure Obedience, we are not only instructed in our Duty to God, but also in the Affairs which necessarily relate to this Life, and the Spirit of Truth which guides into all Truth, leavens the Mind with a pious Concern, that "whatsoever we do in Word or Deed, may be done in his name." Col. iii. 17.

Hence, such Buildings, Furniture, Food and Raiment, as best answer our Necessities, and are the least likely to feed that selfish Spirit which is our Enemy, are the most acceptable to us.

In this State the Mind is tender, and inwardly watchful, that the Love of Gain draw us not into any Business which may weaken our Love to our Heavenly Father, or bring unnecessary Trouble to any of his Creatures.

Thus the Way gradually opens to cease from that Spirit which craves Riches and Things fetched far; which so mixeth with the Customs of this World, and so intrudes upon the true Harmony of Life, that the right Medium of Labour is very much departed from.

And as the Minds of People are settled in a steady Concern, not to hold nor possess any Thing but what may be held consistent with the Wisdom from above, they consider what they possess as the Gift of God, and are inwardly exercised that in all Parts of their Conduct they may act agreeable to the Nature of the peaceable Government of Christ.

A little supports such a Life; and in a State truly resigned to the Lord, the Eye is single to see what outward Employ he leads into as a Means of our Subsistence, and a lively Care is maintained to hold to that without launching further.

There is a Harmony in the several Parts of this Divine Work in the Hearts of People; he who leads them to cease from those gainful Employments, carried on in that Wisdom which is from beneath, delivers also from the Desire after worldly Greatness, and reconciles the Mind to a Life so plain, that a little doth suffice.

Here the real Comforts of Life are not lessened. Moderate

Exercise, in the Way of true Wisdom, is Pleasant both to Mind and Body. Food and Raiment sufficient, though in the greatest Simplicity, are accepted with Content and Gratitude.

The mutual Love subsisting between the faithful Followers of Christ, is more pure than that Friendship which is not seasoned with Humility, how specious soever the Appearance.

Where People depart from pure Wisdom in one Case, it is often an Introduction to depart from it in many more: and thus a Spirit which seeks for outward Greatness, and leads into worldly Wisdom to attain it and support it, gets Possession of the Mind.

In beholding the customary Departure from the true Medium of Labour, and that unnecessary Toil which many go through, in supporting outward Greatness, and procuring Delicacies:

In beholding how the true Calmness of Life is changed into Hurry, and that many, by eagerly pursuing outward Treasure, are in great Danger of withering as to the inward State of the Mind:

In meditating on the Works of this Spirit, and on the Desolations it makes amongst the Professors of Christianity, I may thankfully acknowledge that I often feel pure Love beget Longings in my Heart for the Exaltation of the peaceable Kingdom of Christ, and an Engagement to Labour according to the Gift bestowed on me, for the promoting an humble, plain, temperate Way of Living: a Life where no unnecessary Cares nor Expences may encumber our Minds, nor lessen our Ability to do good; where no Desires after Riches or Greatness may lead into hard Dealing; where no Connections with worldly minded Men may abate our Love to God, nor weaken a true Zeal for Righteousness; A Life, wherein we may diligently labour for Resignedness to do and suffer whatever our Heavenly Father may allot for us, in reconciling the World to himself.

When the Prophet Isaiah had uttered his Vision, and declared that a Time was coming wherein "Swords should be beat into Ploughshares, and Spears into Pruning Hooks, and that Nation should not lift up Sword against Nation, nor learn War any more;" he immediately directs the Minds of the People to the Divine Teacher, in this remarkable Language; "O House of Jacob, come ye and let us Walk in the Light of the Lord." Isaiah ii. 5.

To wait for the Direction of this Light in all temporal as well as spiritual Concerns, appears necessary: for if in any Case we enter lightly into temporal Affairs, without feeling this Spirit of Truth to open our Way therein, and through the Love of this World proceed on, and seek for Gain by that Business or Traffic, which "is not of the Father, but of the World," we fail in our Testimony to the Purity and Peace of his Government; and get into that which is for Chastisement.

This Matter hath lain heavy on my Mind. It being evident, that a Life less humble, less simple and plain, than that which Christ leads his Sheep into, does necessarily require a Support which pure wisdom does not provide for. Hence there is no Probability of our being "a peculiar People, so zealous of good Works as to have no Fellowship with Works of Darkness," while we have Wants to supply which have their Foundation in Custom, and do not come within the Meaning of those Expressions; "your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these Things." Mat. vi. 32.

These Things which he beholds necessary for his People, he fails not to give them in his own Way, and Time: but as his Ways are above our Ways, and his Thoughts above our Thoughts, so imaginary Wants are different "from these Things which he knoweth that we have need of."

As my Meditations have been on these Things, Compassion hath filled my Heart toward my Fellow Creatures, involved in Customs, grown up in "the Wisdom of this World, which is Foolishness with God." And O that the Youth may be so thoroughly experienced in an humble Walking before the Lord, that they may be his Children, and know him to be their Refuge, their safe unfailing Refuge, through the various Dangers attending this uncertain State of Being.

If those whose Minds are redeemed from the Love of Wealth, and who are content with a plain, simple way of Living, do yet find that to conduct the Affairs of a Family, without giving Countenance to unrighteous Proceedings, or having Fellowship with Works of Darkness, the most diligent Care is necessary:

If Customs, distinguishable from universal Righteousness, and opposite to the true Self-denying Life, are now prevalent, and so mixed with Trade, and with almost every Employ, that it is

only through humble waiting on the inward Guidance of Truth that we may reasonably hope to walk safely, and support an uniform Testimony to the peaceable Government of Christ:

If this be the Case, how lamentably do they expose themselves to Temptations, who give way to the Love of Riches, conform to expensive Living, and reach forth for Gain to support Customs which our Holy Shepherd leads not into.

SERIOUS CONSIDERATIONS ON TRADE.

1758.

This Essay, hitherto unpublished, is found at the back of the folio, MS. A. and occupies pages one to four, inclusive. The following note of John Woolman's which prefaces it, throws light upon the extremes of caution which prevented entirely the publication of this Essay, and delayed others until after the author's death. This note also gives us a new date for the Essay on "Considerations on Pure Wisdom" &c., as noted in the introduction to that Essay.

"When that small piece entitled Considerations on pure wisdom &c [printed 1758] was laid before the overseers of the press. The Substance of the following twelve distinct paragraphs were formed in one Chapter, and propos^d by me to have been corrected and printed as a part of that piece. but the said Overseers, though they did not reject this Chapter, yet exprest some desire that the publication of it might at least be defered, with which I felt easie, and therefore they did not attempt to correct it." This comment was written by John Woolman in 1769.

At the end are notes "From a Surgeon's Journal," and selections which are all taken from Anthony Benezet's "Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies," &c. They are therefore not included here.

I

As it hath pleased the Divine Being to people the Earth by Inhabitants descended from one man; And as Christ commanded his disciples to preach the Gospel to distant Countries, the necessity of sometimes crossing the Seas is evident.

2

The Inhabitants of the Earth have often appeared to me as one great family consisting of various parts, divided by great waters, but united in one common Interest, that is, in living righteously according to that Light and understanding, wherewith Christ doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world.

3

While a Wilderness is improving, by Inhabitants come from a plentiful thick settled Country, to Employ some of the family in crossing the waters, to supply the new settlers, with some such necessaries as they can well pay for, while they clear Fields to raise grain, appears to be consistent with the Interest of all—

4

When Lands are so improved that with a Divine Blessing they afford food, Raiment, and all those necessaries which pertain to the Life of a humble follower of Christ; It behoves the Inhabitants to take heed that a Custom be not continued longer than the usefulness of it, and that the number of that calling who have been helpful in importing Necessaries be not greater than is consistent with pure wisdom.

5

Customs contrary to pure wisdom, which tends to change agreeable employ into a Toyl, and to involve people into many difficulties, it appears to be the duty of the Fathers in the family, to wait for strength, to labour against such customs being introduced, or encouraged amongst the Inhabitants; and that all true friends to the family so shake their hands from holding Bribes, as not to cherish any desire of gain, by fetching, or selling, those things which they believe tend to Alienate the minds of people from their truest Interest.

6

Where some have got large possessions, and by an increase of Inhabitants have power to acquire riches, if they let them at such a rate that their Tennants are necessitated in procuring their rent to labour harder or apply themselves to business more closely, than is consistent with pure wisdom, whither these monies thus obtained, are applied to promote a superfluous Trade, or any other purpose in a self pleasing will, here the true harmony of the family appears to be in danger.

7

Where two branches of the same family are each scituate on such a Soil, that with moderate labour, through the Divine Blessing, each may be supplied by their own produce with all the necessaries of life, and a large hazardous Ocean between them; for the Inhabitants of each place to live on the produce of their own land, appears most likely for them to shun unnecessary cares and labours.

8

For Brethren to Visit each other in true Love, I believe makes part of that happiness which our heavenly father intends for us in this life; but where pure Wisdom direct not our Visits, we may not suppose them truly profitable; And for man to so faithfully attend to the pure light, as to be truly acquainted with the state of his own mind, and feel that purifying power which prepares the heart to have fellowship with Christ, and with those who are redeemed from the Spirit of this world, this knowledge is to us of infinitely greater moment than the knowledge of Affairs in distant parts of this great family.

9

By giving way to a desire after delicacies, and things fetched far, many men appear to be employ'd unnecessarily; many Ships

built by much labour are lost ; many people brought to an untimely end ; much good produce buried in the Seas ; Many people busied in that which serves chiefly to please a wandering desire, who might better be employed in those Affairs which are of real service, and ease the burdens of such poor honest people, who to answer the demands of others Are often necessitated to exceed the bounds of healthful agreeable exercise.

10

Blessed are the peace makers for they shall be called the Children of GOD.

Where one in the family is injured, it appears consistent with true Brotherhood, that such who know it, take due care respecting their own behavior, and conduct, lest the love of gain should lead them into any affairs, so connected with the proceedings of him who doth the injury, as to strengthen his hands therein, make him more at ease in a wrong way, or less likely to Attend to the Righteous principle in his own mind.

11

To be well acquainted with the Affairs we are interested in, with the disposition of those with whom we have connexions, to have outward concerns within proper bounds, and in all things attend to the wisdom from above, appears most agreeable to that pious disposition in which people desire to shun doubtful disputes about property, to have their proceedings so agreeable to Righteousness, that whatsoever they do, they may do all to the Glory of God, and give none Offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of Christ.

12

Where men give way to a desire after wealth, and to obtain their ends proceed in that wisdom which is from beneath, how often does discord arise between different branches of the great family? whence great numbers of men are often seperated from tilling the Earth, and useful employ, to defend what contending

parties mutually claim as their interest; hence many are cut of in youth! and great troubles and devastations do often attend these contests; and besides those Sorrowful circumstances, the food these Armies eat, the Garments they wear, their Wages, Vessels to Transport them from place to place, and Support for the maimed, tends to increase the labour of such who fill the Earth, and to make some Employments necessary which without wars would not; here that healthful agreeable exercise, which I believe our Gracious Creator intended for us, is often changed into hurry and Toyl.

O how precious is the Spirit of peace! how desirable that state in which people feel their hearts humbly resigned to the Lord, and live under a labour of mind to do his will on Earth as it is done in heaven. Where they feel content with that true simplicity in which no wandering desires leads on to Strife, where no treasures possessed in a selfish Spirit, tends to beget ill will in other selfish men. And where true love so seasons their proceedings, that the pure witness is reached in such who are well acquainted with them.

A PLEA FOR THE POOR

1763

This Essay is inserted by John Woolman between pages 147 and 180 in MS. A, folio, immediately following the incident with the Juggler at the inn, in 1763. From a note in the manuscript Journal, A, (page 191), which gives the date upon which the
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author copied this Essay into the folio, i. e. "9 10 1769," the date of composition must be put earlier than that year. The fact that it follows the Juggler incident of 1763, and is followed immediately by Woolman's "Notes at our Yearly Meeting in
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Philida. in the 9. 1764" would strongly indicate that it was written in the winter of 1763-4. This Essay, which is perhaps the best, and has been the most frequently published and quoted, was not printed until 1793,—thirty years after it was written, and nearly twenty after its author's death. When it did appear, its purpose

was obscured and its simple directness lessened by the unfortunate change of title which the editorial committee took the liberty of making, when they called it "A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich."

Page 191 has a loose leaf pasted in, containing the interesting note referred to: "The second (6)" [paragraph] "was chiefly written some months ago, and (6) the first" [paragraph] "was
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entered in this Book like an extract from it; but now, the 9: 10: 1769, seriously looking over it, I could not be easie without entering it at large, nearly as I had wrote it at first in an unbound book." This "unbound book" is MS. B. at Swarthmore College.

A PLEA FOR THE POOR

CHAPTER I

Wealth desired for its own sake Obstructs the increase of Virtue, and large possessions in the hands of selfish men have a bad tendency, for by their means too small a number of people are employed in things usefull, and therefore some of them are necessitated to labour too hard, while others would want business to earn their Bread, were not employments invented, which having no real use, serve only to please the vain mind.

Rents set on lands are often so high, that persons who have but small substance are straitened in hiring a plantation and while Tenants are healthy, and prosperous in business, they often find Occasion to labour harder than was intended by our Gracious Creator.

Oxen & Horses are often seen at work, when through Heat & too much labour, their eyes, and the emotion of their Bodies manifest that they are oppressed. Their loads in Wagons are frequently so heavy, that when weary with halling it far, their drivers find occasion in going up Hills, or through mire, to raise their spirits by whipping to get forward. Many poor people are so thronged in their business, that it is difficult for them to provide Shelter sutable for their animals, in great storms. These things are common when in health; but through Sickness and inability to labour through loss of Creatures, and miscarriage in

business, many are straitened; & much of their increase goes to pay rent or Interest, that they have not wherewith to hire so much as their case requires. Hence one poor woman in attending on her Children, providing for her family, & helping the sick, does as much business as would for the time be Sutable Employment for two or three, and honest persons are often straitened to give their children sutable learning.

The mony which the wealthy receive from the poor, who do more than a proper share of business in raising it, is frequently paid to other poor people for doing business which is foreign to the true use of things.

Men who have large possessions, & live in the spirit of Charity, who carefully inspect the circumstance of those who occupy their Estates, and, regardless of the Customs of the times, regulate their demands agreeably to Universal Love: these by being Righteous on a principle, do good to the poor without placing it as an act of bounty. Their Example in avoiding superfluities tends to incite others to moderation; their goodness, in not exacting what the Laws or Customs would support them in, tends to open the Channel to moderate Labour in useful Affairs, and to discourage those branches of business which have not their foundation in true wisdom.

To be busied in that which is but vanity, & serves only to please the unstable mind, tends to an alliance with those who promote that vanity, and is a snare in which many poor tradesmen are entangled.

To be employed in things connected with Virtue, is most agreeable with the Character and Inclination of an honest man.

While industrious frugal people are borne down with poverty, and oppressed with too much labour in useful things, the way to apply mony, without promoting pride and Vanity, remains open to such who truly Sympathize with them in their various Difficulties.

CHAPTER II

The Creator of the earth is the owner of it. He gave us being thereon, and our nature requires nourishment, which is the produce of it. As he is kind and merciful we, as his creatures, while we live answerable to the design of our creation, are

so far Entitled to a convenient Subsistence, that no man may justly deprive us of it.

By the agreements and Contracts of Our Fathers and predecessors, and by doings and proceedings of our own, some claim a much greater share of this world than others: and while those possessions are Faithfully Improved to the good of the whole, it consists with Equity. But he who with a view to self-exaltation, causeth some with their domestick Animals to labour immoderately, and, with the monys arising to him therefrom, employs others in the Luxuries of Life, Acts contrary to the Gracious designs of Him who is the true owner of the Earth, nor can any possessions, either acquired or derived from Ancestors, justify such conduct.

Goodness Remains to be goodness, and the direction of pure wisdom is obligatory on all Reasonable Creatures: that Laws and Customs are no further a Standard for our proceedings than as their Foundation is on Universal Righteousness.

Though the poor Occupy our Estates by a bargain, to which they in their poor Circumstance agreed, and we ask even less than a punctual fulfilling of their agreement; yet if our views are to lay up riches, or to live in conformity to customs which have not their Foundation in the Truth, and our demands are such as requires greater Toyl, or application to business in them, than is Consistent with pure Love, we invade their rights as Inhabitants of that World, of which a good and gracious God is proprietor, under whom we are Tennants.

Were all superfluities, and the desire of outward greatness laid aside, and the right use of things universally attended to, Such a number of people might be employed in things usefull, as that moderate labour, with the Blessing of Heaven, would answer all good purposes relating to people and their Animals, and a Sufficient number have time to attend to proper Affairs of Civil Society.

CHAPTER III.

While our Strength and Spirits are lively, we go cheerfully through business. Either too much or too little Action is tiresome, but a right portion is healthfull to our bodies, and agreeable to an honest mind.

Where men have great Estates, they stand in a place of Trust. To have it in their power, without difficulty, to live in that fashion which occasions much labour, and at the same time confine themselves to that use of things Prescribed by our Redeemer, and Confirmed by his Example, and the Examples of many who lived in the Early ages of the Christian Church, that they may more Extensively relieve objects of Charity;—for men possessed of great Estates to live thus, requires close attention to *Divine love*.

Our Gracious Creator cares & provides for all his Creatures. His tender mercies are over all his works & so far as his Love influences Our minds, so far we become interested in his workmanship, and feel a desire to take hold of every opportunity to lessen the distresses of the Afflicted, & increase the Happiness of the Creation. Here we have a prospect of one common interest from which our own is inseparable, that to turn all the treasures we possess in to the Channel of Universal Love, becomes the business of our lives.

Men of large estates, whose hearts are thus enlarged, are like Fathers to the poor, and in looking over their Brethren in distressed circumstances, and considering their own more easie condition, they find a Field for humble meditation, & feel the strength of those obligations they are under to be kind and tender-hearted toward them. Poor men eased of their burthens, and released from too close an application to business, are at Liberty to hire others to their assistance, to provide well for their Animals, and find time to perform those duties amongst their Acquaintance, which belong to a well guided Social life.

When these reflect on the opportunity those had to oppress them, & consider the goodness of their conduct, they behold it Lovely, & consistent with brotherhood. And as the man whose mind is conformed to Universal Love, hath his Trust Settled in God, and finds a firm Foundation to Stand on in any Changes or Revolutions that happen amongst men; so also, the goodness of his conduct tends to spread a kind, benevolent disposition in the world.

CHAPTER IV.

Our Blessed Redeemer, in directing us how to conduct ourselves one towards another, appeals to our own feeling: Whatso-

ever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. Now where such live in fulness on the labour of others, who have never had experience of hard labour themselves, there is often a danger of their not having a right feeling of the Labourer's condition, and therefore of being disqualified to judge candidly in their case, not knowing what they themselves would desire, were they to Labour hard from one year to another, to Raise the Necessaries of Life, and to pay large rents besides. It is good for those who live in fulness, to labour for tenderness of heart. To improve every opportunity of being acquainted with the hardships and fatigues of those who labour for their living, and think Seriously with themselves, Am I influenced with true Charity in fixing all my demands? Have I no desire to support myself in Expensive Customs, because my Acquaintances live in those customs? Were I to Labour as they do, toward supporting them and their Children in a Station like mine, in such Sort as they and their Children labour for us, could I not on such a Change, before I entered into Agreements of Rent or Interest, name some costly articles now used by me, or in my family, which have no real use in them, the Expense whereof might be lessened? and should I not, in such case, Strongly desire the disuse of those needless expenses that, less answering their way of life, the terms might be easier to me?

If a wealthy man on Serious reflection, finds a witness in his own Conscience, that there are some Expenses which he indulgeth himself in, that are in conformity to Custom which might be omitted, consistent with the true design of living; and which, was he to Change places with those who Occupy his Estate, he would desire to be discontinued by them; whoever are thus awakened to their feeling, will necessarily find the injunction binding on them: "Do thou even so to them."

Divine love imposeth no Rigorous or unreasonable commands; but graciously points out the spirit of Brotherhood and way to happiness, in attaining to which it is necessary that we go forth out of all yt is Selfish. ["Beloved, now are we the Sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as he is." *He, Our Redeemer* is the perfection of pure Love, and

when by the Operation of his Spirit upon us, we are cleansed throughout, and our Souls so united to Him that we love our fellow creatures as He Loveth us, we there see evidently that in this inward conformity to Divine Goodness, stands the true happiness of Intelligent Creatures.]

CHAPTER V.

To pass through a Series of hardships, and to languish under oppression, brings people to a certain knowledge of these things. To enforce the duty of tenderness to the poor, the Inspired Law Giver referred the Children of Israel to their own past experience; "Ye know the heart of a Stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." He who hath been a Stranger amongst unkind people, or under their government who were hard-hearted, knows how it feels: but a person who hath never felt the weight of misapplied power, comes not to this knowledge, but by an inward tenderness, in which the heart is prepared to Sympathize with others.

We may reflect on the Condition of a poor Innocent man who by his labour, contributes towards Supporting one of his own species more wealthy than himself, on whom the Rich man, from a desire after wealth & Luxuries, lays heavy burthens. When this Labourer looks over the means of his heavy load, and considers that this great Toyl and fatigue is laid on him to support that which hath no foundation in pure wisdom, we may well Suppose that there ariseth an uneasiness in his mind toward those who might without any inconvenience deal more favourably with him. When he considers that by his Industry his fellow creature is Benefitted, & sees that this Man who hath much Wealth, is not satisfied with being Supported in a plain way, but to gratify a wrong desire, and Conform to wrong Customs, increaseth to an extream the Labours of those who Occupy his Estate; we may reasonably judge, that he will think himself unkindly used. When he Considers that the proceedings of the wealthy are agreeable to the Customs of the Times, and sees no means of redress in this world, how would the Inward Sighing of this innocent person

Ascend to the throne of that Great, Good Being, who Created us all, and hath a constant care over his Creatures.

By Candidly considering these things, we may have some sense of the condition of Innocent people overloaded by the wealthy. But he who Toyls one year after another to furnish others with wealth & Superfluities; who Labours and thinks, and thinks and Labours, until by overmuch Labour he is wearied & Oppressed: such an one understands the meaning of that language, "Ye know the HEART of a strangers, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

As many at this day who know not the heart of a Stranger, indulge themselves in ways of life which occasion more Labour in the World than Infinite Goodness intends for man, & yet are compassionate toward such in distress who come directly under their Observation; were these to Change circumstances awhile with some who labour for them; were they to pass regularly through the means of knowing the heart of a Stranger, and come to a feeling knowledge of the streights and hardships which many poor Innocent people pass through in a hidden obscure life; Were these who now fare Sumptuously every day, to act the other part of the Scene, till seven times had passed over them, and return again to their former Estate; I believe many of them would embrace a way of life less Expensive, & lighten the heavy burthens of Some who now labour out of their Sight to Support them, and pass through Streights with which they are but little acquainted.

To see our fellow-creatures under difficulties, to which we are in no degree accessory, tends to awaken tenderness in the minds of all Reasonable people, but if we consider the Condition of those who are depressed in answering our demand, who labour out of our Sight, and are often toying for us while we pass our time in fullness; If we consider that much less than we demand would Supply us with all things really needfull; what heart will not relent, or what reasonable man can refrain from mitigating that grief which he himself is the cause of, when he may do it without inconvenience? I shall conclude with the words of Exekiel the prophet.—"Seemeth it a small—" [thing unto you to have eaten up the good pasture, but ye must tread down the residue of your pastures?]

CHAPTER VI.

People much spent with labour often take strong liquor to revive them. That portion of the Necessaries of life answerable to a Days Labour is such, that those who support their Families by Day labour, find Occasion to Labour hard, and many of them think strong Drink a necessary part of their Entertainment.

Were there more men usefully employed, and fewer who eat Bread as a reward for Doing that which is not usefull, then food and raiment would, on a reasonable Estimate, be more in proportion to Labour than it is at present. For if four men working Eight Hours in a day, raise & clean three hundred Bushels of Grain, or twelve hundred pounds of flax, with Sixty Days Labour, then five men working Six hours and twenty four Minutes in a Day would at that rate do the same business in the same time.¹ [What labouring men buy, being dear, their wages are necessarily high, and thence a large portion of Labour expected of them. Were more men Employed in preparing the real necessities of life, these necessities being more plenty, might be sold cheaper, and labouring men having them at a low rate might ask less for a days Labour or a Certain piece of Work, & they working for low wages, their Employers might be satisfied with having less done in a day or a Week.]

In proceeding agreeably to Sound Wisdom, a small portion of daily labour might suffice to keep a proper Stream gently cir-

¹ Marginal note by J. W. "Quest". If 4 men, Each working 8 hours a day, raise 200 Bushels of Rie in 60 Days, how many hours must 5 men work to do the Same Business in the same time?

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 4 \\
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Ans^r.

h. m.
6: 24

culating through all the chanel of Society; & this portion of labour might be so divided, and taken in the most advantageous parts of the day, that people would not have that plea for the use of Strong liquors, which they have at present. The quantity Rum and Spirits imported and made in these colonies is great; nor can so many thousand Hogsheads of this liquor be drunk every year in our Country, without having a powerful effect on our manners. When people are spent with action, and take these liquors, not only as a refreshment from past Labours, but to Support them to go on without Nature having a Sufficient time to recruit by resting, it gradually turns them from that calmness of thought which tends those who steadily apply their hearts to true Wisdom. The Spirits scattered by too much bodily motion in the heat, and again revived by Strong drink, that this makes a person unfit for serious thinking & Divine meditation, I suppose will not be denied: And as multitudes of people are in this practice, who do not take so much as to hinder them from managing their outward Affairs, this custom requires serious thought, and is strongly Supported. But as through Divine goodness I have found that there is a more quiet, Calm, and happy way intended for us to walk in, I am engaged to Express what I feel in my heart concerning it.

As cherishing the spirit of Love and Meekness belongs to the Family of Jesus Christ, to avoid those things which we know work against it, is an indispensable duty. Every degree of Luxury, of what kind soever, and every demand for money inconsistent with Divine order, hath some connexion with unnecessary Labour. By too much Labour the spirits are Exhausted & people crave help from Strong Drink; and the frequent use of Strong Drink works in opposition to the Celestial Influence on the mind.

This is plain, when men take so much as to Suspend the use of their reason: and though there are degrees of this opposition, and a man quite drunk may be furthest removed from that frame of mind in which God is acceptably worshiped; yet a person being often near spent with too much Action, and revived by Spirituous Liquors without being quite Drunk, inures himself to that which is a less degree of the same thing, and which by continuance does necessarily hurt both mind and body. There is in the nature of people some degree of likeness with that food and air to which they from their youth have been accustomed. This

frequently appears in such who by a Separation from their Native air and usual diet, grow weak & unhealthy for want of them. Nor is it Reasonable to Suppose, that so many thousand Hogsheads of this Fiery Liquor can be drunk by us every year, and the practice continued from Age to Age, without Altering in some degree the natures of men, & rendering their minds less apt to receive the pure Truth in the Love of it.

As many who manifest some regard to Piety, do yet in some degree conform to those ways of living, & of collecting wealth which increaseth Labour beyond the Bounds fixed by Divine Wisdom; my desire is, that they may so consider the Connexion of things, as to take heed lest by Exacting of poor men more than is consistent with Universal Righteousness, they promote that by their Conduct, which in words they speak against.

To Treasure up wealth for another generation, by means of the immoderate Labour of Such who in some measure depend upon us, is doing evil at present, without knowing but that our wealth, thus gathered, may be applied to evil purposes when we are gone. To labour too hard, or cause others to do so, that we may live conformable to Customs which Christ, our Redeemer Contradicted by his Example in the days of his Flesh, and which are contrary to Divine Order, is to manure a Soyl for propagating an evil seed in the Earth.

Such who enter deep into these Considerations, and live under the weight of them, will feel these things so heavy, and their ill Effects so Extensive, that the necessity of attending Singly to Divine Wisdom will be evident, thereby to be directed and Supported in the right use of things, in Oposition to the Customs of the times, and supported to bear patiently the reproaches attending Singularity.

To Conform a little to a wrong way, Strengthens the hands of Such who carry wrong Customs to their utmost extent; and the more a person appears to be virtuous and Heavenly minded, the more powerfully does his conformity operate in favour of evil doers. Lay aside the profession of a Pious Life, and people expect little or no instruction from the Example; but while we profess in all cases to live in Constant Oposition to that which is contrary to Universal Righteousness, what Expressions are equal to the Subject or what Language is Sufficient to set forth the Strength

of those Obligations we are under to beware lest by our example we lead others wrong?

CHAPTER VII.

"This Kind goeth not out but by Prayer."

In our care for our Children should we give way to partiality in things relating to what may be when we are gone, yet after Death, we cannot look on partiality with pleasure.

If by our wealth we make them great, without a full persuasion that we could not bestow it better, & thus give them power to deal hardly with others more virtuous than they; it can after death, give us no more satisfaction than if by this treasure we had raised these others above our own, and given them power to oppress ours.

Did a man possess as much good land as would well suffice for twenty industrious, frugal people, and Expecting that he was lawful heir to it, intended to give this great Estate to his Children, but found on a search into the Title, that one half of this Estate was the undoubted property of a number of poor orphans, who as to virtue and understanding, to him appeared as hopeful as his own children: This discovery would give him an Opportunity to consider whether he was attached to any interest, distinct from the Interest of those children.

Some of us have Estates Sufficient for our Children, and as many more, to live upon, did they all employ their time in useful business, and live in that plainness Consistent with the Character of True disciples of Christ: and have no reason to believe that our Children after us will apply them to Benevolent purposes more than some poor Children whom we are acquainted with would, if they had them; and yet did we believe that after our decease these Estates would go Equally between our Children, & an equal number of those poor Children it would be likely to give us uneasiness. This may show to a thoughtful person that to be redeemed from all the remains of Selfishness, to have an universal regard to our fellow Creatures, and Love them as our Heavenly Father loves them, we must Constantly attend to the Influence of his Spirit.

When our hearts are enlarged to Contemplate the Nature of this Divine Love, we behold it Harmonious: but if we attentively consider that moving of Selfishness, which would make us uneasy at the Apprehension of that which is in itself reasonable, and which being separated from all previous conceptions & Expectations will appear so we may see an inconsistency in it: for the subject of such uneasiness is in future, and would not affect our children till we were removed into that state of Being where there is no possibility of our taking delight in any thing contrary to the pure Principle of Universal Love.

As that Natural desire of Superiority in us being given way to extends to such of our favourites who we expect will Succeed us, & as the Grasping after wealth and power for them, adds greatly to the burthens of the poor, and increaseth the evil of covetousness in this age, I have often desired in Secret that in looking toward posterity, we may remember the purity of that rest which is prepared for the Lord's people, the impossibility of our taking pleasure in any thing distinguishable from Universal Righteousness, and how vain and weak a thing it is to give wealth and power to those who appear unlikely to apply it to a general good when we are gone.

As Christians all we possess are the gifts of God. Now in distributing it to others we act as his Steward, and it becomes our Station to act agreeable to that Divine Wisdom which he Graciously gives to his Servants.

If the Steward of a great Family, from a selfish attachment to particulars, takes that with which he is entrusted, and bestows it lavishly on some, to the injury of others, and to the damage of him who employs him, he disunites himself, and becomes unworthy of that Office.

The true felicity of man in this life, & that which is to come, is in being inwardly united to the fountain of Universal Love and Bliss. When we provide for posterity, and make Settlements which will not take Effect till after we are centred in another state of Being, if we therein Act contrary to Universal Love & Righteousness, Such Conduct must arise from a false, selfish pleasure in directing a thing to be done wrong in which it will be Impossible for us to take pleasure at the time when our directions are put in Execution. For if we after such settlement, and when

too late for an alteration, Attain to that purified State which our Redeemer prayed his Father that his people might attain to, of being united to the Father, and the Son; a Sincere repentance for all things done in a Will Separate from Universal Love must precede this inward Sanctification; And though in such depth of Repentance and Reconciliation, all Sins are forgiven, & Sorrows removed, that our misdeeds heretofore done could no longer afflict us, yet our partial determinations in favour of those whom we loved in a selfish love, could not afford us pleasure. And if after such selfish settlements, our wills continue to stand in Opposition to the Fountain of Universal Light and Love, there will be an unpassable Gulf between the Soul and True Felicity nor can anything heretofore done in this Separate will afford us pleasure.

CHAPTER VIII.

To Labour for an Establishment in Divine Love, where the mind is disentangled from the power of Darkness, is the Great Business of man's life. Collecting of riches, covering the Body with fine wrought costly apparel, and having magnificent furniture, Operates against Universal Love, and tends to feed self; so that to desire these things belongs not to the Children of the Light.

He who sent Ravens to feed Elijah in the wilderness, and increased the poor widow's small remains of meal and Oil, is now as attentive to the necessities of his people as ever.

When he numbers us with his people and saith, "Ye are my sons and daughters," no greater happiness can be desired by them who know how Gracious a Father he is.

The greater part of the Necessaries of life, are so far perishable, that each Generation hath occasion to labour for them. And when we look toward a Succeeding age, with a mind influenced by Universal Love, we endeavour to exempt some from those cares which necessarily relate to this life, and give them power to oppress others, but desire that they may all be the Lord's children, and live in that Humility and Order becoming His Family. Our hearts being thus opened & enlarged, we feel content in a use of things as foreign to Luxury and Grandeur as that which our Redeemer laid down as a pattern.

By desiring wealth for the power and distinction it gives, and gathering it on this motive, a person may properly be called a rich man, whose mind is moved by a draught distinguishable from the drawings of the Father, and cannot be united to the Heavenly Society where God is the strength of their Life, before he is delivered from this contrary drawing.

"It is easier," saith our Saviour, "for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Here our Lord uses an instructive Similitude; for as a camel considered under that character, cannot pass through a needle's eye, so a man who trusteth in riches, and holds them for the sake of the power & distinction attending them, cannot, in that spirit, enter into the Kingdom. Now every part of a camel may be so reduced as to pass through a hole as small as a needle's Eye; yet such is the bulk of the Creature, and the hardness of its Bones and Teeth, that it could not be compleated without much labour; so man must cease from that spirit which craves riches, & be reduced into another disposition, before he inherits the Kingdom, as effectually as a Camel must cease from the form of a Camel, in passing through the eye of a needle.

When our Saviour said to the rich youth, "Go sell that thou hast, & give to the poor;" though undoubtedly it was his duty to do so, yet to confine this of selling all as a duty on every true Christian, would be to limit the Holy One.

Obedient children who are intrusted with much outward substance, wait for wisdom to dispose of it agreeably to His Will, "in whom the fatherless find mercy." It may not be the duty of every one, to commit at once their substance to other hands; but rather from time to time, to look round amongst the numerous branches of the great family, as His Stewards who said, "Leave thy Fatherless Children I will preserve them alive & let thy widows trust in me." But as Disciples of Christ, however entrusted with much goods, they may not conform to Sumptuous or Luxurious living. [For if possessing great Treasures had been a sufficient reason to make a fine Show in the World, then Christ our Lord, who had an unfailing Store-house, & in a way surpassing the Comon operations of nature, supplied thousands of people with Food, would not have lived in so much plainness.

What we equitably possess, is a gift from God to us; but by

the Son, all Things were Created; now He who forms things out of Nothing, who Creates, & having Created, doth possess, is more truly Rich than he who possesseth by receiving Gifts from another.

If depth of knowledge and a high Title had been Sufficient reasons to make a splendid show, he would have made it: He told the woman of Samaria sundry things relative to her past Life; made mention of the decease of Lazarus, & answered the Scribe who accounted him a Blasphemer without information; & having the Spirit without measure, knew what was in man.

The Title of Lord He owned, nor was it ever more justly given to any, that in Riches & Wisdom & Greatness, there was none on Earth equal to Him,] & as he lived in perfect plainness & Simplicity, the greatest in his Family cannot by virtue of their Station, claim a right to live in worldly grandeur, without contradicting his Doctrine who said "It is enough for the Disciple to be as his Master."

CHAPTER IX.

When our eyes are so single as to discern the selfish spirit clearly, we behold it the greatest of all Tyrants. Many thousand Innocent people under some of the Roman Emperors being confirmed in the truth of Christ's religion, from the powerful effects of His Holy Spirit upon them, and Scrupling to conform to Heathenish Rites, were therefore, by various kinds of Cruel & Lingering Torments put to Death, as is largely set forth by Eusebius.

Now if we single out Domitian, Nero, or any other of these persecuting Emperors, the man though terrible in his time, Will appear a Tyrant of small consequence, compared with the Selfish Spirit. For though his bounds were large, yet a great part of the world was out of his reach. And though he grievously afflicted the Bodies of those Innocent people, yet the minds of many were Divinely Supported in their greatest Agonies; & being Faithfull unto Death, they were delivered from his Tyranny. His reign, though cruel for a time, was soon over and he considered in his greatest pomp, appears to have been a Slave to the Selfish Spirit. Thus Tyranny as applied to a man, rises up and is soon near an

end. But if we consider the numerous Oppressions in many States, & the Calamities occasioned by Nation contending with Nation, in various parts and ages of the world, and remember that Selfishness hath been the Original Cause of them all; If we consider that those who are finally possessed with this Selfish Spirit, not only Afflict others, but are afflicted themselves, and have no real quietness in this life, nor in futurity, but according to the Saying of Christ, have their portion in that uneasie condition, "where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched:" [Under all these Circumstances, how Terrible does this Selfishness appear?] If we consider the havock that is made in this age, & how numbers of people are hurried on, Striving to Collect Treasures to please that mind which wanders from perfect resignedness, and in that wisdom which is foolishness with God, are perverting the true use of things, Labouring as in the Fire, Contending with one another, even unto Blood, and Exerting their power to support ways of living, foreign to the life of one wholly Crucified to the world:

If we consider what great numbers of people are Employed in different Kingdoms preparing the materials of war, and the Labour & Toyl of armies set apart for protecting their respective Territories from the Incursions of others, and the Extensive miseries which attend their Engagements: While many of those who Till the land, and are Employed in other useful things: in Supporting themselves, Supporting those Employed in Military Affairs, and some who own the soil, have great hardships to encounter through too much Labour. While others in several kingdoms are busied in fetching men to help Labour from distant parts of the World, to spend the remainder of their lives in the uncomfortable Condition of Slaves, and that Self is at the bottom of these proceedings. Amidst all this Confusion and these Scenes of Sorrow and distress, can we remember the Prince of Peace, Remember that we are his Disciples, & Remember that Example of Humility and plainness which he set for us, without feeling an earnest desire to be disentangled from everything connected with selfish customs, in Food, in Raiment, in Houses, and all things else? That being of Christ's family, and walking as he walked, we may Stand in that uprightness wherein man was first made, and have no fellowship with those Inventions which men in their fallen wisdom have sought out.

In the selfish spirit standeth Idolatry. Did our blessed Redeemer enable his family to endure great reproaches, and suffer cruel torments even unto death for their testimony against the idolatry of those times, and can we behold the prevalence of Idolatry, though under a different appearance without being jealous over ourselves lest we unwarily join in it?

Those faithful Martyrs refused to cast incense into the fire, though by doing it, they might have escaped a cruel death. Casting sweet-scented matter into the fire to make a comfortable smell, this considered separate from all circumstances, would appear to be of small consequence: but as they would thereby have signified their approbation of Idolatry, it was necessarily refused by the faithful. Nor can we, in any degree depart from pure universal Righteousness, and publicly continue in that which is not agreeable to the Truth, without strengthening the hands of the unrighteous, and doing that which in the nature of the thing is like offering incense to an Idol.

Origen, a primitive Christian, it is reported of him, that in a time of unwatchfulness, being under great difficulty, he took incense into his hand, and a certain heathen to forward the work took hold of his hand and Cast the incense into the fire on the Altar, and that through thus far complying, he was released from his outward trouble, but afterward greatly bewailed his condition as one fallen from a good estate to that which was worse.

Thus it appears that a small degree of deliberate compliance with that which is wrong is very dangerous, and the case of Origen carries in it an Admonition worthy of our Notice.

CHAPTER X.

"Are not two Sparrows sold for a Farthing, and one of them shall not fall to the Ground without your Father."

The way of Carrying on Wars, common in the world, is so far distinguishable from the purity of Christ's Religion, that many scruple to joyn in them. Those who are so redeemed from the Love of the World, as to possess nothing in a Selfish Spirit,

their "Life is hid with Christ in God," and these he preserves in resignedness, even in times of Commotion.

As they possess nothing but what pertains to His family, anxious thoughts about wealth or dominion hath little or nothing in them to work upon, and they learn contentment in being disposed of according to His Will, who being Omnipotent, and always mindful of his Children, causeth all things to work for their good. But where that spirit works which loves Riches; works, & in its working gathers wealth, and cleaves to customs which have their Root in self pleasing. This Spirit thus separating from Universal Love, seeks help from that power which stands in the Separation, and whatever name it hath, it still desireth to defend the Treasures thus gotten. This is like a Chain, where the end of one link encloses the end of another. The rising up of a desire to obtain wealth is the beginning. This desire being cherished moves to action, and riches thus gotten please self and while self hath a life in them it desires to have them defended.

Wealth is attended with Power, by which Bargains and proceedings contrary to Universal Righteousness are Supported, and here Oppression, carried on with worldly policy & order, cloathes itself with the name of Justice, and becomes like a seed of Discord in the soyl: and as this spirit which wanders from the pure Habitation prevails, so the seed of War Swells & Sprouts and grows & becomes Strong, till much fruit are ripened. Thus cometh the Harvest spoken of by the prophet, which "is a Heap, in the Day of Grief & of desperate Sorrow."

Oh! that we who declare against wars, and Acknowledge our trust to be in God only, may walk in the Light, and therein examine our Foundation & motives in holding great Estates: May we look upon our Treasures, and the furniture of our Houses, and the Garments in which we array ourselves, and try whether the seeds of war have any nourishment in these our possessions, or not. Holding Treasures in the Self pleasing Spirit is a Strong plant, the fruit whereof ripens fast.

A day of outward Distress is coming, and Divine Love calls to prepare for it. Harken then, O ye Children who have known the Light, and come forth! Leave every thing which our Lord Jesus Christ does not own. Think not his pattern too plain or

too coarse for you. Think not a Small portion in this life too little: but let us live in His Spirit, & walk as he walked, and he will preserve us in the greatest Troubles.

CHAPTER XI.

"The Heaven, even the Heavens are the Lord's; but the Earth hath he given to the children of men." Psal. 115:16.

As Servants of God, what Land or Estates we hold, we hold under him as his gifts; and in applying the profits, it is our duty to act consistently with the Design of Our Benefactor. Imperfect men may give on motives of Misguided Affection, but Perfect Wisdom & Goodness gives agreeable to his own Nature; nor is this gift absolute, but conditional, for us to occupy as dutiful Children, and not otherwise; for he alone is the true proprietor. "The World," saith He, "is mine, and the fulness thereof." Psal. xxiv. 1.

The Inspired Law giver directed that such of the Israelites as sold their Inheritance, should sell it for a term only; and that they or their Children should again enjoy it in the year of Jubilee, settled on every Fiftieth year. "The land shall not be sold for ever; for the Land is mine, saith the Lord, for ye are Strangers, and Sojourners with me." Levit. xxv. 23. The design of which was to prevent the Rich from Oppressing the poor, by too much engrossing the Land. And Our Blessed Redeemer said, "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one Tittle shall in no wise pass from the Law till all be fulfilled."

Where Divine love takes place in the Hearts of any people, and they steadily act on a principle of Universal Righteousness, there the true intent of the Law is fulfilled, though their outward modes of proceeding may be distinguishable from one another: But where men are possessed by that Spirit hinted at by the Prophet, and looking over their wealth, say in their hearts, "Have we not taken to us Horns by our own Strength?" Here they deviate from the Divine Law, and do not account their possessions so strictly God's, nor the weak & poor entitled to so much of the increase thereof, but that they may indulge their desires

in conforming to worldly pomp. And thus where House is joined to House, and Field laid to Field, till there is no place, and the poor are thereby straitened; though this be done by Bargain & Purchase, yet so far as it Stands distinguished from Universal Love, so far that WO, prefixed by the Prophet will accompany their proceedings.¹

As He who first formed the Earth out of nothing was then the true Proprietor of it, so He still remains; and though he hath given it to the Children of men, so that multitudes of people have had sustenance from it, while they continued here, yet he hath never Aliened it, but his Right to give is as good as the first, nor can any apply the increase of their possessions contrary to Universal Love: nor dispose of Lands in a way which they know tends to Exalt some, by Oppressing others, without being justly chargeable with Usurpation.

CHAPTER XII.

If we count back one hundred & Fifty years, and compare the Inhabitants of Great Britain with the Natives of North America on the like Compass of ground, the Natives I suppose, would bear a small proportion to the others. On the discovery of this fertile Continent, many of those thick settled Inhabitants coming over, the Natives generally treated them kindly, at the first and as those brought Iron Tools, and a Variety of things convenient for man's Use, these gladly embraced the Oportunity of Traffick, and encouraged those foreigners to settle. I speak only of Improvements made peaceably.

Thus our Gracious Father, who at the same time beholds the scituation of all His Creatures, hath opened a way to come from a thick settled Land, and given us some room in this. Now if

¹ Woolman here has a marginal note—"Let this be left out," referring to the following paragraph: "When God promised the Land of Canaan to Abraham, He said; To thee will I give it & to thy seed forever." [Gen. XIII. 15.] To Jacob He said, The Land which I gave Abraham and Isaac, to thee will I give it, & to thy Seed after thee will I give the Land. [Gen. XXXV. 12.] The way of Expressing is here very instructive. The Lord speaks of Giving as a thing doing & to be done, & not as a thing finished. In rehearsing to Jacob the Gifts He made to Abraham and Isaac, He mentions the same Land as His own, and though He promiseth it to Israel, He still retains the property in Himself to give to Others in futurity: "To thy seed after thee will I give the Land." MS. A., p. 172.

we attentively consider the turning of God's hand, in thus far giving us room on this Continent, and that the offspring of those antient possessors of the Country, [in whose eyes we appear as new comers,] are yet owners and Inhabiters of the Land adjoining to us; And that their way of life, requiring much room, hath been transmitted to them from their predecessors, and probably settled by the Customs of a great many ages: under these considerations, we may see the Necessity of Cultivating the Lands already Obtained of them, and Applying the increase consistant with true wisdom, so as to accommodate the greatest number of people it is capable of, before we have any Right to plead, as members of the one great Family, the Equity of their Assigning to us more of their possessions, and living in a way requiring less room.

Did we all walk as became the followers of our Blessed Saviour, were all the fruits of our Country retained in it, which are sent abroad in return for such Strong drink, such costly Array, and other Luxuries which we should then have no use for; and the Labour & Expense of Importing & Exporting applied to Husbandry and Useful Trades, a much greater number of people than now reside here, might with the Divine Blessing live Comfortably on the Lands already granted us by those Antient possessors of the Country.

If we Faithfully serve God who has given us some room on this Land, I believe He will make some of us useful amongst them, both in publishing the Doctrines of his Son our Saviour, Jesus Christ, & in pointing out to them the advantages of Replenishing the Earth & subduing it.

Some I expect will be careful for such poor people abroad, who earn their Bread in preparing & trading in those things, which we as true Disciples, living in a plainness like our Heavenly Pattern, should have no use for. But laying aside all Superfluities & Luxuries, while people are so much thicker Settled in some parts than in others, a Trade in some Serviceable Articles may be to mutual advantage, and carried on with much more regularity & satisfaction to a Sincere Christian than the Trade now generally is.

One person in Society continuing to live contrary to true Wisdom, commonly draws others into connexion with him, and

where these embrace the way this first hath Chosen, their proceedings are like a wild Vine, which springing from a Single Seed, & growing strong the branches extend, and their little twineing holders twists round all herbs and boughs of Trees where they reach, and are so braced and locked in, that without much labour or great Strength they are not disentangled.

Thus these Customs, small in their beginning, as they increase they promote business & traffic, and many depend on them for a living. But as it is evident that all business which hath not its Foundation in true Wisdom, is unbecoming a Faithful follower of Christ, who Loves God, not only with all his Heart, but with all his Strength & Ability to Labour and act in the world. And as the Lord is able, & will support those whose Hearts are perfect towards him, in a way agreeable to his unerring Wisdom, it becomes us to meditate on the privileges of His Children, To remember that where the Spirit of the Lord is there is Liberty, & that in joining to Customs which we know are wrong, there is a departing from the purity of his Government, and a certain degree of Alienation from Him.

To lay aside Curious costly Attire, and use that only which is plain & Serviceable; To cease from all superfluities, & too much strong drink, are agreeable to the Doctrine of our Blessed Redeemer, and if in the Integrity of our Hearts we do so, we in some degree contribute towards lessening that business which hath its foundation in a wrong spirit, and as some well inclined people are entangled in such business, and at times have a desire of being freed from it, our ceasing from these things may be made helpful to them: and though for a time their business fail, yet, if they humbly ask wisdom of God, and are truly resigned to him, he will not fail them, nor forsake them.

He who Created the Earth, & hath provided Sustenance for Millions of people in past ages, is now as attentive to the necessities of his Children as ever. To press forward toward perfection is our Duty, & if herein we lessen some business, by which some poor people earn their Bread, the Lord who calls to cease from these things, will take care of those whose business fails by it if they sincerely seek to Him.

If the Connexions we have with the Inhabitants of these provinces, and our Interest consider'd as distinct from others

engage us to promote plain living in order to enrich our own Country, Though a plain life is in itself best, yet by living plain in a selfish spirit, we advance not forward in true Religion.

Divine Love which enlarges the Heart toward mankind Universally, is that alone which can rightly stop every Corrupt Stream, and open those Channels of Business & Commerce, where nothing runs that is not pure, and so establish our goings, that when in our Labour we Meditate on the Universal Love of God, & the Harmony of Holy Angels, This Serenity of our minds may never be Clouded in remembering that some part of our Employment tends to Support Customs which have their foundation in the Self Seeking Spirit.

CHAPTER XIII.

While our minds are prepossessed in favour of Customs distinguishable from perfect purity, we are in danger of not attending with singleness to that Light which opens to our view the nature of Universal Righteousness.

In the affairs of a thick settled Country are variety of Useful Employments, besides tilling the Earth: that for some men to have no more Land than is necessary to build on, and to answer the Occasions relative to the Family may consist with Brotherhood: & from the various gifts which God hath bestowed on those employ'd in Husbandry, for some to possess, & occupy much more than others, may likewise. But where any on the Strength of their possessions, demands such Rent or Interest as necessitates those who hire of them, to a closer Application to business than our Merciful Father designed for us, this puts the wheels of perfect brotherhood out of order, and leads to employments, the promoting of which belongs not to the Family of Christ, Whose Example in all part, being a pattern of wisdom, so the Plainness & Simplicity of his outward appearance, may well make us ashamed to Adorn our Bodies in costly Array, or treasure up Wealth by the least Oppression.

The Soyl yields us Support, and is profitable for man; & though some possessing a larger share of these profits than others, may consist with the Harmony of true Brotherhood, yet that the poorest people who are Honest, so long as they remain Inhabitants

of the Earth are entitled to a certain portion of these profits, in as clear & absolute a sense as those who Inherit much, I believe will be agreed to by those whose hearts are Enlarged with Universal Love.

The first people who Inhabited the Earth, were the first who had possession of the Soyl. The Gracious Creator & Owner of it, gave the Fruits thereof for their Use. And as one generation passed away, another came & took possession, and thus through many Ages, Innumerable multitudes of people have been supplied by the Fruits of the Earth. But our Gracious Creator is as absolutely the owner of it as he was when he first formed it out of nothing, before man had possession of it. And though by Claims grounded on prior possession great inequality appears amongst men, yet the instructions of the Great Proprietor of the Earth, are necessary to be attended to in all our proceedings, as possessors or Claimers of the profits of Soyl. The steps of a good man are ordered of the Lord and those who are thus guided, whose hearts are enlarged in his Love, give directions concerning their possessions agreeably thereto; and that Claim which stands on Universal Righteousness is a good Right, but the Continuance of that Right depends on properly applying the profits thereof.

The word *Right*, is commonly used relative to our possessions. We say, a *Right* of propriety to such a Dividend of a Province; or a clear indisputable *Right* to the Land within such certain Bounds. Thus this word is continued as a remembrancer of the Original intent of Dividing the Land by Boundaries, and implies, that it was designed to be Equitably or Rightly divided: to be divided according to Righteousness. In this, that is, in Equity and Righteousness, consists the Strength of our Claims. If we trace an Unrighteous claim, & find gifts or Grants to be proved by sufficient seals & Witnesses, this gives not the Claimant a *Right*: for that which is Oposite to Righteousness is wrong, and the nature of it must be changed before it can be *Right*.

Suppose twenty free men professed followers of Christ, discovered an Island unknown to all other people, and that they with their Wives, Independent of all others took possession of it, and dividing it Equitably made Improvements, & Multiplied. Suppose these first possessors, being generally Influenced by true Love, did with paternal regard look over the increasing condition

of the Inhabitants, and near the end of their lives, gave such directions concerning their respective possessions, as best suited the convenience of the whole, and tended to preserve Love & Harmony, & that their successors in the continued increase of people, generally followed their Pious examples, and pursued means the most effectual to keep Oppression out of their Island: But that one of these first settlers, from a fond attachment to one of his numerous Sons, no more deserving than the rest, gives the chief of his Lands to him, and by an Instrument sufficiently witnessed, strongly expresses his mind and Will.

Suppose this Son being Landlord to his Brethren & Nephews, demands such a portion of the Fruits of the Earth, as may supply him & his Family and some others; and that these others, thus supplied out of his Store, are Employed in adorning his Buildings with curious Engravings and Paintings, preparing Carriages to ride in, Vessels for his House, Delicious Meats, fine-wrought Apparel & Furniture, all suiting that distinction lately arisen between him & the other Inhabitants, And that, having the absolute disposal of these numerous Improvements, his Power so increaseth, that in all conferences relative to the publick Affairs of the Island, these plain, Honest men who are Zealous for Equitable Establishments, find great difficulty in proceeding agreeably to their Righteous Inclinations, while he stands in Oposition to them.

Suppose he from a fondness for one of his Sons, joyned with a desire to continue this Grandeur under his own name, confirms chief of his possessions to him, and thus, for many Ages, on near a twentieth part of this Island, there is one great Landlord, and the rest, poor Oppressed people; To some of whom, from the manner of their Education, joyned with a notion of the greatness of their predecessors, Labour is disagreeable; who therefore, by artful applications to the weakness, unguardedness, and Corruption of others, in striving to get a living out of them, increase the difficulties amongst them; while the Inhabitants of other parts, who guard against Oppression, and with one Consent train up their Children in plainness, frugality and useful labour, live more harmonious.

If we trace the claim of the ninth or tenth of these great landlords down to the first possessor, & find the Claim supported throughout by Instruments strongly drawn and witnessed, after

all we could not admit a belief into our Hearts that he had a *Right* to so great a portion of Land, after such a numerous increase of Inhabitants.

The first possessor of that twentieth part, held no more we suppose than an Equitable portion; but when the Lord, who first gave these twenty men possession of this Island, unknown to all others, gave being to numerous people, who Inhabited this twentieth part, whose natures required the Fruits thereof for their sustenance, this Great Claimer of the Soyl could not have a *Right* to the whole, to dispose of it in gratifying his irregular desires: but they, as Creatures of the Most High God, possessor of Heaven & Earth, had a *Right* to part of what this Great Claimer held, though they had no Instruments to confirm their *Right*.

Thus Oppression in the extreme appears terrible: but oppression in more refined appearances, remains to be Oppression; and where the smallest degree of it is cherished it grows stronger and more extensive: that to labour for a perfect redemption from this spirit of Oppression, is the Great Business of the whole family of Christ Jesus in this world.

CHAPTER XIV.

ON SCHOOLS.¹

When we are thoroughly Instructed in the Kingdom of God, we are content with that use of things which his Wisdom points out, both for ourselves and our children, and are not concerned to teach them the art of getting Rich, but are careful that the love of God, and a right regard for all their fellow-creatures may possess their minds; and that in all their learning, their Improvements may go forward in pure Wisdom.

Christ our Shepherd, being abundantly able and willing to Instruct his Family in all things proper for them to know, It remains to be our Duty to wait patiently for His help in teaching our Families, and not seek to forward them in Learning by the assistance of that Spirit From which He gave his Life to Redeem us.

¹ A similar brief Essay On Schools may be found in "Considerations on Pure Wisdom and Human Policy," first printed in 1758.

It was His own saying that the Children of this world are in their Generation wiser than the Children of Light. And it appears by Experience, that in awakening & Cherishing the Spirit of Pride, and the love of Praise in Children, they may sometimes be brought on in Learning, faster than they would otherwise; but while in learning any Art or Science, they accustom themselves to disobey the pure Spirit, and grow Strong in that Wisdom which is foolishness with God, they must have the painful Labour of unlearning a part of what they thus Learned, before they are Adopted into the Divine Family. It is therefore good for us in Schools and in all parts of Education, to attend diligently to the *Principle of Universal Light*; and patiently wait for their improvement in the Channel of True Wisdom, without endeavouring to get help from that Spirit which seeks Honour from men. [It is through a deviation from the pure Light, that people desire help from the Spirit of this World in pushing forward their Children in Learning, that they may Save out of their Education to Support ways of Life less plain and Simple than what our Holy pattern has laid down for us.]

Children in an age fit for Schools, are in a time of Life that requires that careful & patient attendance of their Tutors, and such a diligent observation of their several tempers and dispositions, as that they may be Enabled rightly & seasonably to Administer to each Individual.

Were we thoroughly weaned from the Love of wealth, and fully brought out of all Superfluities in living; Employments about vanities being finished, & labour wanted only for things consistent with a Humble, self-denying life, there would on a Reasonable Estimate be so much to spare on the Education of our Children, that a plain, Humble man, with a Family like himself, might be furnished with a living, for teaching and overseeing so small a number of Children that he might properly and seasonably Administer to each Individual, and gently lead them on as the Gospel Spirit opened the way, without giving countenance to pride or evil Emulation amongst them.

The management of Children being sometimes committed to men who do not live under the Seasoning Virtue of Truth, is a Case that requires our Serious Consideration, for that it is our Indispensable duty to use our utmost endeavours in their

Education to bring them into an acquaintance with the Inward Work of Grace. And where a Tutor is not experienced in this work, their Spirit and Conduct, in Directing and ordering the Children, does often make Impressions on their tender inexperienced minds to their great disadvantage.

Again where pious men enter into this Employ, they sometimes find it difficult to Support their Families, without taking charge of so great a number that they cannot so fully attend to the Spirit and disposition of each Individual as would be profitable to the Children. A large number of Children in a School is often a heavy weight on the mind of an honest Tutor, and when his thoughts and time are so much taken up in the more outward affairs of the School that he cannot so attend to the Spirit and temper of each Individual, as to administer rightly and Seasonably, in the line of true Judgment; there the minds of Children often Suffer, and a wrong Spirit gains Strength, which frequently increases Difficulties in a School, and like an Infection spreads from one to another.

A man influenced by the Spirit of Truth, Employing his time in Tutoring Children, while he hath only such a number that the manifestation of Divine Strength in him, is superior to the instability in them; This good Spirit in which he governs, does measurably work on their minds, and tends to bring them forward in the Christian Life. But where the straitness of a man's Circumstances, joyned with the small wages set on teaching children proves a Temptation and so enters into his Heart that he takes charge of too many for the measure of his Gift; or where the desire for wealth so corrupts the heart of any, that they take charge of too many, here the true order of a Christian Education is frustrated.

To watch the spirit of Children in school, and Labour to bring them on as Lambs in the flock of Christ, [I believe will be granted by all pious people] is of greater moment than their improvement in the knowledge of Letters. But where a man hath charge of a number too great for that degree of Strength with which the Lord hath endowed him, he not only suffers as to the state of his own mind, but the Children suffer also: and Government not being supported in the true Christian Spirit, the pure witness is not reached in the minds of the Children.

To Educate Children in the way of true piety & Virtue is a duty incumbent on all of us who have them; and our Heavenly Father requires no duties of us but what he gives strength to perform, as we humbly seek to Him. That though to the Eye of Reason the difficulties appear great, in many places, which attend Instructing our Children in useful Learning, yet if we obediently attend to that wisdom which is from above, Our Gracious Father will open a way for us to give them such an Education as he requires of us.

And here I may say that my mind hath been sorrowfully affected on account of some, who from a desire for wealth, a desire to conform in living to those ways distinguishable from the true Christian Spirit, exert themselves in things relating to this life, and do not enough lay to heart the suffering condition of youth in many places, through want of pious Examples, and Tutors whose minds are seasoned with the Spirit of Truth.

Are great labours performed to gain wealth for posterity? Are many supported with wages to furnish us with delicacies, and Luxuries?

Are monies expended for collours to please the eye, which renders our Garments less Serviceable?

Are Garments of a curious Texture purchased at a high rate, for the sake of their delicacy?

Are there various branches of workmanship only ornamental, in the building of our Houses, Hanging by our Walls and Partitions, and to be seen in our Furniture and Apparel?

And amidst all these Expenses, which the pure Truth does not require of us, do we send our Children to men to get Learning, who we believe are not influenced by the Spirit of Truth; Rather than humbly wait on the Lord for wisdom to direct us in their Education?

To commit children to the Tuition of men who we believe are not rightly Qualified to lead them on in the true Christian Life, I believe no pious man will say is required of us as a duty.

To do evil that good may come of it, is contrary to the doctrine of Christianity. That when times are so cloudy that we cannot go forward in the way of clearness and purity, it behoves us, in the depth of Humility, to wait on the Lord to know His mind concerning us and our Children.

CHAPTER XV

ON MASTERS AND SERVANTS

Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ. Eph. vi. 5.

It is observable in several places, where the Apostle writes to servants, that he labours to direct their Minds to the true Light; that in labouring in the condition of servants they might, as the Apostle expresseth it, do the will of God from the heart, Ephes. vi. 6; that their labours might not be like those of men pleasers, but in singleness of heart fearing God, and that whatsoever they did, they might do it Heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men. Col. iii. 23.

As the pure principle of Righteousness is the Foundation whereon the pure in heart stand, so their proceedings are consistent Therewith, and while they encourage to an upright performance of every Reasonable duty on one Hand they guard on the other, against servants actively complying with unrighteous commands, doing service as to the Lord and not unto men. ver. 7. By which we are instructed in the necessity of a humble walking before God; that by faithfully attending on the leadings of his holy Spirit, our Senses may be exercised to discern both good & evil. Heb. v. 14. And that as the righteous commands of Masters ought to be obeyed because they were Righteous, so on the contrary, Such commands of Men which cannot be performed without disobeying God, were not sufficient for a Servant of Christ to proceed upon; but herein we ought to Obey God rather than Men.

The present concern of my Mind is, that all who are in the station of Masters, may Seriously consider this Subject, and demand nothing of servants, which is unreasonable, or that in the performance of which they must necessarily act contrary to Universal Righteousness.

A Pious Father hath a Conscientious care for his Children, that by his labours they may be rightly educated, and have some things which necessarily relate to their first Settling in the

World. But where a man seeth his Righteous intentions perverted, and his labours made to serve purposes which are not equitable, and hath no hopes of a remedy, his case is very grievous: for here however disposed to labour, he cannot *Labour Heartily as to the Lord, and not unto Men.*

To comply with demands that are not equitable, is afflicting to a well disposed Mind: for a Man in power to demand service of another, without proposing an Equitable reward, appears to me to have the spirit of persecution in it.

Upright Men Labouring in Temporal affairs, have in view to do good thereby, they labour because they are convinced it is their duty. But where labours not equitably due, are required of them to gratify the covetous, Luxurious, or Ambitious designs of Others, this lays conscientious Men under great difficulty. If they comply not, they are liable to punishment; and if they do that which they believe is not right for them to do, they wound their own Souls.

CHAPTER XVI.

To keep Negroes as Servants till they are Thirty years of age, and hold the profits of the last nine years of their labour as our own, on a Supposition that they may some time be an expense to our states, is a way of proceeding which appears to admit of improvement.

Reasons offered. 1st. Men of mature age, who have walked orderly, and made no contract to serve, that they are entitled to freedom I expect is generally agreed to; and to make them serve as Slaves Nine years longer, may be to keep them slaves for term of Life. They may die before that age, and be no expense to us; and may leave Children to whom, with reason, they might in their last Sickness, desire to give the monies they had earned after they had paid for their own Education.

2d. The Labour of a healthy, Industrious Negro Man for nine years, I suppose at a moderate computation, may not be less than Fifty pounds proclamation money besides his Diet and Clothing. Now if this money be earned, either in the service of the Man who Educated him, or laid by in yearly proportion under the care of the said Man, and put out at a moderate interest for

the Negroes Use; and to be applied to his future necessities, or to such honest purposes as he by his last will might direct, this would appear to us a more brotherly way of proceeding, were we in the Negroes Condition.

3d. Pure goodness tendeth to beget its own likeness, and where men are convinced that the conduct of those who have power over them is Equitable, it naturally Yields encouragement for them to provide against old age. The pure witness being reached, a care is thereby incited that they may not become a burden on the states of those whom they have found to be honest Men, and true Friends to them, but where men have laboured without wages nine years longer than is common with other Men amongst whom they dwell, and then set free; and at going off, are Assured that those who so detained them are largely in their debt, but expect not to recover the debt except they become needy when unable to help themselves—Such would naturally be induced to think this treatment unbrotherly; To think of the Reasonableness of their wages being some time paid; To think that the state in which they laboured might reasonably assist them in old age, and thus be tempted to decline from a wise application to business.

4th. If I see a Man want relief, and know he hath money in my Hands which must some time be paid, with reasonable use, either to him, or to others by his direction, there appears in this case no Temptation to withhold it at the time I saw that he wanted it, but if selfishness so far prevail in me, that I looked upon the money which I had in trust, with a desire to keep it from the true owner, and through the strength of desire, joined with expectation, at length so far consider it a part of my estate, as to apply it in promoting myself or my Family in the World, and therewith entered into expenses which a humble follower of Christ might have shuned: here, by joyning with one temptation there is great danger of falling into more, and of not attending to the wants of the Man who had monies in my Hands, with that care and diligence which I might have done, had the Tempter found no entrance into my Mind.

5th. If we righteously account for the monies which we have in Security, with a reasonable use thereon, and frugally expend the whole in relieving the Man who earned it; and more being

wanted, the public refuseth to bear any part of the expense; if our states have not been benefited aforetime by the labours of his Fathers nor Ancestors, this appears to be a case wherein the Righteous suffer for the Testimony of a good Conscience; and from which if faithfully attended to they might in time, I trust. hope for relief.

6th. The negroes have been a suffering people, and we as a civil society are they by whom they have suffered. Now where persons have been injured as to their outward substance and died without having recompense, their children appear to have a right to that which was Equitably due to, and detained from their Fathers.¹ [My heart is Affected with Sorrow while I write on this Subject, on account of the great injuries committed against these Gentiles, and against their children who have been born in that Captivity which is an unrighteous Captivity. When the Ancestors of these people were imported from Africa, some, I believe, bought them with intent to treat them kindly as slaves. They bought them as though those violent men had a Right to sell them, but I believe without weightily considering the nature and tendency of such a bargain, and thus building on an Unrighteous Foundation, a vail was gradually drawn over a practice very grievous, and Afflicting to great numbers of the Gentiles. A care is now reviving in many Places that this Vail may be yet further removed, and that this Disorder may be searched to the bottom, and my concern is that we may not only bear in Mind that the Negroes have been a Suffering people under us as a Civil Society, but that we may in true Humiliation, feel for that pure Influence which alone is able to guide us in the way where healing and restoration is experienced.]²

Having thus far spoken of the negroes as equally entitled to the benefit of their Labour with us, I feel it on my mind to mention that debt which is due to many negroes of the present age. Where men within certain limmits are so formed into a Society as to become like a large body consisting of many members, here whatever injuries are done to others not of this Society, by members of this Society, if the Society in whose power it is, doth not

¹ The handwriting changes somewhat at this point, with the use of a finer pen and fewer capitals.

² The memorandum is pasted in at this point, page 191, MS. A, on a separate slip of paper, as noted in the Introduction to this Essay.

use all reasonable endeavours to execute justice and Judgment, nor publicly disown those unrighteous proceedings, the iniquities of individuals become chargeable on such Civil Society to which they remain united. And where persons have been injured as to their outward Substance, and died without having recompense, so that their children are kept out of that which was equitably due to their parents; here such children appear to be justly entitled to receive recompense from that Civil Society under which their parents suffered.

My heart is affected with sorrow while I write on this Subject, on account of the great injuries committed against these Gentiles, and against their children born in Captivity. Had the active members of Civil Society when those injuries were first attempted, united in a firm opposition to those violent proceedings; had others in a selfish spirit attempted the like afterward, and met with a firm opposition, and been made to do justice to the injured persons, till the prospect of gain by such unrighteous proceedings appeared so doubtful that no further Attempts had been made,—how much better had it been for these American Colonies and Islands!

When the ancestors of these people were brought from Africa, some I believe bought those poor sufferers with intent to treat them kindly as slaves. They bought them as though those violent men had a right to sell them, but I believe without entering deep enough into the consideration of the consequence of such proceedings. Others I believe bought them with views of outward ease and profit, and thus those violent men found people of reputation who purchased their booty, and built on that purchase as a foundation to exercise the Authority of Masters, and thus encouraged them in this horrible Trade, till their proceedings were so far approved by Civil Society as to consider those men as members, without proceeding to punish them for their crimes, and hence a veil was gradually drawn over a practice, the most foreign to Righteousness, and the face of things so disguised that under the most lamentable injustice but few appeared to be alarmed at it, or zealously labour to have justice done to the sufferers & their posterity.

The poor Africans were people of a strange language, & not easie to converse with; & their Scituation as Slaves, too generally

destroyed that brotherly freedom which frequently subsists between us and inoffensive Strangers.

In this adverse condition, how reasonable is it to suppose, that they would revolve in their distressed minds, the iniquities committed against them, and mourn! Mourn without any to comfort them!

Though through gradual proceedings in unrighteousness, dimness hath come over many minds, yet the nature of things is not altered. Long oppression hath not made Oppression consistent with Brotherly Love, nor length of time through several ages made recompense to the posterity of those injured Strangers. Many of them lived, and died without having their suffering cases heard and determined according to Equity, and under a degree of Sorrow on account of the wantonness, the Vanity and Superfluity too common amongst us as a Civil Society, even while a heavy load of unrighteous proceedings lies upon us, do I now under a feeling of universal Love & in a fervent concern for the real interest of my fellow members in Society, as well as the Interest of my fellow creatures in general, express these things.

Suppose an inoffensive youth, forty years ago, was violently taken from Guinea, Sold here as a Slave, and laboured hard till old age, and hath children who are now living. Though no sin may properly be mentioned as an equal reward for the total deprivation of Liberty; yet if the sufferings of this man be computed at no more than fifty pounds, I expect candid men will suppose it within bounds, and that his Children have an Equitable right to it.

£	
Principal 50	50
Interest 10 year at 3 p ^r cent	15
	<hr/>
	65
Fifty pounds at three per cent,	Interest 10 year.....
adding the Interest to the Prin-	
cipal once in ten years appears	<hr/>
in forty years to make upward	84
of one hundred & forty pounds.	Interest 10 year.....
	<hr/>
	25
	<hr/>
	109
	Interest 10 year.....
	<hr/>
	32
	<hr/>
	141

Now when our minds are thoroughly divested of all prejudice in relation to the difference of colour, and the Love of Christ, in which there is no partiality, prevails upon us, I believe it will appear that a heavy account lies against us as a Civil Society for oppressions committed against people who did not injure us; and that if the particular case of many individuals were fairly stated, it would appear that there was considerable due to them.

I conclude with the words of that Righteous Judge in Israel, Behold here I am: witness against me before the Lord, and before his anointed; whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe, to blind mine eyes therewith; and I will restore it you. 1 Samuel xii. 3.

CONSIDERATIONS
on the
TRUE HARMONY OF MANKIND

And how it is to be maintained.

1770

The original manuscript of this Essay is at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania. The introduction is missing. The following letter, however, of John Woolman to Israel Pemberton (no date) ¹ relates to this Essay, and the suggestion for the *Advertisement* accompanies it. It was first published in 1770.

Belov^d fr^d, on reading & consider^s thy letter, it appears agreeable that the piece be read in Meeting for Sufferings first. I believe I may be most easie, in notice being sent to each of our quarterly Meetings with a number of short Advertis^{ts}, equal to the number of monthly meetings, that one may be sent to each monthly meeting; and I am free to sign such an Advertisement, first writing them myself, or that my name be put to it, I first seeing a copy if printed, when the books are printed and after a proper time for friends to have notice and to have oportunities of sending for the books, Then what remains (I first taking 300 sheets) may it's likely with less expense be taken of as thou propos^d.

With kind Love to thee and thy wife, I remain
your fr^d

John Woolman.

Second day morning

"ESSAY OF AN ADVERTIS^t."

To Friends of the Quarterly & Monthly Meetings.
Belov^d friends—

As I have under an Apprehension of duty wrote *Considerations on the true harmony of Mankind and how it is to be maintained*,

¹ Pemberton Papers. Vol. 21, p. 87, Historical Society of Pa.

CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
TRUE HARMONY
OF
MANKIND,
AND

How it is to be maintained.

By JOHN WOOLMAN.

*And the Remnant of Jacob shall be in the
midst of many People, as the Dew from
the Lord, as the Showers upon the Grass,
that tarrieth not for Man, nor waiteth
for the Sons of Men, Micah v. 7.*

L O N D O N:

Re-printed by MARY HINDS.

the piece has been inspected by the Overseers of the press and by them agreed to be printed and the books may be had at the house of — for — per dozen, that being no more than the expense of publishing and covering them."

The Essay sold at two Shillings per dozen: John Woolman was at this time—1770—himself an "Overseer of the Press." [Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings, p. 324.] In 1771, the Essay was on sale at the printing house of Joseph Crukshank. [Do. p. 340.]

And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people, as a dew from the Lord, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of man.—*Micah* v. 7.

INTRODUCTION.

As mankind from one parent are divided into many families; and as trading to sea is greatly increased within a few ages past; amidst this extended commerce, how necessary is it that the professed followers of Christ keep sacred his holy name, and be employed about trade and traffic no further than justice and equity evidently accompanies: that we may give no just cause of offense to any, however distant, or unable to plead their own cause; and may continually keep in view, the spreading of the true and saving knowledge of God, and his son Jesus Christ, amongst our fellow-creatures; which through his infinite love, some feel to be more precious than any other treasure.

THE TRUE HARMONY OF MANKIND.

CHAPTER I.

On serving the Lord in our outward employments.

Under the humbling dispensations of the Father of mercies, I have felt an inward labour for the good of my fellow-creatures, and a concern that the holy Spirit, which alone can restore mankind to a state of true harmony, may with singleness of heart be waited for & followed.

I trust there are many under that Visitation, which if faithfully attended to, will make them quick of understanding in the fear of the Lord, and qualify with firmness to be true patterns of the Christian life, who in living and walking may hold forth an invitation to others, to come forth from the entanglements of the spirit of this world.

And that which I feel first to express is, a care for those who are in circumstances, which appear difficult with respect to supporting their families in a way answerable to pure wisdom, that they may not be discouraged, but remember that in humbly obeying the leading of Christ, he owneth us as his friends. "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you." And to be a friend to Christ, is to be united to him who hath all power in heaven and in Earth. And though a woman may forget her sucking child, yet will he not forget his faithful ones.

The condition of many who dwell in cities, hath often affected me with a brotherly sympathy, attended with a desire that resignation may be laboured for, and where the holy Leader directeth to a Country life, or some change of employ, he may be faithfully followed; for under the refining hand of the Lord, I have seen that the inhabitants of some cities are greatly increased through some branches of business which his holy Spirit doth not lead into, and that being entangled in these things, tends to bring a cloud over the minds of people convinced of the leadings of this holy Leader, and obstructs the coming of the Kingdom of Christ on earth as it is in heaven.

Now if we indulge a desire to imitate our neighbours in those things which harmonize not with the true christian walking, these entanglements may hold fast to us, and some who in an awakening time, feel tender scruples with respect to their manner of life, may look on the example of others more noted in the church, who yet may not be refined from every degree of dross; and by looking on these examples, and desiring to support their families in a way pleasant to the natural mind there may be danger of the worldly wisdom gaining strength in them, and of their departure from that pure feeling of Truth, which if faithfully attended to, would teach contentment in the Divine will, even in a very low estate.

One formerly, speaking on the profitableness of true humility,

saith, "He that troubles not himself with anxious thoughts for more than is necessary, lives little less than the life of angels, whilst by a mind content with little, he imitates their want of nothing." *Cave's Primitive Christianity*, page 31.

"It is not enough," says Tertullian, "that a christian be chaste and modest, but he must appear to be so: a virtue of which he should have so great a store, that it should flow from his mind upon his habit, and break from the retirements of his conscience, into the superficies of his life." Same book, page 43.

"The garments we wear," says Clemens, "ought to be mean and frugal. That is true simplicity of habit, which takes away what is vain and superfluous; that the best and most solid garment, which is the furthest from curiosity." Page 49.

Though the change from day to night, is by a motion so gradual as scarcely to be perceived, yet when night is come we behold it very different from the day, and thus as people become wise in their own Eyes, and prudent in their own sight, customs rise up from the spirit of this world, and spread by little and little, till a departure from the Simplicity that there is in Christ, becomes as distinguishable as Light from darkness to such who are crucified to the world.

Our holy Shepherd to encourage his flock in firmness and perseverance reminds them of his love for them. "As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you; continue ye in my love," and in another place graciously points out the danger of departing therefrom by going into unsavory employments: this he represents in the similitude of offence from that useful active member the hand; and to fix the instruction the deeper, and point out employments on which our support as to the outward appearance may depend, names the right hand: "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee" If thou feelest offence in thy employment, humbly follow him who leads into all truth, and is a strong and faithful friend to those who are resigned to him.

Again he points out those things which appearing pleasant to the natural mind, are not best for us, in the similitude of offence from the eye: "If thy right Eye offend thee pluck it out, and cast it from thee." To pluck out the eye, or cut off the hand, is attended with sharp pain, and how precious is the instruction which

our Redeemer thus opens to us, that we may not faint under the most painful tryals, but put our trust in Him, even in him who sent an Angel to feed Elijah in the wilderness; who fed a multitude with a few barley loaves, and is now as attentive to the wants of his people as ever.

The prophet Isaiah represents the unrighteous doings of the Israelites toward the poor, as the fruits of an Effeminate life: "As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them. What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor, saith the Lord God." Then he mentions the haughtiness of the daughters of Sion, and enumerates many tinkling ornaments, as instances of their vanity, to uphold which the poor were so hardly dealt with, that he sets forth their poverty, their leanness and inability to help themselves, in the similitude of a man maimed by violence, or beaten to pieces, & forced to endure the painful operation of having his face gradually worn away in the manner of grinding.

And I may here add, that at times when I have felt true Love open my heart towards my fellow-creatures, and been engaged in weighty conversation in the cause of righteousness, the instructions I have received under these exercises, in regard to the true use of the outward gifts of God, have made deep & lasting impressions on my mind.

I have here beheld how the desire to provide wealth to uphold a delicate life, hath grievously entangled many, and been like snares to their offspring: and though some have at times been affected with a sense of their difficulties, and appeared desirous at times to be helped out of them, yet for want of abiding under the humbling power of Truth, they have continued in these entanglements; for in remaining conformable to this world, and giving way to a delicate life, this expensive way of living in parents and in children, hath called for a large Supply; and in answering this call, the faces of the poor have been ground away, and made thin through hard dealing.

There is balm, there is a physician! and O! what longings do I feel, that we may embrace the means appointed for our healing, know that removed which now ministers cause for the cries of many people to ascend to heaven against their oppressors, and see true harmony restored.

"Behold how good and how pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in Unity." The nature of this Unity is thus opened by the apostle; "If we walk in the Light, as Christ is in the Light, we shall have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ will cleanse us from all Sin."

The Land may be polluted with Innocent Blood, which like the blood of Abel may cry to the Almighty but those who "walk in the Light as he is in the Light," they know the Lamb of God, who taketh away sin.

Walking is a phrase frequently used in Scripture to represent our journey through life, and appears to comprehend the various affairs and transactions properly relating to our being in this world.

Christ being the Light dwells always in the Light, and if our walking be thus, and in every affair and concern we faithfully follow this divine Leader, he preserves from giving just cause for any to quarrel with us. And where this foundation is laid, and mutually kept to by families conversant with each other, the way is open for those comforts in Society which Our Heavenly Father intends as a part of our happiness in this world, and then we may experience the goodness and pleasantness of dwelling together in Unity. But where ways of living take place which tend to oppression, and in the pursuit of wealth, people do that to others which they know would not be acceptable to themselves, either in exercising an absolute power over them, or otherwise laying on them unequitable burdens; here a fear lest that measure should be meted to them which they have measured to others, incites a care to support that by craft and cunning devices which stands not on the firm foundation of Righteousness. Thus the harmony of society is broken; and from hence commotions and wars do frequently arise in the world.

"Come out of Babylon my people, that ye be not partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." Rev. xviii. 4. This Babel or Babylon, was built in the spirit of self-exaltation. "Let us build us a City and a Tower, whose top may reach to heaven, and let us make us a name." Gen. xi. 4. In departing from an humble trust in God, and following a selfish spirit, people have intentions to get the uper hand of their fellow-creatures, privately meditate on means to obtain their ends, and have a lan-

guage in their hearts which is hard to understand. In Babel the language is confounded.

This City is represented as a place of business, those employed in it, as merchants of the Earth. "The merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies." Rev. xviii. 3.

And it is remarkable in this call, that the language from the Father of mercies is, *my people*; "come out of babilon, my people!" Thus his tender mercies are toward us in an imperfect state, and as we faithfully attend to the call, the path of righteousness is more and more opened; cravings which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, more and more cease; and in an inward purity of heart, we experience a restoration of that which was lost at Babel, Represented by the inspired Prophet in the "returning of a pure language." Zeph. iii. 9.

Happy for them who humbly attend to the call, "Come out of Babylon, my people." For though in going forth we may meet with tryals which for a time may be painful; yet as we bow in true humility, and continue in it, an evidence is felt that God only is wise, and that in weaning us from all that is selfish he prepares the way to a quiet habitation, where all our desires are bounded by his wisdom. And an exercise of Spirit attends me, that we who are convinced of the pure leadings of Truth, may bow in the deepest reverence, and so watchfully regard this Leader, that many who are grievously entangled in a wilderness of vain customs, may look upon us, and be instructed. And O! that such who have plenty of this worlds goods, may be faithful in that with which they are entrusted, and example others in the true Christian walking!

Our Blessed Saviour, speaking on worldly greatness, compares himself to one waiting & attending on a Company at dinner: "Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am amongst you as he that serveth." Luke xxii. 27.

Thus in a world greatly disordered, where men, aspiring to outward greatness were wont to oppress others to support their designs, He who was of the highest descent, being the Son of God, and greater than any amongst the greatest families of men, by his Example and doctrines foreclosed his followers from claiming any

show of outward greatness, from any supposed superiority in themselves, or derived from their Ancestors.

He who was greater than Earthly princes was not only meek and low of heart, but his outward appearance was plain and lowly, and free from every stain of the spirit of this world.

Such was the Example of the blessed Redeemer, of whom the Beloved disciple said, "He that saith he abideth in him ought also to walk even as he walked."

John Bradford, who suffered martyrdom under Queen Mary, wrote a letter to his friends out of prison a short time before he was burnt, in which are these expressions; "Consider your dignity as Children of God & temples of the Holy Ghost, and members of Christ; be ashamed therefore to think, speak, or do any thing unseemly for God's children, and the members of Christ." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 1177.

CHAPTER II.

On the Example of Christ.

As my mind hath been brought into a brotherly feeling with the poor as to the things of this life, who are under tryals in regard to getting a living in a way answerable to the purity of Truth a labour of heart hath attended me, that their way may not be made difficult through the love of money in those who are tryed with plentiful Estates, but that they with tenderness of heart may sympathize with them.

It was the saying of our Blessed Redeemer, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." There is a deep feeling of the way of purity, a way in which the wisdom of the world hath no part, but is opened by the Spirit of Truth, and is called "the way of holiness." A way in which the traveller is employed in watching unto prayer; and the outward gain we get in this journey is considered as a trust committed to us, by HIM who formed and Supports the world; and is the rightful director of the use and application of the product of it.

Now except the mind be preserved Chaste, there is no safety for us, but in an estrangement from true resignation, the spirit of

the world casts up a way in which gain is many times principally attended to, and in which there is a selfish application of outward treasures.

How agreeable to the true harmony of Society, is that exhortation of the Apostle "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus."

A person in outward prosperity may have the power of obtaining riches, but the same mind being in him which is in Christ Jesus, he may feel a tenderness of heart towards those of low degree, and instead of setting himself above them, may look upon it as an unmerited favour that his way through life is more easy than the way of many others; may improve every opportunity of leading forth out of those customs which have entangled the family; employ his time in looking into the wants of the poor members, and hold forth such a perfect example of humility, that the pure witness may be reached in many minds, and the way opened for a harmonious walking together.

Jesus Christ had no reserve in promoting the happiness of others; he was not deficient in looking for the helpless, who lay in obscurity; nor saved any thing to render himself honourable amongst men, which might have been of more use to the weak members in his Father's family: of whose compassion towards us I may now speak a little.

He who was perfectly happy in himself, moved with infinite love, took not upon him the nature of angels, but our imperfect natures; and therein wrestled with the temptations which attend us in this life: and being the Son of HIM who is greater than earthly princes, yet became a companion to poor, sincere-hearted men. And though he gave the clearest evidence that Divine power attended him, yet the most unfavourable constructions were framed by a self-righteous people; those miracles represented as the effect of a diabolical power, and endeavours used to render him hateful, as having his mission from the prince of darkness: nor did their envy cease till they took him like a criminal and brought him to tryal. Though some may affect to carry the appearance of being unmoved at the apprehension of distress, our dear Redeemer, who was perfectly Sincere, having the same human nature which we have, and feeling a little before he was

apprehended the weight of that work upon him, for which he came into the world, was "sorrowful even unto death." Here the human nature struggled to be excused from a cup so bitter; but his prayers centred in resignation, "Not my will but thine be done." In this conflict so great was his agony that "sweat like drops of blood fell from him to the ground."

Behold now as foretold by the prophet, he is in a judicial manner "numbered with the Transgressors." Behold him as some poor man of no reputation, standing before the high priest and Elders, and before Herod and Pilate, where witnesses appear against him, and he, mindful of the most Gracious design of his coming, declineth to plead in his own defence, but as a Sheep that is dumb before his Shearer, so under many accusations, revilings, and buffetings, remained Silent. And though he signified to Peter that he had access to power Sufficient to overthrow all their outward forces; yet retaining a resignation to Suffer for the Sins of mankind, he exerted not that power, but permitted them to go on in their malicious designs, and pronounce him to be worthy of death, even him who was perfect in goodness. Thus "in his humiliation his judgment was taken away," and he like some vile criminal, "led as a lamb to the Slaughter." Under these heavy trials (though poor unstable Pilate was convinced of his innocence,) yet the people generally looked upon him as a deceiver, a blasphemer, and the approaching punishment as a Just judgment upon him. "They Esteemed him Smitten of God and afflicted." So great had been the surprise of his disciples at his being taken by armed men, that they forsook him and fled. Thus they hid their faces from him; he was despised, and by their conduct it appeared as though they Esteemed him not.

But contrary to that opinion of his being smitten of God & afflicted, it was for our sakes that "he was put to grief; he was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities" and under the weight of them manifesting the deepest compassion for the instruments of his misery, laboured as their Advocate, and in the deeps of affliction, with an unconquerable patience, cried out, "Father forgive them, they know not what they do."

Now this mind being in us, which was in Christ Jesus, it removes from our hearts the desire of Superiority, worldly honours or greatness. A deep attention is felt to the Divine Coun-

seller, and an ardent engagement to promote, as far as we may be enabled, the happiness of mankind universally. This state, where every motion from a Selfish spirit yieldeth to pure love, I may with gratitude to the Father of mercies acknowledge, is often opened before me as a pearl to dig after; attended with a living concern, that amongst the many nations & families on the Earth, those who believe in the Messiah, that "he was manifested to destroy the works of the devil," and thus to "take away the Sins of the world," that the will of our heavenly Father may "be done on earth as it is in heaven." Strong are the desires I often feel, that this holy profession may remain unpolluted and the believers in Christ may so abide in the pure inward feeling of his spirit, that the wisdom from above may shine forth in their living, as a light by which others may be Instrumentally helped on their way, in the true harmonious walking.

CHAPTER III.

On Merchandizing.

Where the treasures of pure love are opened, and we obediently follow Him who is the Light of life, the mind becomes chaste; and a care is felt, that the unction from the Holy One may be our leader in every Undertaking.

In being crucified to the world, broken off from that friendship which is enmity with God, and dead to the Customs and fashions which have not their foundation in the Truth, the way is prepared to lowliness in outward living, and to a disentanglement from those Snares which attend the love of money; and where the faithful friends of Christ are so situated that merchandize appears to be their duty, they feel the Necessity of proceeding no further than he owns their proceeding; being convinced that we are not our own, but are bought with a price; [that none of us may live to ourselves, but to him who died for us. II Cor. v. 15]. Thus they are taught, not only to keep to a moderate advance and uprightness in their dealings; but to consider the tendency of their proceeding; to do nothing which they know would operate against the cause of Universal Righteousness; and to keep con-

tinually in view the spreading of the peaceable kingdom of Christ amongst mankind.

The Prophet Isaiah spake of the gathered Church in the Similitude of a City, where many being employed were all preserved in purity. "They shall call them the holy people, the redeemed of the Lord; and thou shalt be called Sought out, a City not forsaken." lxiii. 10. And the Apostle after mentioning the Mystery of Christ's Sufferings, exhorts, "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation." 1 Pet. i. 15. There is a conversation necessary in Trade; and there is a conversation so foreign from the nature of Christ's kingdom, that it is represented in the Similitude of one man pushing another with a warlike weapon: "There is that speaketh like the piercings of a sword." Prov. xii. 18. Now in all our concerns it is necessary that the leading of the Spirit of Christ be humbly waited for and faithfully followed, as the only means of being preserved Chaste as an holy people, who in all things are Circumspect; Exod. xxiii. 13., that nothing we do may carry the appearance of approbation of the works of wickedness, make the unrighteous more at ease in unrighteousness, or occasion the injuries committed against the oppressed to be more lightly looked over.

Where morality is kept to, and Supported by the inhabitants of a Country, there is a certain reproach attends those individuals amongst them, who manifestly deviate therefrom. Thus if a person of good report is charged with stealing goods out of an open shop in the day time, & on a public tryal found guilty, and the Law in that case put in execution, he therein sustains a loss of reputation: but if he be convicted a second and third time of the like offence, his good name would cease amongst such who knew these things. If his Neighbour, reputed an honest man, being charged with buying goods of this thief, at a time when the purchaser knew they were Stolen; and on a public tryal is found guilty, this purchaser would meet with disesteem: but if he persisted in buying stolen goods, knowing them to be such, and was publicly convicted thereof a second and third time, he would no longer be considered as an honest man by them who knew these things; nor would it appear of good report to be found in his company, buying his traffick till some evident tokens of Sincere repentance appeared in him. But where Iniquity is committed openly, &

the authors of it are not brought to justice, nor put to shame, their hands grow strong. Thus the general corruption of the Jews shortly before their state was broke up by the Chaldeans, is described by their boldness in impiety; for as their leaders were connected together in wickedness, they strengthened one another, and grew confident. "Were they ashamed when they had committed abominations? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush." Jer. vi. 15. On which account the Lord thus expostulates with them; "What hath my beloved to do in my house, seeing she hath wrought lewdness with many, and the holy flesh is passed from thee? When thou doest evil, then thou rejoicest." Jer. xi. 15.

Now the faithful friends of Christ, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and inwardly breathe that His kingdom may come on earth as it is in heaven, he teacheth them to be quick of understanding in his fear, and to be very attentive to the means he may appoint for promoting pure righteousness in the Earth, and as shame is due to those whose works manifestly operate against the gracious design of the sufferings of Christ for us, a care lives on their minds that no wrong customs, however supported, may byass their judgments, but that they may humbly abide under the cross, and be preserved in a Conduct which may not contribute to Strengthen the hands of the wicked in their wickedness, or to remove shame from those to whom it is justly due.

The coming of that day is precious in which we experience the truth of this expression; "The Lord our righteousness"; and feel him to be "made unto us Wisdom & Sanctification."

The example of a Righteous man is often looked at with attention. Where righteous men join in business, their company gives encouragement to others. And as one grain of incense deliberately offered to the prince of this world, renders an offering to God in that state unacceptable; and from those esteemed leaders of the people may be injurious to the weak; it requires deep humility of heart to follow Him faithfully, who alone gives sound wisdom and the Spirit of true discerning: and O how necessary it is to consider the weight of a holy profession!

The conduct of some formerly, gave occasion of complaint against them: "Thou hast defiled thy Sanctuaries by the multitude

of thine Iniquities ; by the Iniquity of thy Traffick." Ezek. xxviii. 18. And in Several places it is charged against Israel, that they had polluted the holy name.

The prophet Isaiah represents inward sanctification in the similitude of all that being purged from it which is fuel for fire; and particularly describes the outward fruits, brought forth by those who dwell in this inward holiness. "They walk righteously, and speak uprightly." By *walking* he represents the journey through life, as a righteous journey; and by *speaking uprightly*, seems to point at that which Moses appears to have had in view, when he thus expressed himself: "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; nor speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgment." Exod. xxiii. 2.

He goes on to show their firmness in Equity; representing them as persons Superior to all the arts of getting money, which have not righteousness for their foundation: "They despise the gain of Oppressions." And further shows how careful they are that no prospects of gain may induce them to become partial in judgment respecting an injury: "They shake their hands from holding bribes."

Again, where any interest is so connected with shedding Blood, that the Cry of Innocent Blood goes along with it, he points out their care to keep innocent Blood from crying against them, in the Similitude of a man Stopping his ears to prevent a sound from entering into his head. "They stop their ears from hearing of blood." And where they know that wickedness is committed, he points out their care, how they do not by an unguarded friendship with the Authors of it, appear like unconcerned lookers on, but as people so deeply affected with Sorrow, that they cannot endure to stand by and behold it. This he represents in the similitude of a man "*shutting his Eyes from seeing evil.*"

"Who amongst us shall dwell with the devouring fire? Who amongst us shall dwell with everlasting burnings? He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly. He that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil." Isaiah xxxiii. 14, 15.

He proceeds in the spirit of prophecy, to show how the faithful being supported under temptations would be preserved from

that defilement there is in the love of money; that as they who in a reverent waiting on God, feel their strength renewed, are said to "*mount upward*"; so here their preservation from the Snares of unrighteous gain, is represented in the likeness of a man, borne up above all crafty, artful means of getting the advantage of another. "*They shall dwell on high*"; and he thus points out the Stability and firmness of their condition: "*His place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks.*" And that, under all the outward appearances of loss in denying himself of gainful profits for righteousness sake, yet through the care of him who provides for the sparrows, he should have a Supply answerable to infinite wisdom. "Bread shall be given him, his waters shall be sure." And as our Saviour mentions the sight of God to be attainable by *the pure in heart*, so here the prophet pointed out how in true Sanctification the understanding is opened to behold the peaceable, harmonious nature of his kingdom; "*thine Eyes shall see the king in his beauty.*" And that looking beyond all the afflictions which attend the righteous, to a *habitation eternal in the heavens*, they, with an eye divinely open, "*shall behold the land that is very far off.*"

"He shall dwell on high: his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks: bread shall be given him; his waters shall be sure. Thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty: they shall behold the land that is very far off." Isaiah xxxiii. 16, 17.

[There is a tender Sympathy in my heart with Such, who by their Education and condition in Life, are under greater difficulties than some others, and I feel pure love, in which desires prevail for the health and Soundness of the family.] ¹

I often remember, and to me the subject is awful, that the great Judge of all the earth doeth that which is right; and that he "*before whom the nations are as the drop of a bucket,*" is "*no respecter of persons.*" Happy for them, who, like the inspired prophet, "*in the way of his judgments wait for him.*" Isaiah xxvi. 8.

When we feel him to sit as a refiner with fire, and know a resignedness wrought in us to that which he appoints for us; his blessing in a very low estate, is found to be more precious than much outward treasure in those ways of life, where the leadings of his spirit are not followed.

¹ Omitted in the first and succeeding editions.

The prophet, in a sight of Divine work amongst many people, declared in the name of the Lord; "I will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory." Isaiah lxvi. 18. And again, "From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, my name shall be great amongst the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offering." Malachi i. 11.

Behold here how the prophets had an inward sense of the spreading of the Kingdom of Christ; and how he was spoken of as one who should "*take the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession.*" Psal. ii. 8. That "he was given for a Light to the Gentiles; & for *Salvation to the ends of the earth.*" Isaiah xlix. 6.

When we meditate on this Divine work, as a work of ages;—a work that the prophets felt long before Jesus Christ appear'd Visibly on earth; and remember the bitter agonies he endured when he *poured out his soul unto death*, that the heathen nations as well as others, might come to the knowledge of the Truth and be saved:

When we contemplate on this marvellous work, as that which *the angels desire to look into*; 1 Pet. i. 12, and behold people amongst whom this Light hath Eminently broken forth, and who have received many favours from the bountiful hand of our Heavenly Father; not only indifferent with respect to publishing the glad tidings amongst the Gentiles, as yet sitting in darkness & entangled with many superstitions; but [who,] aspiring after wealth and worldly honours, take hold of means to obtain their ends, tending to stir up wrath and indignation, and to beget an abhorrence in them to the name of Christianity: When these things are weightily attended to, how mournful is the subject?

It is worthy of remembrance that people in different ages, deeply baptised into the nature of that work for which Christ Suffered, have joyfully offered up their Liberty and lives for the promoting of it in the Earth.

Polycarp who was reputed a disciple of St. John having attained to a great age, was at length sentenced to die for his religion, and being brought to the fire, prayed nearly as follows: "Thou God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom I have received the knowledge of thee! O God of the angels and powers,

and of every living creature, and of all sorts of just men which live in thy presence, I thank thee, that thou hast graciously vouchsafed this day and this hour to allot me a portion among the number of martyrs, among the people of Christ, unto the resurrection of everlasting life; among whom I shall be received in thy sight, this day, as a fruitful and acceptable sacrifice. Wherefore for all this, I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee through the everlasting High Priest, Jesus Christ, thy well beloved son; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all glory, world without end. Amen." ¹

The Antient Bishop Latimer, when sentence of death by fire was pronounced against him, on account of his firmness in the cause of religion, said, "I thank God most heartily! that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify him by this kind of death." Fox's Acts and Monuments, 936.

William Dewsbery, who had suffered much for his religion, in his last sickness, encouraging his friends to faithfulness, made mention, like good old Jacob, of the loving kindness of God to him in the course of his life, and that through the power of Divine love, he for Christ's sake had joyfully entered prisons. See introduction to his works.

I mention these, as a few examples out of many, of the powerful operation of the Spirit of Christ, where people are fully devoted to it; and of the ardent longings in their minds for the spreading of his Kingdom amongst mankind.

Now to those, in the present age, who truly know Christ, and feel the nature of his peaceable government opened in their understandings, how loud is that call wherewith we are called to faithfulness; that in following this pure Light of Life, "*we as workers together with him,*" may labour in that great work for which he was offered as a Sacrifice on the Cross, and that his peaceable doctrines may shine through us in their real harmony, at a time when the Name of Christianity is become hateful to many of the heathen.

When Gehazi had obtained treasures which the prophet under Divine direction had refused, and was returned from the business;

¹ It is interesting to find this prayer interlined with corrections; at its end, Woolman has written, "I want to see [illegible] History: this is wrote only by memory." He has made the corrections later, or they have been added by another hand.

the prophet, troubled at his conduct, queried if it was a time thus to prepare for a Specious living. "Is it a time to receive money and garments, men Servants and maid servants? The leprosie therefore of Naaman shall cleave to thee and thy seed forever." II Kings v. 26. And O that we may lay to heart the condition of the present time! and humbly follow His counsel, who alone is able to prepare the way for a true harmonious walking amongst mankind.

CHAPTER IV.

On Divine Admonitions.

Such are the perfections of our heavenly Father, that in all the dispensations of his providence, it is our duty "*in every thing to give thanks.*" Though from the first settlement of this part of America, he hath not extended his Judgments to the degree of famine, yet worms at times have come forth beyond numbering, and lay'd waste fields of grain and grass, where they have appeared. Another kind, in great multitudes, working out of sight, in grass ground, have so eat the roots that the surface being loosened from the soil beneath, might be taken off in great sheets.

These kinds of devouring creatures appearing seldom, and coming in such multitudes, their generation appears different from most other reptiles, and by the Prophet were called, "God's army sent among the people." Joel 2: 25.

There have been tempests of hail, which have very much destroyed the grain where they extended. Through long drought in summer, grain in some places hath been less than half the usual quantity.¹

And in the continuance thereof, I have beheld with attention from week to week, how dryness from the top of the Earth, hath extended deeper and deeper, while the corn and plants have languished: and with reverence my mind hath been turned toward HIM, who being perfect in goodness, in wisdom & power, doeth all things right. And after long drought, when the Sky hath grown dark with a Collection of matter, and Clouds like Lakes

¹ Note by Woolman: "When crops fail, I often feel a tender care that the case of poor tenants may be mercifully considered."

of water hung over our heads, from whence the thirsty Land hath been soaked; I have, at times, with awfulness, beheld the vehement operation of the Lightning, made sometimes to accompany these blessings, as a messenger from HIM who Created all things, to remind us of our duty in a right use of those benefits, and give striking Admonitions, that we do not misapply those gifts, in which an Almighty power is exerted in bestowing them upon us.

When I have considered that many of our fellow-creatures suffer much in some places for want of the necessities of life, whilst those who rule over them are too much given to Luxury, and divers vanities; and behold the apparent deviation from pure wisdom amongst us, in the use of the outward gifts of God; those marks of famine have appeared like humbling Admonitions from him, that we might be instructed by gentle Chastisements, & might seriously consider our ways; remembering that the outward supply of life is a gift from our heavenly Father, and that we should no more venture to use, or apply his gifts, in a way contrary to pure wisdom.

Should we continue to reject those merciful admonitions, & use his gifts at home, contrary to the gracious design of the Giver; [or send them abroad in a way of Trade, which the spirit of Truth doth not lead into:]¹ and should He whose eyes are upon all our ways, extend his Chastisements so far as to reduce us to much greater distress than hath yet been felt by these provinces; with what sorrow of heart might we meditate on that subject. *"Hast thou not procured this unto thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, when he led thee by the way? Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know therefore and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts."* Jer. ii. 17, 19.

My mind hath often been affected with sorrow, in beholding a wrong application of the gifts of our Heavenly Father; and those expressions concerning the defilement of the Earth have been opened to my understanding. "The earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence." Gen. vi. 11. Again,

¹ "To get in exchange those things which are made to serve the Luxuries and Vanities of life." Corrected to present reading, by John Woolman.

Isaiah xxiv. 5, "The Earth also is defiled under the Inhabitants thereof."

The Earth being the work of a Divine power may not as such be accounted unclean: but when violence is committed thereon, and the Channel of righteousness so obstructed, that "*in our skirts is found the blood of the souls of poor innocents; not by a secret scarch, but upon all these.*" ¹ Jerem. ii. 34.

When Blood shed unrighteously remains unatoned for, and the Inhabitants are not Effectually purged from it; when they do not wash their hands in Innocency, as was figured in the Law in the case of one being found slain, Deut. xxi. 6; but seek for gain arising from scenes of Violence and Oppression, here the land is polluted with blood.

Moreover when the Earth is planted and tilled, and the fruits brought forth are apply'd to support unrighteous purposes, here the gracious design of Infinite goodness in these his gifts, being perverted, the Earth is defiled; and the complaint formerly uttered becomes applicable: "Thou hast made me to Serve with thy Sins: thou hast wearied me with thine Iniquities." Isa. xliii: 24.

¹ Note by Woolman: See "A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies," page 31. [By Anthony Benezet.]

CONVERSATIONS
ON
THE TRUE HARMONY OF MANKIND
AND HOW IT MAY BE PROMOTED.

1772

The "Conversations" of John Woolman are to be found on page 14, MS. A, folio, at the back of the Journal. The book has been reversed, and reads forward. Woolman heads the first Conversation, "The Substance of some Conversation between a labouring man and a man rich in Money. Labourer speaks thus — ——" The second is entitled, "The Substance of some Conversation between a thrifty landholder and a labouring man. Labouring man speaks as follows — ——" The first part occupies pages 15 to 21, inclusive. The second, pages 21 to 27, inclusive. The remaining pages are blank.

These "Conversations" of John Woolman, interesting because of the form in which they are written, as well as for their subject, were apparently never printed until John Comly embodied them in his edition of 1837, where they occur on page 362. He also printed them separately in his "Friends' Miscellany," Vol. I. p. 337. The date is not more than two months before Woolman's departure for England, and they are among the latest of his writings. He himself must be taken to represent the labouring man, and the conversations may well have been held with members of the Pemberton, Morris or Smith families, with whom he was on such intimate terms. Doubtless he lost no opportunity to inform himself on these social problems, eliciting facts from his wealthy friends, with a tact and loving solicitude that never gave offence.

The dialogue was at this period a popular style of writing,

and it is a fairly safe rule to lay down, that only those who were the best *read* among the Quakers, employed it in their publications.

CONVERSATIONS

ON

THE TRUE HARMONY OF MANKIND

AND HOW IT MAY BE PROMOTED.

INTRODUCTION.

I have at sundry times felt my mind opened in true brotherly love, to converse freely and largely with some who were entrusted with plentiful estates, in regard to an application of the profits of them, consistent with pure wisdom. And of late, it hath often revived on my mind, as a duty, to write the substance of what then passed: and as I have attended to this concern, I have felt my mind opened to enlarge on some points then spoken to.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

mo

3: 1772.

The Substance of some conversation between a labouring man, and a man rich in money.

Labourer speaks thus: I observe thou livest easy, as to bodily labour, and perceive thou takest interest at seven per cent. I find Occasion amongst us labouring men, in supporting our families, to work harder at times than is agreeable to us. I am now thinking of that Christian Exhortation, Love as Brethren! and propose to thee my Neighbour, whether a way may not be opened for thee and thy family to live comfortably on a lower interest, which, if once rightly attained, would I believe work in favour of us labouring people.

Rich. If thou payest no interest, wherein doth seven per cent. affect thee?

Labourer. I was at work for a husbandman who had bought a plantation, and paid interest for a great part of ~~the~~ purchase

money. As this neighbour and I were talking of the quantity of grain, equitable pay for a days work, he told me that so much of the produce of his ground went yearly to pay the interest of the remaining purchase money, that he thought he could not afford so much rie for a days work now, as was considered pay for a days work twenty years ago.

Rich. Twenty years ago interest was as high as it is now, and grain, flesh, butter, and cheese were then cheaper.

Labourer. Seven per cent. is higher than interest is in England, and than it is in most of the neighbouring provinces. This is known to many who pay interest, who look at wealthy Interest receivers, as men having got an advantage of their brethren; and as the provisions are more & more in demand, partly by an Enlargement of towns and villages, and partly by a Sea-trade, some take hold of opportunities to raise the price of grain, flesh, butter, and the like and apprehend that herein they are only labouring to bring the price of their produce toward a ballance with seven per cent.

On a rise of grain, of flesh, and the like, I have known tradesmen meet and raise the price of their work, thus a poor labouring man who works by the day for the necessaries of life, must not only work more for a bushel of grain, but also for weaving of his Cloath, for making of his Coat, and for the Shoes which he wears.

There also ariseth discouragement hereby to tradesmen, in our Country in general, for tradesmen raising their wages on a rise of grain, the price of cloath, of Shoes, of hats, of Scithes, and the like are all raised.

Now if Interest was lower, grain lower, and kept more plentiful in our Country, wages of hired men might with reason be lower also. Hence encouragement would naturally arise to husbandmen to raise more Sheep and flax, and prepare means to employ many poor people amongst us.

Sheep are pleasant company on a plantation, their looks are modest, their voice is soft and agreeable; their defenceless state exposeth them a prey to wild beasts, and they appear to be intended by the great Creator to live under our protection, and Supply us with matter for warm and useful cloathing. Sheep being rightly managed tend to enrich our land; but by sending

abroad great quantities of grain and flower, the fatness of our land is diminished.

I have known landholders who paid Interest for large sums of money, and being intent on paying their debts by raising grain, have by too much tilling, so robbed the earth of its natural fatness, that the produce thereof hath grown light.

To till poor land requires near as much labour as to till that which is rich, and as the high interest of money which lyeth on many husbandmen, is often a means for their struggling for present profit, to the impoverishment of their lands, they then on their poor land find greater difficulty to afford poor labourers who work for them, equitable pay for tilling the ground.

The produce of the earth is a gift from our gracious Creator to the inhabitants, and to impoverish the earth now to Support outward greatness appears to be an injury to the succeeding age.

Rich. As there hath for some years past been a gradual rise of our Country produce, and we have not raised our Interest, if there be any complaint now, it seems as if we are the men to complain.

Labourer. My loving friend and neighbour! People thou knowest sometimes disagree in attempting to settle accounts (when no fraud is intended on either side,) but through want of matters being clearly and fairly stated. Come now, let us patiently hear each other, and endeavour to love as brethren.

Some who pay rent for a small house, and raise up children, all by days labour, are often taught by very moving instructions. Some keep a Cow, and labour hard in the Summer to provide hay and grain for her against winter; but in very cold winters, hay is sometimes gone before spring, and grain is so scarce, thro' much sending it and flower abroad, that the grain intended for a Cow, is found necessary to be eaten in the family. I have known grain & hay so scarce, that I could not any where near get so much as my family and creatures had need of; being then sparing in feeding our Cow, she hath grown poor. In her pining condition, she hath called aloud. I knew her voice, and the sound thereof was the Cry of Hunger. I have known Snowy, Stormy weather, of long Continuance. I have seen poor creatures in distress, for want of good Shelter and plentiful feeding, when it did not appear to be in the power of their owners to do much

better for them, being Straited in answering the demands of the wealthy. I have seen small fires in long cold Storms, and known sufferings for want of firewood. In wasting away under want, nature hath a voice that is very piercing. To these things I have been a witness, and had a feeling sence of them; nor may I easily forget what I have thus learned.

Now my friend I have beheld that fulness & delicacy in which thou and thy family live. Those expensive articles, brought from beyond the Sea, which serve chiefly to please the desire of the eye, and to gratify the palate, which I often observe in thy family as in other rich families: these costly things are often revived in my remembrance when those piercing instructions arising from hunger and want, have been before me.

Our merchants, in paying for these delicacies, send a great deal of flour and grain abroad out of our Country. Hence grain is more scarce and dear, which operates against poor labouring people.

I have seen, in thy family that in furnishing the house, in dressing yourselves, and in preparations for the Table, you might save a good deal if your minds were reconciled to that Simplicity mentioned by the Apostle, to wit, the *simplicity that there is in Christ*; and by thus saving you might help poor people in several ways. You might abate of your Interest money, and that might operate in favour of the poor. Your example in a plain life might encourage other rich families in this simple way of living, who, by abating their expenses, might the easier abate the rents of their lands, and their tenants, having farms on easier terms, would have less plea for Shortening the wages of the poor by raising the price of grain than they now have.

I have felt hardships amongst poor people, & had experience of their difficulties. Now my friend! were our Stations in the world to be changed; were thou and thy Children to labour a few years with your hands, under all the wants and difficulties of the poor, toward supporting us and our families in that expensive way of life in which thou and thy family now live; Thou wouldst see that we might have a Sufficiency with much less, and on abating our demands, might make thy labour and the labour of thy children much easier, and doubtless in my case, to thee such abatement would be desirable.

I have read of a heathen King or Emperor so affected with that great Law of Equity, laid down by our Redeemer, that he caused it to be fixed up on the wall of his palace: "Whatsoever ye would that other men should do to you, do ye even so to them." In that law, our Redeemer refers us to our own feeling; and as all men by nature are equally entitled to the Equity of this Law, and under the obligations of it, there appears on the point of tenderness to the poor improvement necessary for thee, my friend.

Rich. If I were to abate all those expenses thou hintest at, I believe some poor people, as hard set to live in the world as those thou speakest of, would lose some business, and be more Straitened to live than they are at present.

Labourer. I know of no employ in life, more innocent in its nature, more healthy, and more acceptable in common to the minds of honest men, than husbandry, followed no further than while action is agreeable to the body only as an agreeable employ; but husbandry, by reason of the smallness of the number employed in it is often made a toyl, and the sweetness thereof frequently changed into hurry and weariness, in doing no more than tennants commonly expect from a man, as the labour of a day.

Rich. I have seen men perform a full day's labour, even in hot weather, and at Night appeared cheerful, and no signs of weariness on them.

Labourer. That may often be seen in strong hearty men; but sometimes the necessities of poor labouring men induce them to labour when they are weakly; and among poor men as amongst others, some are weak by nature, and not of constitutions prepared to go through great labours, and these, in doing what is esteemed a days work in the summer, are frequently very weary before night, even when in health; and when weakly, sometimes struggle with labour to a great degree of oppression.

Labouring to raise the necessities of life, is in itself an honest labour, and the more men there are employed in honest employments, the better. Many of the employments thou hintest at have been invented to gratify the wandering desires of those who, through means of riches, had power to turn money into the Channels of Vanity, which employments are often distressing to the minds of sincere hearted people, who from their childhood have been brought up in them, with intent, that thereby they might get

a living in the world, with whom I have a brotherly sympathy, and not only desire that their faith fail not, but feel a care that Such who have plenty of the things of this life may lay their condition to heart.

I feel that it is my duty to love my heavenly Father with all my Soul and with all my Strength. I feel that pride is opposite to Divine love; and if I put forth my Strength in any employ which I know is to support pride, I feel that it has a tendency to weaken those bands which through the infinite mercies of God, I have felt at times to bind and unite my Soul in a holy fellowship with the Father, and with his Son, Jesus Christ. This I have learned through the precious operation of Divine love, and ardently desire both for myself, and for all who have tasted of it, that nothing may be able to Separate us from it.

When rich men who have the power of circulating money through channels the most pleasant to them, do not stand upright as in the sight of God, but go forth in a way contrary to pure wisdom, it tends to disorder the affairs of Society. And where they gather money through the toil of husbandmen, and circulate it by trading in Superfluities, and employing people in vanities, the Similitude used by the prophet Ezekiel appears applicable. He represents rich men as Strong cattle who feed on the fat pasture, and then wantonly tread down the remainder; and as drinking at a pleasant stream, and then sporting themselves in it till their feet have so stired up the mud, that the thirsty weak cattle have nothing to drink but dirty water. This parable of the prophet appears to represent, not only the bodily hardships, in outward poverty and want, of such poor people who are pressed down by the power of the wealthy, but may properly be applied to those employments about vanities in which many poor people are entangled.

Now if rich men by living in the Simplicity of the Truth, stop the busines of some who labour in gratifying the pride and vanities of peoples minds, and are drinking the dirty waters; if those at the same time abate their Interest, and the rent of their lands, this opens a way for the Tennant to be more liberal with the fruits of the ground, when put in the ballance against the work of poor labouring men.

An honest Tennant who labours himself and knows what it

is to be weary, on agreeing to pay five men full wages for doing that which is now computed a days work for four, might ease the heavy burdens of weakly labourers, and open the way for some now employed in gratifying the vanities of peoples minds to enter upon useful employments.

Men who live on a Supply from the Interest of their money, and do little else but manage it, appear to have but a small share of the labour in carrying on the affairs of a province; and where a member of Society doth but a small share of the business thereof, it appears most agreeable to Equity & true brotherly love, that he should endeavour to live in such sort, as may be most easie to them by whose labour he is chiefly supported.

The substance of some Conversation between a thrifty Landholder, and a Labouring man.

Labouring Man, speaks as follows: I observe of late years that when I buy a bushel of grain for my family, I must do more work to pay for it than I used to do twenty years past. What is the reason of this change?

Landholder. Towns and villages have a gradual increase in these provinces, and the people now employed in husbandry bear, I believe, a less proportion to the whole inhabitants than they did then: this I take to be one reason of the change; but the main cause is that of Sending So much grain & flower abroad.

Labourer. I believe it is so; but I observe that where land is well cleared, and enriched by cattle and sheep, a hundred bushels of rie is raised with less labour now than was necessary when the ground was to clear, and the ploughing interrupted by many stumps; and as we have great plenty of grain raised in our country, it seems uneasie to me, that I must now do more work for a bushel of rie than I did then.

Landholder. The price set on labour is high; but as we have now less labour in clearing land, than we had then, and as young men who have no land of their own are now more numerous, it appears likely that we may have our labour done for lower wages than we had then. And as our Country is now more open, and great quantities of grain are now raised, we are enabled to sup-

ply some people beyond the Seas with grain and flower, for which in return we get many things convenient from abroad. [And this of sending our Grain & flower beyond the seas I take to be another cause of the price of grain being higher than it was thirty years ago.]

Labourer. Of things which to me appear convenient, we through Divine favour have plenty in our own land, and in so much sending abroad, and fetching from far, there is great hazard of men's lives, and the good fruits of the earth brought forth through much labour, are often buried in the Sea. If our people who are beforehand in the world, would be content with living more on the produce of our own land, and instead of employing so many men on the Seas, would employ the greater part of them in husbandry & useful trades, and keep grain more plentifully in our Country, I believe it would be better for us in general, and we labouring people might have grain in proportion to our labour as heretofore; and in the plentiful produce of our Country, rejoice with the landholders. [Amongst the members of Christ, if one of the members rejoices, the others rejoice with it.] But while the landholders have great increase, and therewith gratify themselves and their families with expensive delicacies, and at the same time demand more hard labour of us for a bushel of grain, than they did when much less grain was sent abroad; this falls hard on our side, and though a poor labouring man may behold the Country in outward prosperity, yet feeling the prosperity thereof to be of such a nature, that in getting bread for his family, he must do more work for a bushel of grain than was required of him in years past, it doth not appear that he hath a proportionable share in this prosperity.

Landholder. There are many people in distant parts, who depend on a supply by our grain and flower.

Labourer. I believe some trade abroad might be of advantage to us and to some with whom we trade, if that Spirit which leads into error had no part in directing this trade.

A great stop in trade may not be expected without inconvenience to some; but as the spirit of Truth prevails in our minds we are content with that only which is of real use to us. Thus the love of riches is cast out of our hearts; the desire after costly delicacies is subjected in us, and in true brotherly kindness we

are moved to assist the weak members in the family under their difficulties.

Our flower is often sent abroad to fruitful places; and were the inhabitants of some of those places to apply themselves more to that of raising a living for themselves out of their own ground, and trade less abroad, I believe both we and they, under the Divine blessing, might have a sufficient Supply: less of the produce of the Earth would be sunk in the seas, less expense in carrying abroad and fetching from far; and labour would be made more easy to the tillers of the ground, both here and there.

Landholder. We commonly raise more grain in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in a Year than is a supply for our Inhabitants, and by sending abroad that of which we have no present occasion, we not only get a supply of sundry branches of merchandize from abroad, but also get gold amongst us.

Labourer. In rightly labouring for the true prosperity of a country, we do nothing at which any one of our inhabitants have just cause to Complain; but in putting forward trade beyond the right bounds, grain is made scarce and dear, even in a time of plenty; a poor labouring man must spend more of his strength to get a bushel of rie, than was required of him when less was sent abroad. Thus husbandry one of the most healthful, honest employments, so agreeable and inviting to us, is made a toyl, and becomes wearisome by reason that too few are employed in it, and too much labour assigned as the work of a day.

Many branches of business are invented to please the pride and Vanity of such who wander from pure wisdom, which branches of business are often uneasy to sincere hearted tradesmen; but husbandry is an employment in itself so necessary, and carried on in the open air, that it appears consistent with pure wisdom to have as many employed in it as the nature of the case will rightly admit of, and that those should not be obliged to work harder for a comfortable living than may be an agreeable employ.

Grain of late years is raised, not only in greater plenty than it was formerly, but also with less labour; and that poor labouring men and tradesmen should be under the necessity to spend more of their strength for a bushel of it, than was required of them in years past, is a case that to me doth not appear harmonious in Society.

If gold is brought into our Country through means which renders the condition of the poor more difficult, it appears evident that of that gold the country had better be without.

I believe the real use of gold amongst men, bears a small proportion to the labour in getting it out of the earth, and carrying it about from place to place.

It doth not appear to have much use but that of a currency, and if trade extended no further than was consistent with pure wisdom, I believe trade might be carried on without gold.

To make an axe or a hoe, iron and steel is worth more to the husbandman than gold of an equal weight.

If a man with much gold should travel into those parts of the world where people are all strangers to that high value which is placed on it, and there endeavour to buy the conveniences of life therewith; to propose in exchange so small a piece of metal for so much of the necessities of life, would doubtless to them be matter of admiration.¹

Gold, where the value fixed thereon is agreed to, appears to be attended with a certain degree of power, and where men get much of this power, their hearts are many times in danger of being lifted up above their brethren, and of being estranged from that meekness and tender feeling of the state of the poor, which accompanies the faithful followers of Christ.

Our blessed Redeemer who is always able to supply our wants, even by miracles when that is consistent with infinite wisdom; he, our Gracious Shepherd who well knows our weakness, and the danger there is of our hearts being corrupted by that power which attends riches, commanded us, Lay not up for yourselves treasures here on Earth, and one of his immediate followers, warning us of the woful state of such who continue in the breach of this command said, They who will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction & perdition.

Through the desire of money, men are tempted at times to deal hardly with their poor Neighbours, and in the possession of riches there is a snare.

Through this imaginary greatness, the heart is often ensnared with pride; and through plenty of gold, the way is more open to

¹ Old use of the word, meaning *astonishment*.

gratify the vanity of the desire in delicacies and luxury ; and under these gratifications, there is often a growing exaltation of mind, an imaginary superiority over such who have a small portion of the things of this life, and thus many become estranged from the tender feelings of true brotherly love and Charity.

In a time of plenty, when great quantities of grain and flower are sent to distant parts, a poor man who labours for hire to get bread for his family, must now do more labour for a bushel of rie, than was required for that quantity, thirty years past, which circumstance appears worthy the consideration of such who possess fruitful plantations, or are otherwise entrusted with power, and may justly incite them to beware lest the love of money ensnare their hearts, and lead them on to promote trading beyond the right bounds.

They who hold plentiful estates have power over those who have only their hands to labour, and if they misapply this power, the joynts and bands of Society are disordered. Poor labouring men, in raising up families find occasion to labour too hard, while other poor men would be idle for want of employ, were not employments provided which serve chiefly to gratify the pride and vanity of peoples minds.

Where people love money, and their hearts are ensnared with imaginary greatness, the disease frequently spreads from one to another and children indulged in those wants which proceed from this spirit, have often wants of the same kind in a much larger degree when they grow up to be men and women, and their parents are often entangled in contriving means to supply them with estates to live answerable to those expensive customs, which very early in life have taken hold of their minds.

In contriving to raise estates on these motives, how often are the minds of parents bewildered, perplexed, and drawn into ways & means to get money, which increase the difficulties of poor people who maintain their families by the labour of their hands?

A man may intend to lay up wealth for his children, but may not intend to oppress ; yet, in this fixed intention to increase his estate, the working of his designs may cause the bread of the needy to fail, and at the same time their hardships may remain unnoticed by him.

This the Inspired penman describes in the Similitude of a

man falling. Now a man falling may go headlong where he had no design to go. Having a will to be rich, he may fall; he may fall into the condition of Oppressors, though he had no design to oppress. Thus it remains that the love of money is a root from whence spring many evils; and they who will be rich fall; they fall into temptations and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful customs, which strongly operate against the true harmony of society.

This of making grain scarce in a plentiful country for the sake of getting a little fine mettall as a Currency amongst us, which doth not appear to be worth its weight in Steel for instruments relating to the common business of getting a living in the world, appears to me to work against the general convenience of poor labouring people, and is often a snare to others respecting the inward state of their minds.

The members in society to me appear like the members in a mans body, which only move regularly while the motion proceeds from the head. In fits, people sometimes have convulsive motions, which though strong, are only manifestations of disorder.

While we love God with all our hearts, and love not ourselves in a love different from that which we feel towards mankind universally, so long the way remains open for that *Life* which is the *Light* of men, to operate in us, and lead us forward in all the concerns necessary for us. Here we may rejoice in the testimony of our conscience, that in Simplicity and godly sincerity, we have had our conversation amongst men.

This is a treasure of which through the tender mercies of God, I have in a small degree had experience; and when I think on this outward body being dissolved, and look toward ages who may succeed us, this treasure of all others feels the most precious, and what I ardently desire may be possessed by generations to come.

If Gold comes not rightly into our Country, we had better be without it. The love of money is the root of evil, and while gold comes among us as an effect of the love of money in the hearts of the inhabitants of this land, branches rising up from this root like the degenerate plant of a Strange Vine, will remain to trouble us, & interrupt the true harmony of Society.

The Love of Christ, which preserves the faithful in purity of heart, puts men into a motion which works harmoniously, and in which their example yields clear and safe instruction: thus our Redeemer said, Ye are the light of the world.

This is the standard which God hath commanded to be lifted to the people, and the possibility of this standard being now lifted up by us, standeth in that of a lowly watchful attention to the leadings of Him who is the light of life; and if we go from this standard, we go into a wilderness of confusion.

While we keep to this Standard we are content with a little; but in the love of money and outward greatness the wants of one person may require as much labour to supply them, as would supply ten whose wants extend no further than those things which our heavenly Father knoweth that we have need of. And where people are entangled with that Spirit in which men receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which cometh from God only, in this state expence ariseth frequently on expence, and in the increase of outward substance they often find occasion for a greater increase. Thus, a man on some new acquaintance with one whose living in the world is more specious than his own, may feel an inclination to rise up as high as to a level with him, and to attain this he may frame new devices to increase his estate, and these devices may cause the bread of the needy to fail, though his intent was only to get riches to himself.

Now as men have a will to be rich, and in that will follow on in the pursuit of devices which work against the convenient living of poor honest people, in this course they decrease as to that of being kind and tender-hearted, in seeking after the wants of the weak and helpless: and in that spirit in which men receive honour one from another, their minds are towards Outward power to Support themselves in that which they possess.

With gold men often hire armies and make great preparations for war. Now in raising great armies and Supporting them, much labour becomes necessary, which otherwise would not be needful; and in the long continuation of these things, the yoke lies heavy on many poor people.

The battles of the warrior are not only with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood, but commonly contrived in the craft and Subtilty of mans wisdom; and if we trust in man, make

flesh our arm, and are estranged from that purified state in which the mind relieth on God, we are in the way towards an increase of confusion; and this state, even among much gold and great riches, is less settled and quiet, than that of a faithful follower of the lowly Jesus, who is contented with those things which our heavenly Father knoweth that we have need of.

In this state we are dead, and our life is hid with Christ in God. Dead to the love of money. Dead to worldly honour, and to that friendship which is at enmity with Him, and thus He is felt to be our Rock and our Safe Habitation.

In the love of money and outward greatness, the mind is perplexed with selfish devices; how to keep! how to defend from the crafty designs of the proud & envious! and from the desperate attempts of the oppressed.

Now in the bottom of these devices there is unquietness. For where gold or treasures are gathered, and not in that wisdom which is pure and peaceable, the mind in this state is left naked. The robe of Gods righteousness is a Covering, which to them who are Sanctified in Christ Jesus, is an abundant recompense for the loss of that life, with all its treasures, which stood in the wisdom of this world. Under this robe we feel that all things work together for our good; that we have no cause to promote, but the cause of pure Universal Love; and here all our cares Center in a humble trust in Him who is Omnipotent.

An Epistle
to the
Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends.
1772.

This "Epistle" is John Woolman's farewell to his friends in America, just before he sailed for England. The manuscript is found at the end of the chapter "On Serving the Lord in our Outward Employments," which is in quarto form at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

The following extract is from a letter written near the time of his departure; it is one of the last of his farewell notes which exist.¹ ". . . If thou and Such in this Citty, who are care-

¹ Pemberton Papers, Vol. XXIII, p. 117. Historical Society of Penna. See text of letter, Introduction.

A N
E P I S T L E
T O T H E
Q U A R T E R L Y a n d M O N T H L Y
M E E T I N G S
O F
F R I E N D S.

By JOHN WOOLMAN.

L O N D O N:

Re-printed by MARY HINDE.

ful to look over writings propos^d to be printed and to amend, what may be imperfect, would employ a little time in correcting that piece, and after ward let me see the propos'd alterations, it would be acceptable to me to look over them.

Seventh Day morning.
for

John Woolman
(4mo. 1772)"

Israel Pemberton.

The manuscript of the Epistle was left in the hands of John Pemberton, Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings, to whom was also given the Journal, not for publication, unless in the event of his death, when it was to be printed at once. The Epistle must have appeared almost at the same time that his death occurred at York. The Minutes of the meeting contain the following entry:

"At a Monthly Meeting for Sufferings held in Philadelphia, 18th. of 6th month, 1772.

An Epistle wrote by Our Friend John Woolman directed to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends having been read (pursuant to his desire just before he embarked on a Religious Visit to Friends in Europe) at the last, and again at this Meeting, & the subject & General terms thereof being approv'd, Israel Pemberton, James Pemberton, Anth^o Benezet, William Brown, John Reynell & William Horne are appointed to revise it carefully & to treat with a Printer for Printing it."

The following month, the same Meeting, with Samuel Neale, a visiting English Friend also present, ordered two thousand copies printed for distribution. At the next meeting the Clerk was ordered "to send a share to each of the Provinces where there are meetings of Friends." Joseph Crukshank at this time printed the official papers of the Friends at Philadelphia, and this pamphlet was undoubtedly included among the items submitted by him in the bill which he presented to the meeting, in 9 mo. 1772.

Anthony Benezet, James Pemberton and John Pemberton had the care of its distribution, and Samuel Smith, Treasurer, was directed to pay costs of printing.

They sold in New York and New England among the Friends, at two shillings per dozen.

THE EPISTLE

Beloved Friends,—

Feeling at this time a renewed concern that the pure Principle of Light and Life, (and the righteous fruits thereof) may

spread and prevail amongst mankind, there is an engagement in my heart to labour with my brethren in religious profession, that none of us may be a stumbling-block in the way of others, but may so walk that our conduct may reach the pure witness in the hearts of such who are not in profession with us.

And dear Friends, while we publicly own that the Holy Spirit is our leader our conduct on this principle being chargeable on Christ, the profession in itself is weighty; and the weightiness thereof increaseth in proportion as we are noted among the professors of the Truth, and active in dealing with such who walk disorderly.

Many under our professions for want of a due attention & a perfect resignation to this Divine Teacher, have in some things manifested a deviation from the purity of our religious principles, and these deviations having crept in amongst us by little & little, & increasing from less to greater, have been so far unnoticed that some living in them, have been active in putting discipline in practice, with relation to others, whose conduct hath appeared more dishonourable in the world.

Now as my mind has been exercised before the Lord, I have seen that the discipline of the church of Christ standeth in that which is pure. That it is the wisdom from above which gives authority to discipline, and that the weightiness thereof standeth not in any outward circumstances, but in the authority of Christ who is the author of it. And where any walk after the flesh, and live against the purity of Truth, and at the same time are active in putting discipline in practice, a veil is gradually drawn over the purity of discipline, & over that holiness of life which Christ leads those into "in whom the love of God is verily perfected."

1 John ii. 5.

When we labour in true love with offenders, & they remain obstinate, it sometimes is necessary to proceed as far as our blessed Lord directed: "Let him be to thee as an heathen man, or a publican." [Mat. xviii. 17.]

Now when such are disowned and they who act therein feel Christ made unto them wisdom, and are preserved in the meek, restoring spirit, there is no just cause of offence ministered to them. But when they who are active in dealing with offenders, indulge in that which is against the purity of Truth, and yet

judge others whose conduct appears more dishonourable than theirs, here the pure authority of discipline ceaseth as to such offenders, and a temptation is laid in their way to wrangle and contend.

"Judge not," said our Blessed Lord, "that ye be not judged." Now this forbidding alludes to man's judgment, and points out the necessity of our humbly attending to that sanctifying power, under which the faithful experience the Lord to be "a spirit of judgment to them." Isa. xxviii. 6. And as we feel his Holy Spirit to mortify the deeds of the body in us, we can say, "it is no more I that live, but Christ that liveth in me"; here right judgment is known.

And while Divine love prevails in our hearts, & self in us is brought under judgment, a preparation is felt to labour in a right manner with offenders; but if we abide not in this love, our outward performance in dealing with others & in imitation of worshippers, degenerates into formality. For "this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments." 1 John v. 3.

How weighty are those instructions of our Redeemer concerning religious duties, when he points out that those who pray, should be so obedient to the teachings of the holy Spirit, that, humbly confiding in his help, they may say, Thy name, O Father, be hallowed! "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." In this awful state of mind people feel that worship which stands in doing the will of God on earth as it is done in heaven, and keeping the holy Name sacred. To take a holy profession upon us is awful; nor can we keep this holy Name sacred, but by humbly abiding under the power of the cross of Christ. Against some who prophaned his holy Name by their living the apostle made heavy complaint. "Through you, the name of God is blasphemed amongst the Gentiles." Rom. ii. 24.

Some of our ancestors through many tribulations were gathered into the state of true worshippers, and had fellowship in that which is pure, and as one was inwardly moved to kneel down in their assemblies, and publicly call on the name of the Lord, those in the harmony of united exercise then present, joined in the prayer. I mention this that we of the present age, may look unto the Rock from whence we were hewn, and remember that to unite in worship is a union in prayer, and that

prayer acceptable to the Father is only in a mind truly sanctified. where the sacred name taken on us is kept holy, and the heart resigned to do his will on earth as it is done in heaven. "If ye abide in me," saith Christ, "& my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will in my name, and it shall be done unto you." Now we know not what to pray for as we ought, but as the holy Spirit doth open and direct our minds, and as we faithfully yield to it, our prayers unite with the will of our heavenly Father, who fails not to grant that which his own spirit through his children asketh. Thus preservation from sin is known, and the fruits of righteousness brought forth by such who inwardly unite in prayer.

How weighty are our solemn meetings when the name of Christ taken upon us is kept holy! How precious is that state, in which the children of the Lord are so redeemed from the love of this world, that they are Accepted and Blessed in all that they do. [R. Barclay's Apology, p. 404.]

How necessary is it that we who profess these principles, and are outwardly active in supporting them, should faithfully abide in Divine strength, that as He who hath called us, is holy, so we also may be holy in all manner of conversation. 1 Pet. i. 15.

If one professing to be influenced by the Spirit of Christ propose to unite in a labour to promote righteousness in the earth, who in time past hath manifestly deviated from equity, then to act consistently his first work is to make restitution so far as he may be enabled. For if he attempts to contribute toward a work intended to promote righteousness, while it appears he neglecteth, or refuseth to act righteously himself, his conduct herein hath a tendency to entangle the minds of those who are weak in the faith who behold these things, and to draw a veil over the purity of righteousness, by carrying an appearance as though that was righteousness which is not.

Again if I propose to assist in supporting those principles wherein that purity of life is held forth in which customs proceeding from the spirit of this world have no place, and at the same time strengthen others in those customs by my example, then the first step in an orderly proceeding is to cease from those customs myself, and afterwards to labour, as I may be enabled, to promote the like in others.

To be convinced of the pure principle of Truth, and dili-

gently exercised in walking answerable thereto, is necessary before I can consistently recommend this principle to others, and I often feel a labour in spirit, that we who are active members in Society, may experience in ourselves the truth of those expressions of the Holy One, "I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me." Lev. x. 3. In this case my mind hath been often exercised when alone, year after year, for many years, and in the renewings of Divine Love, a tender care hath been incited in me, that we who profess this inward Light to be our teacher, may be a family united in that purity of worship, which comprehends a holy life, & ministers instruction to others.

My mind is often drawn towards children who have a small share of the things of this life, who, coming to have families, may be inwardly exercised before the Lord to support them in a way agreeable to the purity of Truth, wherein they may feel his blessing upon them in their labours, and the thoughts of such being entangled with customs contrary to pure wisdom conveyed to them through our hands, doth often very tenderly & movingly affect my heart; and while I look towards my own dissolution, and think on a succeeding generation, fervent desires are raised in me, that we yielding to that holy Spirit which leads into all truth, may not do the work of the Lord deceitfully, may not live against the purity of our own principles but as faithful labourers in our age, may be instrumental in removing the stumbling-blocks out of the way of such who may succeed us.

Such was the love of Christ that he gave himself for the Church, that he might so sanctify and cleanse it, that it should be holy and without blemish, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing. Eph. 5. 25. And where any take the name of Christ upon them and profess to be led by his holy Spirit & yet manifestly deviate from the purity of Truth, these acting herein against the gracious design of his *giving himself for us*, do minister cause for the continuation of his afflictions.

Christ suffered afflictions in a body of flesh received from the virgin Mary, but the afflictions of Christ are yet unfinished, for they who are baptized into Christ are baptized into his death, and as we humbly abide under the sanctifying Power, and come forth in newness of life, we feel Christ to live in us, and he being the same yesterday to-day and forever, and always at unity with

himself, his spirit in the hearts of his people leads to an inward exercise for the salvation of mankind. And when, under travail of spirit, we behold a visited people entangled with that which is not of the Father but of the world, & therein fail of being faithful examples to others; under a sense of these things sorrow & heaviness is often experienced, & thus in some measure is filled up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ.

Our blessed Lord, speaking on gifts offered in Divine service, said, If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift; he saith not seek reconciliation before thou bringest a second gift, but commands a full stop. First go and be reconciled to thy brother. Now there is no true unity, but in that wherein the Father and the Son are united: nor can there be a perfect reconciliation, but in ceasing from that which ministers cause for the continuation of the afflictions of Christ. And if any proposing to bring their gift to the Altar, do remember the customary contradiction which some of their fruits bear to a pure Spiritual worship, here it appears necessary to lay to heart this command, Leave thy gift by the altar.

Christ graciously calls his people brethren: whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother. [Mark iii. 35.] Now if we walk contrary to the Truth as it is in Jesus while we continue to profess it, we offend against Christ, and if under this offence we bring our gift to the Altar our Redeemer doth not direct us to take back our gift, he doth not discourage us from proceeding in a good work, but graciously points out the necessary means by which the gift may be rendered acceptable. Leave, saith he, thy gift by the altar, first go and be reconciled to thy brother. Cease from that which grieves the holy Spirit, cease from that which is against the Truth as it is in Jesus, and then come and offer thy gift.

I feel while I write a tenderness toward such, who through Divine favour are preserved in a lively feeling of the state of the churches, and who at times may be under discouragements with regard to proceeding in that pure way which Christ by his holy spirit leads into. The depth of disorder and weakness which so much prevails, being opened, doubtings are apt to arise, as to the possibility of proceeding as an assembly of the Lord's

people in the pure counsel of Truth. And here I feel care to express in uprightness that which hath been opened in my mind under the power of the cross of Christ, relating to a gathered visible church, the members whereof are guided by the holy Spirit.

This church is called the body of Christ. Col. i. 24.

Christ is called the head of the church. Eph. i. 22.

The church is called the pillar & the ground of Truth. 1 Tim. iii. 15.

Thus the church hath a name that is sacred; and the necessity of keeping this name holy, appears evident, for where a number of people unite in a profession of being led by the spirit of Christ, and publish their principles to the world, the acts and proceedings of that people may in some measure be considered as that which Christ is the author of.

Now while we stand in this station, if the pure Light of life is not followed in our proceedings, we are in the way of profaning the holy name, and of going backward towards that wilderness of sufferings and persecution out of which through the tender mercies of God, a church in this nation hath been in a great measure gathered. Christ liveth in sanctified vessels. Gal. ii: 20. and where they behold this holy name profaned, and the pure gospel light eclipsed through the unfaithfulness of such who by their station appear to be standard-bearers under the prince of peace these living members in the body of Christ, in beholding these things do in some degree experience the fellowship of his sufferings: and as the wisdom of this world more and more takes place in conducting the affairs of this visible gathered Church, and the pure leadings of the Holy Spirit less waited for & followed, so the true suffering seed is more & more oppressed.

My mind is often affected with the condition of sincere hearted people in some kingdoms where liberty of conscience is not allowed, many of whom being burdened in their minds with prevailing superstition joined with oppressions are often under sorrow. And where such have attended to that pure Light which in some degree hath opened their understandings, and for their faithfulness to Christ have been brought to examination and trial, how heavy are the persecutions which in divers parts of the world are exercised on them! How mighty as to the outward is that

power by which they are borne down & oppressed! How deeply affecting is the condition of many upright-hearted people taken into the papal inquisition! What lamentable cruelties in deep vaults in a private way are exercised on many of them! and how lingering is that death by a small slow fire, which those have frequently endured, who have been faithful to the end.

How many tender-spirited protestants have been sentenced to spend the remainder of their lives in a galley chained to an oar under hard-hearted masters, while their young children were placed out for education amongst strangers, and taught principles so contrary to the consciences of the parents, that in dissenting from them they have hazarded their liberty and all that was dear to them of the things of this world!

There have been in times past severe persecutions under the English government, and many sincere hearted people, in different ages, suffered death for the testimony of a good conscience, whose faithfulness in their day hath ministered encouragement to others, and been a blessing to many who have succeeded them. Thus from age to age the darkness being more & more removed, a channel at length, through the tender mercies of God hath been opened for the exercise of the pure gift of the gospel ministry, without interruption from outward power. A work, the like of which is rare, and unknown in many parts of the world.

As these things are often fresh in my mind, and this great work of God going on in the world has been open before me, that liberty of conscience with which we are favoured, hath not appeared as a light matter.

A trust is committed to us, a great & weighty trust, to which our diligent attention is necessary. Wherever the active members of this visible gathered church use themselves to that which is against the purity of our principles, it appears to be a breach of this trust, and one step backwards toward the wilderness; one step towards undoing what God, in Infinite Love, hath done through his faithful servants, in a work of several ages, and appears like laying the foundation for future sufferings.

I feel a living invitation in my mind to such who are active in our religious society, that we may lay to heart this matter, and consider the station in which we stand. We stand in a place of outward liberty, under the free exercise of our conscience

towards God, not obtained but through great and manifold afflictions of those who lived before us. There is gratitude due from us to our heavenly Father. There is justice due to our posterity. Can our hearts endure, or our hands be strong if we desert a cause so precious; if we turn aside from a work under which so many have patiently laboured?

May the deep sufferings of Christ be so dear to us, that we may never trample under foot the Adorable Son of God, nor count the blood of the covenant unholy!

May the faithfulness of the martyrs, when the prospect of death by fire was before them, be remembered. And may the patient, constant sufferings of upright hearted servants of God in later ages, be revived in our minds! And may we so follow on to know the Lord, that neither the faithful in this age, nor those in ages to come, may ever be brought under sufferings through our sliding back from the work of reformation in the world!

While the active members in the visible gathered church stand upright, and the affairs thereof are carried on under the leadings of the Holy Spirit, altho' disorders may arise amongst us, and cause many exercises to such who feel the care of the churches upon them, yet while these continue under the weight of the work, and labour in the meekness of wisdom for the help of others, the name of Christ in the visible gathered church may be kept sacred, but while they who are active in the visible gathered church, remain & continue in a manifest opposition to the purity of our principles, this, as the prophet Isaiah expresseth it, is like as when a standard-bearer fainteth. Is. 10. 18. And here the way opens to great and prevailing degeneracy, and to sufferings for such who through the power of Divine love, are *separated to the gospel of Christ*, and cannot unite with that which stands in opposition to the purity of it.

The necessity of an inward stillness, hath under these exercises appeared clear to my mind. In true silence strength is renewed, the mind herein is weaned from all things, but as they may be enjoyed in the Divine Will, and a lowliness in outward living, opposite to worldly honour, becomes truly acceptable to us. In the desire of outward gain, the mind is prevented from a perfect attention to the voice of Christ, but in the weaning of

the mind from all things but as they may be enjoyed in the Divine will, the pure Light shines into the soul. And where the fruits of that spirit which us of this world are brought forth by many who profess to be led by the spirit of Truth, & cloudiness is felt to be gathering over the visible gathered church; the sincere in heart who abide in true stillness, and therein are exercised before the Lord for his name's sake, these have a knowledge of Christ in the fellowship of his sufferings, and inward thankfulness is felt at times that through Divine love our own wisdom is cast out, and that forward active part subjected in us, which would rise up and do something in the visible gathered church without the pure leadings of Christ.

While Aught remains in us different from a perfect resignation of our wills, it is like a seal to a book wherein is written that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God concerning us. Rom. 12. 2. But when our minds entirely yield to Christ, that silence is known, which followeth the opening of the last of the seals. Rev. viii. 1. In this silence we learn a patient abiding in the Divine Will, and there feel, that we have no cause to promote but that only in which the Light of Life directs us in our proceedings, and that the only way to be useful in the church of Christ, is to abide faithfully under the leadings of his holy spirit in all cases, that therein being preserved in purity of heart and holiness of conversation, a testimony to the purity of his government may be held forth through us to others.

As my mind hath been thus exercised, I have seen that to be active and busy in the visible gathered church, without the leadings of the Holy Spirit, is not only unprofitable, but tends to increase dimness; and where way is not opened to proceed in the light of Truth, a stop is felt by those who humbly attend to the Divine leader: A stop which in relation to good order in the visible gathered church, is of the greatest consequence to be observed. Thus Robert Barclay in his treatise on discipline holds forth, "That the judgment or conclusion of the church or congregation, is no further effectual as to the true end and design thereof, but as such judgment or conclusion proceeds from the Spirit of God operating on their minds who are sanctified in Christ Jesus," pp. 65, 68, 84.¹

¹ See "Apology," &c., Proposition XI. "Of Worship."

Now in this stop I have learned the necessity of waiting on the Lord in humility, that the works of all may be brought to the Light, and those brought to judgment which are wrought in the wisdom of this world: and have seen that in a mind thoroughly subjected to the power of the cross, there is a savour of Life which may be felt, and which evidently tends to gather souls to God; while the greatest works in the visible gathered church, brought forth in man's wisdom, remain to be unprofitable.

Where people are divinely gathered into a holy fellowship, and faithfully abide under the influence of that Spirit which leads into all truth, these are they who are *the light of the world*. Mat. 5. 14. Now, holding this profession, to me hath appeared weighty, even weighty beyond what I can fully express, and what our blessed Lord appears to have had in view when he proposed the necessity of counting the cost before we begin to build.

I trust there are many who at times, under Divine visitation, feel an inward inquiry after God. And when such in the simplicity of their hearts, mark the lives of a people who profess to walk by the leadings of his Spirit, of what great concernment is it that our lights shine clear, it is that nothing pertaining to us carry a contradiction to the Truth as it is in Jesus, or be a means of profaning his holy Name, and a stumbling block in the way of those sincere inquirers.

When such seekers who are wearied with empty forms, look towards uniting with us as a people, and behold active members amongst us in their customary way of living, depart from that purity of life, which under humbling exercises hath been opened before them as the way of the Lord's people, how mournful and discouraging is the prospect! and how strongly doth such unfaithfulness operate against the spreading of the peaceable, harmonious principle and testimony of Truth amongst mankind?

In entering into that life which is hid with Christ in God, we behold the peaceable government of Christ, where the whole family are governed by the same spirit and doing to others as we would they should do unto us groweth up as good fruit from a good tree. The peace the quietness and harmonious walking in this government, is beheld with humble reverence to Him who is the author of it, and in partaking of the Spirit of Christ, we par-

take of that which labours, and suffers for the increase of this peaceable government amongst the inhabitants of the world. And I have felt a labour of long continuance that we who profess this peaceable principle, may be faithful standard-bearers under the prince of peace, and that nothing of a defiling nature tending to discord and wars, may remain amongst us. .

May each of us query with ourselves have the treasures I possess been gathered in that wisdom which is from above as far as hath appeared to me? Have none of my fellow-creatures an equitable right to any part of that which is called mine? Have the gifts and possessions received by me from others, been conveyed in a way free from all unrighteousness so far as I have seen?

The principle of peace, in which our trust is only on the Lord and our minds weaned from a dependance on the strength of armies, to me hath appeared very precious; and I often feel strong desires that we who profess this principle may so walk as to give just cause for none of our fellow-creatures to be offended at us, and that our lives may evidently manifest that we are redeemed from that spirit in which wars are. Our blessed Saviour in pointing out the danger of so leaning on man as to neglect the leadings of his Holy Spirit said, "Call no man your father upon the earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven." Mat. 23. 9. Where the wisdom from above is faithfully followed, and therein we are entrusted with outward substance, it is a treasure committed to our care in the nature of an inheritance from him who formed & supports the world.

Now in this condition the true enjoyment of the good things of this life is understood, and that blessing felt in which is real safety. This is what our blessed Lord appears to have had in view when he said Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.

Selfish men may hold lands in the selfish spirit, and depending on outward power be perplexed with secret uneasiness lest the injured should some time overpower them or the measure be meted to them which they are measuring to others. Thus selfish men may possess the earth; but it is the meek who inherit the earth, who enjoy it as an inheritance from their heavenly Father, free from all the defilements and perplexities of unrighteousness.

Where proceedings have been in that wisdom which is from

beneath, and unequitable gain been gathered by a man, and left as a gift to his children, who being entangled with the worldly spirit have not attained to that clearness in which the channels of righteousness are opened, and justice done to those who remain silent under injuries, here I have seen under humbling exercises that the sins of the fathers are embraced by the children and become their sins, & thus in the days of tribulation, the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon these children who take hold on the unrighteousness of their fathers, and live in that spirit in which those iniquities were committed. To which agreeth that prophesie of Moses concerning a rebellious people, They that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquities in your enemies land, and in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away. Levit. 26, 39. And our blessed Lord in beholding the hardness of heart in that generation, and feeling in himself that they lived in the same spirit in which the prophets had been persecuted unto death, signified that the blood of all the prophets shed from the foundation of the world should be required of that generation. From the blood of Abel, to the blood of Zacharias, who perished between the altar and the temple. Verily I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation. Luke 11. 51.

Tender compassion fills my heart toward my fellow-creatures estranged from the harmonious government of the prince of peace, and a labour attends me that many may be gathered to this peaceable habitation.

In being inwardly prepared to suffer adversities for Christ's sake, and weaned from a dependence on the arm of flesh, we feel that there is a rest for the people of God, and that this rest stands in a perfect resignation of ourselves to his Will.

This condition where all our wants and desires are bounded by pure wisdom, and our minds wholly attentive to the inward council of Christ, hath appeared to me as a habitation of safety for the Lord's people in time of outward commotion & trouble and desires from the fountain of Love, are opened in me to invite my brethren and fellow-creatures to feel for that which gathers the mind into it.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

Mount Holly New Jersey

mo

4, 1772.

LAST ESSAYS

Written at Sea and in England

The five little Essays which follow were originally published immediately after John Woolman's death, by the Quaker publisher, Mary Hinde, in London, 1773, grouped as "Remarks on Sundry Subjects." They were preceded in the small duodecimo by the essay, "Serious Considerations on Various Subjects of Importance." The American "Epistle" was included, and a reprint also of the essay on the "True Harmony of Mankind."

A memorandum on the manuscript at Swarthmore College states: "60 pages of his manuscript written in England or at Sea," and printed there as "Remarks on Sundry Subjects." The Dublin Edition of the "Journal and Works," 1794, appears to be the only one in which "On Trading in Superfluities" is given under the separate heading. These little Essays were of course the last from Woolman's pen.

There exist, however, at Almerly Garth, York, in the house in which he died, complete copies of these essays accompanying the account of his last illness and death. These transcriptions have been carefully preserved on the spot since the author's death, when the originals were sent back to America, to form the copy for the first complete Philadelphia edition of 1774. Through the kindness of the late owner, Malcolm Spence and his sister, Ellen Spence, photographic reproductions and verbatim copies have permitted careful collation by the present editor.

Paragraphs which John Woolman's notes in the York MSS. indicate that he intended to place under proper headings, are so arranged in the present edition. The Essays gain greatly in clearness by following their author's intention.

The close of the Journal contains the little English Essay, "Concerning the Ministry," written at the same period as this group, but fitting better in the narrative as Woolman himself placed it.

I

ON LOVING OUR NEIGHBOURS AS OURSELVES.

When we love the Lord with all our Hearts, and his Creatures in his Love, we are then preserved in Tenderness both toward Mankind and the Animal Creation; but if another Spirit gets Room in our Minds, and we follow it in our Proceedings, we are then in the Way of disordering the Affairs of Society.¹

People may have no Intention to oppress, yet by entering on expensive Ways of Life, their Minds may be so entangled therein, and so engag'd to support expensive Customs, as to be estranged from the pure sympathizing Spirit.

As I have travell'd in England, I have had a tender Feeling of the Condition of poor People, some of whom though honest and industrious, have nothing to spare toward paying for the Schooling of their Children.

There is a Proportion between Labour and the Necessaries of Life, and, in true Brotherly Love, the Mind is open to feel after the Necessities of the Poor.

Amongst the Poor there are some that are weak through Age, and others of a weakly Nature, who pass through Straits in very private life, without asking Relief from the Public.

Such who are strong and healthy may do that Business which to the Weakly may be oppressive; and in performing that in a Day which is esteem'd a Day's Labour, by weakly Persons in the Field and in the Shops, and by weakly Women who spin and knit in the Manufactories, they often pass through Weariness; and many Sighs I believe are uttered in secret, unheard by some who might ease their Burdens.

Labour in the right Medium is healthy, but in too much of it there is a painful Weariness; and the Hardships of the Poor are sometimes increased through Want of more agreeable Nourishment, more plentiful fuel for the Fire, and warmer Cloathing in the Winter than their Wages will answer.

¹ The next few paragraphs are usually found as the concluding portion of the essay, "On a Sailor's Life." By placing them here, that Essay is much abbreviated, but the subject gains in clearness, and the arrangement is in accord with a memorandum in the York MS. James Cropper's edition of 1840 shows collation with the York MS. also in this respect.

When I have beheld Plenty in some Houses to a Degree of Luxury, the Condition of poor Children brought up without Learning, and the Condition of the Weakly and Aged, who strive to live by their Labour, have often reviv'd in my Mind, as Cases of which some who live in Fulness need to be put in Remembrance.

There are few, if any, who could behold their Fellow Creatures lie long in Distress and forbear to help them, when they could do it without any Inconvenience; but Customs requiring much Labour to support them, do often lie heavy on the Poor, while they who live in these Customs are so entangled in a Multitude of unnecessary Concerns, that they think but little of the Hardships which the poor People go through.

If a Man successful in Business expends Part of his Income in Things of no real Use, while the Poor employ'd by him pass through great Difficulties in getting the Necessaries of Life, this requires his serious Attention.

If several principal Men in Business unite in setting the Wages of those who work for Hire, and therein have Regard to a Profit to themselves answerable to unnecessary Expence in their Families, which the Wages of the others on a moderate Industry will not afford a comfortable Living for their families, and a proper Education for their Children, this is like laying a Temptation in the Way of some to strive for a Place higher than they are in, when they have not Stock sufficient for it.

Now I feel a Concern in the Spring of pure Love, that all who have Plenty of outward Substance, may Example others in the right Use of Things; may carefully look into the Condition of poor People, and beware of exacting on them with regard to their Wages.

While hired Labourers, by moderate Industry, through the Divine Blessing, may live comfortably, raise up Families, and give them suitable Education, it appears reasonable for them to be content with their Wages.

If they who have Plenty, love their Fellow Creatures in that Love which is Divine, and in all their Proceedings have an equal Regard to the Good of Mankind universally, their Place in Society is a Place of care, an Office requiring Attention, and the more we possess, the greater is our Trust and with an

Increase of Treasure, an Increase of Care becomes necessary.

When our Will is subject to the Will of God, and in relation to the Things of this World, we have nothing in View, but a comfortable Living, equally with the rest of our Fellow Creatures, then outward Treasures are no further desirable than as we feel a Gift in our Minds equal to the Trust, and Strength to act as dutiful Children in His Service who hath formed all Mankind, and appointed a Subsistence for us in this World.

A Desire for Treasures on any other Motive, appears to be against that Command of our blessed Saviour, *Lay not up for yourselves Treasures here on Earth.*

He forbids not laying up in the Summer against the Wants of Winter; nor doth he teach us to be slothful in that which properly relates to our being in this World: but in this Prohibition he puts in *yourselves*. Lay not up for *yourselves* Treasures here on Earth.

Now in the pure Light, this Language is understood, for in the Love of Christ there is no Respect of Persons: and while we abide in his Love, we live not to *ourselves*, but to him who died for us. And as we are thus united in Spirit to Christ, we are engaged to labour in promoting that Work in the Earth for which he suffer'd.

In this State of Mind our Desires are, that every honest Member in Society may have a Portion of Treasure, and Share of Trust, answerable to that Gift with which our Heavenly Father hath gifted us.

In great Treasure, there is a great Trust.

A great Trust requireth great Care.

But the laborious Mind wants Rest.

A pious Man is content to do a Share of Business in Society, answerable to the Gifts with which he is endowed, while the Channels of Business are free from Unrighteousness, but is careful lest at any Time his Heart be overcharg'd.

In the harmonious Spirit of Society, Christ is all in all.

Here it is that *Old Things are past away, all Things are new,*

all things are of God; and the Desire for outward Riches is at at End.

They of low Degree who have small Gifts, enjoy their Help who have large Gifts; those with their small Gifts, have a small degree of Care, while these with their large Gifts, have a large degree of Care: And thus to abide in the Love of Christ, and enjoy a Comfortable Living in this World, is all that is aimed at by those Members in Society, to whom Christ is made *Wisdom* and *Righteousness*.

But when they who have much Treasure, are not faithful Stewards of the Gifts of God, great Difficulties attend it.

Now this Matter hath deeply affected my Mind. The Lord, through merciful Chastisements, hath given me a Feeling of that Love, in which the Harmony of Society standeth, and a Sight of the Growth of that Seed which bringeth forth Wars and great Calamities in the World, and a Labour attends me to open it to others.

Now to act with integrity, according to that Strength of Mind and Body with which our Creator hath endowed each of us, appears necessary for all, and he who thus stands in the lowest Station in society, appears to be entitled to as comfortable and convenient a Living, as he whose Gifts of mind are Greater, and whose Cares are more extensive.

If some endowed with strong Understanding as Men, abide not in the harmonious State, in which we *love our neighbours as ourselves*, but walk in that Spirit in which the Children of this World are wise in their Generation; these by the Strength of Contrivance may sometimes gather great Treasure but the Wisdom of this World is Foolishness with God; and if we gather Treasures in Worldly Wisdom, we lay up *Treasures for ourselves*: and great Treasures managed in any other Spirit than the Spirit of Truth, disordereth the Affairs of Society, for hereby the good Gifts of God in this outward Creation, are turned into the Channels of Worldly Honour, and frequently applied to support Luxury, while the Wages of poor Labourers are such, that with moderate Industry and Frugality they may not live comfortably, raise up Families, and give them suitable Education, but through the Streightness of their Condition, are often drawn on to labour under Weariness, to toil through Hardships themselves,

and frequently to oppress those useful Animals with which we are entrusted.

From Age to Age, throughout all Ages, Divine Love is that alone in which Dominion has been, is, and will be rightly conducted.

In this the Endowments of Men are so employ'd, that the Friend and the Governor are united in one, and oppressive Customs come to an end.

Riches in the Hands of Individuals in Society, is attended with some degree of Power; and so far as Power is put forth separate from pure Love, so far the Government of the Prince of peace is interrupted; and as we know not that our Children after us will dwell in that State in which Power is rightly applied, to lay up Riches for them appears to be against the Nature of his Government.

The Earth, through the Labour of Men under the Blessing of Him who formed it, yieldeth a Supply for the Inhabitants from Generation to Generation, and they who walk in the pure Light, their Minds are prepared to taste and relish not only those Blessings which are spiritual, but also feel a Sweetness and Satisfaction in a right Use of the good Gifts of God in the visible Creation.

Here we see that Man's Happiness stands not in great Possessions, but in a Heart devoted to follow Christ, in that Use of Things, where Customs contrary to universal Love have no Power over us.

In this State our Hearts are prepared to trust in God, and our Desires for our Children and Posterity are, that they, with the rest of Mankind, in Ages to come, may be of that Number of whom he hath said, *I will be a Father to them, and they shall be my Sons and Daughters.*

When Wages in a fruitful Land bear so small a Proportion to the Necessaries of Life, that poor honest People who have Families cannot by a moderate Industry attain to a comfortable Living, and give their Children sufficient Learning, but must either labour to a degree of Oppression, or else omit that which appears to be a Duty:

While this is the Case with the Poor, there is an Inclination in the Minds of most People, to prepare at least so much Treas-

ure for their Children, that they with Care and moderate Industry may live free from these Hardships which the Poor pass through.

Now this Subject requireth our serious Consideration: to labour that our Children may be put in a Way to live comfortably, appears in itself to be a Duty, so long as these our Labours are consistent with universal Righteousness: but if in striving to shun Poverty, we do not walk in that State where *Christ is our life*, then we wander; *He that hath the Son, hath Life. "This Life is the Light of Men."* If we walk not in this Light, we walk in Darkness, and *he that walketh in Darkness, knoweth not whither he goeth.*

To keep to right Means in labouring to attain a right End is necessary. If in striving to shun Poverty, we strive only in that State where Christ is the Light of our Life, our Labours will stand in the true Harmony of Society, but if People are confident that the End aimed at is good, and in this Confidence pursue it so eagerly, as not to wait for the Spirit of Truth to lead them, then they come to Loss. *Christ is given to be a Leader and Commander of the People.* Again; *the Lord shall guide thee continually*, Isaiah lviii. 12. Again: *"Lord, thou wilt ordain Peace for us, for thou also hast wrought all our Works in us."* Isaiah xxvi. 12. *In the Lord have we Righteousness and Strength.* Isaiah xlv. 24.

In this State our Minds are preserved watchful in following the Leadings of his Spirit in all our Proceedings in this World, and a Care is felt for a Reformation in general. That our own Posterity, with the rest of Mankind in succeeding Ages, may not be entangled by oppressive Customs, transmitted to them through our Hands; but if people in the Narrowness of natural Love, are afraid that their Children will be oppressed by the Rich, and through an eager Desire to get Treasures, depart from the pure Leadings of Truth in one Case, though it may seem to be a small Matter, yet the Mind even in that small Matter may be embolden'd to continue in a Way of Proceeding, without waiting for the Divine Leader.

Thus People may grow expert in Business, wise in the Wisdom of this World, retain a fair Reputation amongst Men, and yet being Strangers to the Voice of Christ, the safe Leader of his

Flock, the Treasures thus gotten may be like Snares to the Feet of their Posterity.

Now to keep faithful to the pure Counsellor, and under trying Circumstances suffer Adversity for Righteousness Sake, in this there is a Reward.

If we, being poor, are hardly dealt with by those who are rich, and under this Difficulty are frugal and industrious, and in true Humility open our Case to them who oppress us, this may reach the pure Witness in their Minds; and though we should remain under Difficulties as to the outward, yet if we abide in the Love of Christ, all will work for our Good.

When we feel what it is to suffer in the true suffering State, then we experience the Truth of those Expressions, that, *as the Sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our Consolation aboundeth by Christ.* II Cor. i. 5.

But if poor People who are hardly dealt with, do not attain to the true suffering State, do not labour in true Love with those who deal hardly with them, but envy their outward Greatness, murmur in their Hearts because of their own Poverty, and strive in the Wisdom of this World to get Riches for themselves and their Children; this is like wandering in the Dark.

If we who are of a middle Station between Riches and Poverty, are affected at Times with the Oppressions of the Poor, and feel a tender Regard for our Posterity after us, O how necessary it is that we wait for the pure Counsel of Truth!

Many have seen the Hardships of the Poor, felt an eager Desire that their Children may be put in a Way to escape these Hardships; but how few have continued in that pure Love which openeth our Understandings to proceed rightly under these Difficulties!

How few have faithfully followed that Holy Leader, who prepares his People to labour for the Restoration of true Harmony amongst our Fellow-creatures!

In the pure gospel spirit we walk by faith and not by sight.

In the Obedience of Faith we die to the Narrowness of Self-love; and our Life being hid with Christ in God, our Hearts are enlarg'd toward Mankind universally, but in departing from the true Light of Life many, in striving to get Treasures have stumbled upon the dark Mountains,

Now that Purity of Life which proceeds from Faithfulness in following the Spirit of Truth, that State where our Minds are devoted to serve God, and all our Wants are bounded by his Wisdom, this Habitation has often been open'd before me as a place of Retirement for the Children of the Light, where we may stand separated from that which disordereth and confuseth the Affairs of Society, and where we may have a Testimony of our Innocence in the Hearts of those who behold us.

II

ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

Through departing from the Truth as it is in Jesus, through introducing Ways of Life attended with unnecessary Expences, many Wants have arisen, the Minds of People have been employ'd in studying to get Wealth, and in this Pursuit, some departing from Equity, have retain'd a Profession of Religion; others have look'd at their Example, and thereby been strengthen'd to proceed further in the same Way: Thus many have encourag'd the Trade of taking Men from Africa, and selling them as Slaves.

It hath been computed that near One Hundred Thousand Negroes have, of late Years, been taken annually from that Coast, by Ships employed in the English trade.

As I have travell'd on religious Visits in some Parts of America, I have seen many of these People under the Command of Overseers, in a painful Servitude.

I have beheld them as *Gentiles*, under People professing *Christianity*, not only kept ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, but under great Provocations to Wrath; of whom it may truly be said, *They that rule over them make them to howl, and the Holy Name is abundantly blasphemed*. Where Children are taught to read the Sacred Writings, while young, and exempl'd in Meekness and Humility, it is often helpful to them; nor is this any more than a Debt due from us to a succeeding Age.

But where Youth are pinch'd for want of the Necessaries of Life, forced to labour hard under the harsh Rebukes of

rigorous Overseers, and many Times endure unmerciful Whippings: In such an Education, how great are the Disadvantages they lie under! And how forcibly do these Things work against the Increase of the Government of the Prince of Peace!

Humphrey Smith, in his works, p. 125,¹ speaking of the tender Feelings of the love of God in his Heart when he was a Child, said, "By the violent wrathful Nature that ruled in others, was my Quietness disturbed, and Anger begotten in me toward them, yet that of God in me was not wholly overcome, but his Love was felt in my Heart, and great was my Grief when the Earthly-mindedness and wrathful Nature in others so provoked me, that I was estranged from it."

"And this I write as a Warning to Parents and Others, that in the fear of the living God, you may train up the Youth, and may not be a Means of bringing them into such Alienation."

Many are the Vanities and Luxuries of the present Age, and in labouring to support a Way of living conformable to the present World, the Departure from that Wisdom that is pure and peaceable, hath been great.

Under the Sense of a deep Revolt, and an overflowing Stream of Unrighteousness, my Life has often been a Life of Mourning, and tender Desires are raised in me, that the Nature of this Practice may be laid to Heart.

I have read some Books wrote by People who were personally acquainted with the Manner of getting Slaves in Africa.

I have had verbal Relations of this Nature from several Negroes brought from Africa, who have learned to talk English.

I have sundry Times heard Englishmen speak on this Subject, who have been in Africa on this Business, and from all these Accounts, it appears evident that great Violence is committed, and much Blood shed in Africa in getting Slaves.

When three or four Hundred Slaves are put in the Hold of a Vessel in a hot Climate, their breathing soon affects the Air. Were that Number of free People to go Passengers, with all Things proper for their Voyage, there would Inconvenience arise

¹ "A/Collection/of the Several Writings and/Faithful Testimonies/of that/Suffering Servant of God and Patient/Follower of the Lamb,/Humphrey Smith/who Dyed a Prisoner for the Testimony of Jesus/in Winchester Common-Gaol, the 4th day of the 3^d Month, in the Year 1663/"

This Quotation is from Andrew Sowle's Edition, London, 1683. Quarto.

from the greatness of Number ; but Slaves are taken by Violence, and frequently endeavour to kill the white People, that they may return to their Native Land. Hence they are frequently kept under some Sort of Confinement, by means of which a Scent ariseth in the Hold of a Ship, and Distempers often break out amongst them, of which many die. Of this tainted Air in the Hold of Ships freighted with Slaves, I have had several Accounts, some in Print, and some verbal, and all agree that the Scent is grievous. When these People are sold in America, and in the Islands, they are commonly made to labour in a Manner more servile and constant, than that which they were used to at Home, That with Grief, with different Diet from what has been common with them, and with hard Labour, some Thousands are computed to die every Year, in what is called the Seasoning.

Thus it appears evident, that great Numbers of these People are brought every Year to an untimely End ; many of them being such who never injured us.

Where the Innocent suffer under hard-hearted Men, even unto Death, and the Channels of Equity are so obstructed, that the Cause of the Sufferers is not judged in Righteousness, *the Land is polluted with Blood.* Numb. xxxv. 33.

Where Blood hath been shed unrighteously, and remains unatoned for, the Cry thereof is very piercing.

Under the humbling Dispensations of Divine Providence, this Cry hath deeply affected my Heart, and I feel a Concern to open, as I may be enabled, that which lieth heavy on my Mind.

When the *Iniquity of the house of Israel and of Judah was exceeding great, when the Land was defiled with Blood, and the City full of Perverseness,* Ezek. ix. 9 *some were found sighing and crying for the Abominations of the times.* and such who live under a right Feeling of our Condition as a Nation these I trust will be sensible that the Lord at this Day doth call to Mourning, though many are ignorant of it. So powerful are bad Customs when they become general, that People growing bold thro' the Examples one of another, have often been unmoved at the most serious Warnings.

Our blessed Saviour speaking of the People of the old World, said, *They eat, they drank, they married, and were given in Marriage, until the Day that Noah went into the Ark, and the Flood*

came and destroy'd them all. He also spake concerning the People of Sodom, who were represented by the Prophet as haughty, luxurious, and oppressive: *This was the sin of Sodom, Pride, Fulness of Bread, and Abundance of Idleness was found in her, and in her Daughters; neither did she strengthen the Hands of the Poor and Needy.* Ezek. xvi. 49.

Now in a Revolt so deep as this, when much Blood has been shed unrighteously, in carrying on the Slave Trade, and in supporting the Practice of keeping Slaves, which at this Day is unatoned for, and crieth from the Earth, and from the Seas against the Oppressor,—

While this Practice is continued, and, under a great Load of Guilt there is more unrighteousness committed, the State of Things is very moving.

There is a Love which stands in Nature; and a Parent beholding his Child in Misery, hath a Feeling of the Affliction, but in Divine Love, the Heart is enlarged towards Mankind universally, and prepar'd to sympathize with Strangers, though in the lowest Stations in Life. Of this the Prophet appears to have had a Feeling, when he said, *Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why then do we deal treacherously every Man with his Brother in prophaning the Covenant of our Fathers?*

He who of old heard the Groans of the Children of Israel under the hard Task-masters in Egypt, I trust hath looked down from his Holy Habitation on the Miseries of these deeply oppress'd People.

Many Lives have been shortened through extreme Oppression, while they labour'd to support Luxury and Worldly Greatness; and though many People in outward Prosperity may think little of those Things, yet the gracious Creator hath regard to the Cries of the Innocent, however unnoticed by Men.

The Lord in the Riches of his Goodness, is leading some unto the Feeling of the Condition of this People, who cannot rest without labouring as their Advocates; of which in some Measure I have had Experience: for, in the Movings of his Love in my Heart, these poor Sufferers have been brought near me.

The unoffending Aged and Infirm made to labour too hard, kept on a Diet less comfortable than their weak State required,

and exposed to great Difficulties under hard-hearted Men, to whose Sufferings I have often been a Witness, and under the Heart-melting Power of Divine Love, their Misery hath felt to me like the Misery of my Parents.

Innocent Youth taken by Violence from their Native Land, from their Friends and Acquaintance; put on board Ships with Hearts laden with Sorrow; exposed to great Hardships at Sea; placed under People, where their Lives have been attended with great Provocation to Anger and Revenge:

With the Condition of these Youth, my Mind hath often been affected, as with the Afflictions of my Children, and in a feeling of the Misery of these People, and of that great Offence which is minister'd to them, my Tears have been often poured out before the Lord.

That Holy Spirit which affected my Heart when I was a Youth, I trust is often felt by the Negroes in their Native Land, inclining their Minds to that which is righteous, and had the professed Followers of Christ in all their Conduct toward them, manifested a Disposition answerable to the pure Principle in their Hearts, how might the Holy Name have been honoured amongst the *Gentiles*, and how might we have rejoiced in the fulfilling of that Prophecy, *I the Lord love Judgment, I hate Robbery for Burnt-offerings, and I will direct their Work in Truth, and make an everlasting Covenant with them. Their Seed shall be known among the Gentiles, and their Offspring amongst the People: All that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the Seed which the Lord hath blessed.* Isaiah lxi. 8.

But in the present State of things, how contrary is this Practice to that meek Spirit, in which our Saviour laid down his Life for us, that all the Ends of the Earth might know Salvation in his Name.

How are the Sufferings of our blessed Redeemer set at nought, and his Name blasphemed amongst the *Gentiles*, through the unrighteous Proceedings of his profess'd Followers!

My Mind hath often been affected, even from the Days of my Youth, under a Sense of that marvellous Work, for which God, in infinite Goodness, sent his Son into the World.

The opening of that Spring of living Waters, which the true Believers in Christ experience, by which they are redeemed from

Pride and Covetousness, and brought into a State of Meekness, where their Hearts are enlarged in true Love toward their Fellow Creatures universally: this work to me has been precious, and the Spreading of the Knowledge of the Truth among the *Gentiles*, been very desirable. And the professed Followers of Christ joining in Customs evidently unrighteous, which manifestly tend to stir up Wrath, and increase Wars and Desolations, hath often covered my Mind with Sorrow.

If we bring this Matter home, and as Job proposed to his Friends, *Put our Soul in their Souls' stead*.

If we consider ourselves and our Children as exposed to the Hardships which these People lie under in supporting an imaginary Greatness.

Did we in such Case behold an Increase of Luxury and Superfluity amongst our Oppressors, and therewith felt an Increase of the Weight of our Burdens, and expected our Posterity to groan under Oppression after us,

Under all this Misery, had we none to plead our Cause, nor any Hope of Relief from Man, how would our Cries ascend to the God of the Spirits of all Flesh, who judgeth the World in Righteousness, and in his own Time is a Refuge for the Oppressed!

If they who thus afflicted us, continued to lay Claim to Religion, and were assisted in their Business by others, esteemed pious People, who through a Friendship with them strengthened their Hands in Tyranny:

In Such a State, when we were Hunger-bitten, and could not have sufficient Nourishment, but saw them in Fulness pleasing their Taste with Things fetched from far:

When we were wearied with Labour, denied the Liberty to rest, and saw them spending their Time at Ease: When Garments answerable to our Necessities were denied us, while we saw them cloathed in that which was costly and delicate:

Under such Affliction, how would these painful Feelings rise up as Witnesses against their pretended Devotion! And if the Name of their Religion was mention'd in our Hearing, how would it sound in our Ears like a Word which signified Self-exaltation, and Hardness of Heart!

Where a Trade is carried on, productive of much Misery,

and they who suffer by it are some Thousand Miles off, the Danger is the greater of not laying their Sufferings to Heart.

In procuring Slaves on the Coast of Africa, many Children are stolen privately; Wars also are encouraged amongst the Negroes, but all is at a great Distance.

Many Groans arise from dying Men, which we hear not.

Many Cries are uttered by Widows and Fatherless Children, which reach not our Ears.

Many Cheeks are wet with Tears, and Faces sad with unutterable Grief, which we see not.

Cruel Tyranny is encouraged. The Hands of Robbers are strengthened, and Thousands reduced to the most abject Slavery, who never injured us.

Were we for the Term of one Year only, to be an Eye-witness to what passeth in getting these Slaves:

Was the Blood which is there shed to be sprinkled on our Garments:

Were the poor Captives, bound with Thongs, heavy laden with Elephants Teeth, to pass before our Eyes on their Way to the Sea:

Were their bitter Lamentations Day after Day to ring in our Ears, and their mournful Cries in the Night to hinder us from Sleeping:

Were we to hear the Sound of the Tumult at Sea, when the Slaves on board the Ships attempt to kill the English, and behold the Issue of those bloody Conflicts:

What pious Man could be a Witness to these Things, and see a Trade carried on in this Manner, without being deeply affected with Sorrow?¹

Through abiding in the Love of Christ, we feel a Tenderness in our Hearts toward our Fellow Creatures entangled in oppressive Customs; and a Concern so to walk that our Conduct may not be a Means of strength'ning them in Error.

It was the Command of the Lord through Moses, *Thou shalt not suffer Sin upon thy Brother: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy Brother, and shalt not suffer Sin upon him.* Lev. xix 17.

¹ Various Editions omit the concluding paragraphs below. The first edition of 1774 contains them, and agrees therein with a note in the York MS. which is here followed.

Again; Keep far from a false Matter; and the Innocent and Righteous slay thou not. Exod. xxiii. 7.

The Prophet Isaiah mentions Oppression as that which the true Church in Time of outward Quiet should not only be clear of, but should be *far from it; Thou shalt be far from oppression*, Isaiah liv. 14. Now these Words, *far from*, appear to have an extensive Meaning, and to convey Instruction in regard to that of which Solomon speaks, *Though Hand join in Hand, yet the Wicked shall not go unpunished*, Prov. xvi. 5.

It was a Complaint against one of old, *When thou sawest a Thief, thou consentedst with him.*

The Prophet Jeremiah represents the Degrees of Preparation toward Idolatrous Sacrifice, in the Similitude of a work carried on by Children, Men, and Women. *The Children gather Wood, the Fathers kindle the Fire, and the Women knead the Dough to bake Cakes for the Queen of Heaven*, Jer. vii. 18.

It was a Complaint of the Lord against Israel, through his Prophet Ezekiel, that *they strengthen'd the Hands of the Wicked, and made the Hearts of the Righteous sad.* Ezek. xiii. 12.

Some Works of Iniquity carried on by the People were represented by the Prophet Hosea, in the Similitude of Ploughing, Reaping, and eating the Fruit: *You have ploughed Wickedness, reaped Iniquity, eaten the Fruit of Lying, because thou didst trust in thy own Way, to the Multitude of thy mighty Men*, Hosea x. 13.

III

ON TRADING IN SUPERFLUITIES.¹

I have felt great Distress of Mind since I came on this Island, on Account of the Members of our Society being mixed with the World in various Sorts of Business and Traffick, carried on in impure Channels. Great is the Trade to Africa for Slaves: and in loading these Ships abundance of People are employ'd in the Manufactories.

Friends in early time refused, on a religious Principle, to make or trade in Superfluities, of which we have many large Testimonies on Record, but for want of Faithfulness, some gave Way, even

¹ With this may be compared the earlier essay, "Serious Considerations on Trade."

Some whose Example were of Note in Society, and from thence others took more Liberty: Members of our Society worked in Superfluities, and bought and sold them, and thus Dimness of Sight came over many. At length Friends got into the Use of some Superfluities in Dress, and in the Furniture of their Houses, and this hath spread from less to more, till Superfluity of some Kind is common amongst us.

In this declining State many look at the Example one of another, and too much neglect the pure Feeling of Truth. Of late Years a deep Exercise hath attended my Mind, that Friends may dig deep; may carefully cast forth the loose Matter, and get down to the Rock, the sure Foundation, and there hearken to that Divine Voice which gives a clear and certain Sound.

And I have felt, in that which doth not deceive, that if Friends who have known the Truth, keep in that Tenderness of Heart, where all Views of outward Gain are given up, and their Trust is only on the Lord, he will graciously lead some to be Patterns of deep Self-denial, in Things relating to Trade, and handicraft Labour: and that some who have Plenty of the Treasures of this World, will example in a plain frugal Life, and pay Wages to such whom they may hire, more liberally than is now customary in some Places.¹

While Friends were kept truly humble, and walked according to the purity of our Principles, the Divine Witness in many Hearts was reached; but, when a worldly Spirit got Entrance, therewith came in Luxuries and Superfluities, and spread by little and little, even amongst the foremost Rank in Society, and from thence others took Liberty in that Way more abundantly.

In the Continuation of these Things from Parents to Children there were many wants to supply, even Wants unknown to Friends, while they faithfully followed Christ. And, in striving to supply these Wants, many have exacted on the poor, many have enter'd on Employments, in which they often labour in upholding Pride and Vanity. Many have looked on one another, been strengthen'd in these things, one by the Example of another, and as to the pure Divine Feeling, dimness hath come over many, and the Channels of true Brotherly Love been obstructed.

¹ The next two paragraphs, in the first edition, 1774, form part of the essay "On a Sailor's Life," but the York MS. places them here.

IV

ON A SAILOR'S LIFE.

In the Trade to Africa for Slaves, and in the Management of Ships going on These voyages, many of our Lads and young Men have a considerable Part of their Education.

Now what pious Father beholding his Son placed in one of these Ships, to learn the Practice of a Mariner, could forbear mourning over him?

Where Youth are exampled in Means of getting Money, so full of Violence, and used to exercise such Cruelties on their Fellow Creatures, the Disadvantage to them in their Education is very great.

But I feel it in my Mind to write concerning the Seafaring Life in general.

In the Trade carried on from the West Indies, and from some Part of the Continent, the Produce of the Labour of Slaves is a considerable Part.

And Sailors who are frequently at Ports where Slaves abound, and converse often with People who oppress without the appearance of Remorse, and often with Sailors employ'd in the Slave Trade, how powerfully do these Evil Examples spread amongst the Seafaring Youth!

I have had many opportunities to feel and understand the general State of the Seafaring life amongst us, and my Mind hath often been sad on Account of so many Lads and young Men being trained up amidst so great Corruption.

Under the humbling Power of Christ, I have seen that if the Leadings of his Holy Spirit were faithfully attended to by his professed Followers in general, the Heathen Nations would be exampl'd in Righteousness. A less Number of People would be employed on the seas. The Channels of Trade would be more free from Defilement. Fewer People would be employed in Vanities and Superfluities.

The Inhabitants of Cities would be less in Number. Those who have much Lands would become Fathers to the poor.

More People would be employed in the sweet Employment

of Husbandry, and in the Path of pure Wisdom, Labour would be an agreeable, healthful Employment.

In the Opening of these Things in my Mind, I feel a living Concern that we who have felt Divine Love in our Hearts may faithfully abide in it, and like good Soldiers endure Hardness for Christ's Sake.

He, our blessed Saviour, exhorting his Followers to love one another, adds, *As I have loved you.* John xiii. 34.

He loved Lazarus, yet in his Sickness did not heal him, but left him to endure the Pains of Death, that in restoring him to Life, the People might be confirmed in the true Faith.

He loved his Disciples, but sent them forth on a Message attended with great Difficulty, amongst Hard-hearted People, some of whom would think that in killing them they did God Service.

So deep is Divine Love, that in stedfastly abiding in it, we are prepar'd to deny ourselves of all that Gain which is contrary to pure Wisdom, and to follow Christ, even under Contempt, and through Sufferings.

The Prophet, speaking of the true Church, said, *Thy People also shall be all righteous.*

Of the Depth of this Divine Work several have spoken.

John Gratton, in his Journal, p. 45, said, "The Lord is my Portion, I shall not want. He hath wrought all my Works in me. I am nothing but what I am in him."

Gilbert Latey, through the powerful Operations of the Spirit of Christ in his Soul, was brought to that Depth of Self-denial, that he could not join with that proud Spirit in other People, which inclined them to want Vanities and Superfluities. This Friend was often amongst the chief Rulers of the Nation in Times of Persecution; and it appears by the Testimony of Friends, that his Dwelling was so evidently in the pure Life of Truth, that in his Visits to those great Men, he found a Place in their Minds; and that King James the Second, in the Times of his Troubles, made particular Mention in a very respectful Manner of what Gilbert once said to him.

The said Gilbert found a Concern to write an Epistle, in which are these Expressions: "Fear the Lord, ye Men of all sorts, Trades, and Callings, and leave off all the Evil that is

in them, for the Lord is grieved with the Evils used in your Employments which you are exercised in."

"It is even a Grief to see how you are Servants to Sin, and Instruments of Satan." See his Works, p. 42, &c.¹

George Fox, in an Epistle, writes thus: "Friends, stand in the Eternal Power of God, Witnesses against the Poms and Vanities of this World."

"Such Tradesmen who stand as Witnesses in the Power of God, cannot fulfill the People's Minds in these Vanities, and therefore they are offended at them."

"Let all trust in the Lord, and wait patiently on him. For when Truth first broke forth in London, many Tradesmen could not take so much Money in their Shops for some Time, as would buy them Bread and Water, because they withstood the World's Ways, Fashions, and Customs; yet by their patient waiting on the Lord in their good Life and Conversation, they answer'd the Truth in People's Hearts, and thus their business increased." Book of Doctrinals, p. 824.

Now Christ our Holy Leader graciously continueth to open the Understandings of his People, and as circumstances alter from Age to Age, some who are deeply baptized into a Feeling of the State of Things, are led by his Holy Spirit into Exercises in some respect different from those which attended the Faithful in foregoing Ages, and through the Constrains of pure Love, are engaged to open the Feelings they have to others.

In faithfully following Christ, the Heart is weaned from the Desire of Riches, and we are led into a Life so plain and simple, that a little doth suffice, and thus the Way openeth to deny ourselves, under all the tempting Allurements of that Gain, which we know is the Gain of Unrighteousness.

The Apostle, speaking on this Subject, asketh this Question; *What fellowship hath Righteousness with Unrighteousness?* II Cor. vi. 14. And again saith, *Have no Fellowship with the unfruitful Works of Darkness, but rather reprove them.* Ephes. v. 11. Again, *Be not Partaker of other Men's sins, keep thyself pure.* I Tim. v. 22.

¹ The quotation is from a rare little tract, "To all you/Taylors/and/Brokers/who lyes in Wickedness;/and to all you/Tradesmen/, of what Trade, Imployment or Office soever/This is to you all from the Lord." &c./ Anonymously printed, by Gilbert Latey, London, 1660. Latey himself was a Tailor by trade.

Where People, through the Power of Christ, are thoroughly settled in a right Use of Things, free from all unnecessary Care and Expence, the Mind in this true Resignation is at Liberty from the Bands of a narrow Self-Interest, to attend from Time to Time on the Movings of his Spirit upon us, though he leads into that, through which our Faith is closely tried.

The Language of Christ is pure, and to the Pure in Heart, this pure Language is intelligible: but in the Love of Money, the Mind being intent on Gain, is too full of human contrivance to attend to it.

It appeareth evident, that some Channels of Trade are defiled with Unrighteousness, that the Minds of many are intent on getting Treasure to support a Life in which there are many unnecessary Expences.

And I feel a living Concern attend my Mind, that under these Difficulties we may humbly follow our Heavenly Shepherd, who graciously regardeth his Flock, and is willing and able to supply us both inwardly and outwardly with clean Provender, that hath been winnowed with the Shovel and the Fan, where we may *sow to ourselves in Righteousness, reap in Mercy*; Hosea x. 12. and not be defiled with the Works of Iniquity.

Where Customs contrary to pure Wisdom are transmitted against them; then I often feel tender Compassion toward a young Generation, and Desires that their Difficulties may not be increased through Unfaithfulness in us of the Present Age.

V

ON SILENT WORSHIP.

Worship in Silence hath often been refreshing to my Mind, and a Care attends me that a young Generation may feel the Nature of this Worship.

Great Expence ariseth in Relation to that which is called Divine Worship.

A considerable Part of this Expence is applied toward outward Greatness, and many poor People in raising of Tithe, labour in supporting Customs contrary to the Simplicity that there is in

Christ, toward whom my Mind hath often been moved with Pity.

In pure silent Worship, we dwell under the Holy Anointing, and feel Christ to be our Shepherd.

Here the best of Teachers ministers to the several Conditions of his Flock, and the Soul receives immediately from the Divine Fountain, that with which it is nourished.

As I have travelled at Times where those of other Societies have attended our Meetings, and have perceiv'd how little some of them knew of the Nature of silent Worship; I have felt tender Desires in my Heart that we who often sit silent in our Meetings, may live answerable to the Nature of an inward Fellowship with God, that no Stumbling-block through us, may be laid in their Way.

Such is the Load of unnecessary Expence which is called Divine Service in many Places, and so much are the Minds of many People employed in outward Forms and Ceremonies, that the opening of an inward silent Worship in this Nation to me hath appear'd to be a precious Opening.

Within the last four Hundred Years, many pious People have been deeply exercised in Soul on Account of the Superstition which prevailed amongst the professed Followers of Christ, and in support of their Testimony against Oppressive Idolatry, some in several Ages have finished their Course in the Flames.

It appears by the History of the Reformation, that through the Faithfulness of the Martyrs, the Understandings of many have been opened, and the Minds of People, from Age to Age, been more and more prepared for a real Spiritual Worship.

My Mind is often affected with a Sense of the Condition of those People, who in Different Ages have been meek and patient, following Christ through great Afflictions: And while I behold the several Steps of Reformation, and that Clearness, to which through Divine Goodness, it hath been brought by our Ancestors; I feel tender Desires that we who sometimes meet in Silence, may never by our Conduct lay Stumbling-blocks in the way of others, and hinder the Progress of the Reformation in the World.

It was a Complaint against some who were called the Lord's People, that they brought polluted Bread to his Altar, and said the Table of the Lord was contemptible.

In real silent Worship the Soul feeds on that which is Divine; but we cannot partake of the Table of the Lord, and that Table which is prepared by the God of this World.

If Christ is our Shepherd, and feedeth us, and we are faithful in following him, our Lives will have an inviting Language, and the Table of the Lord will not be polluted.

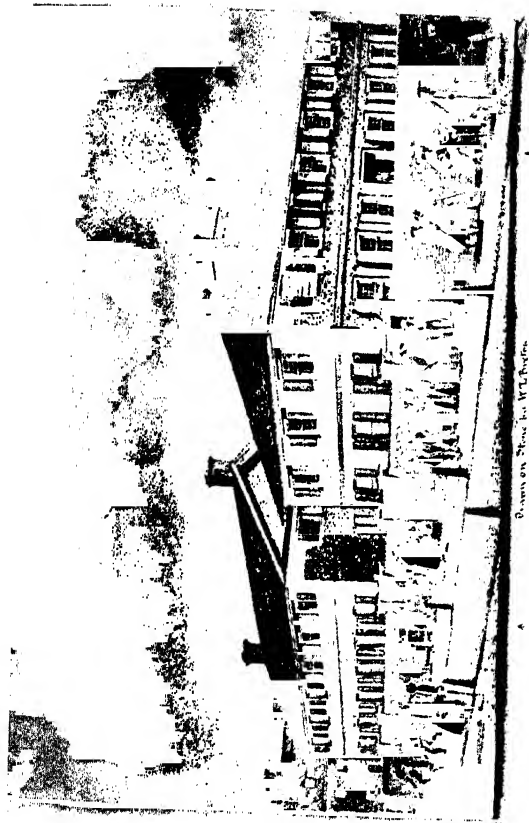


SEAL, BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, LONDON



Friends' Old Burial Ground, Bishophill, York. John Woolman's Tombstone on right, foot of Tree near Wall. [Row in front, those of Lindley Murray, Grammarian, and William Tuke, and their Wives.] Chancel of St. Mary the Elder at extreme left, contains Tomb of James Mauleverer, Ancestor of Sarah, Wife of John Woolman.

Courtesy of "Westcycan Methodist Magazine," London.



Commission Study to W.L. Bryan

Friends Meeting House and Academy, South-west cor. of 4th and Chestnut Sts. Philadelphia, Pa. 1910

[illegible]

For the purpose of this study, the following variables were used:

Where the Journal was first Edited. 1773.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES, WILLS, &C., BIBLIOGRAPHY

I

John Hunt, of London. (1712-1778)

Began his ministry when quite young, and in 1738 visited America, accompanying John Churchman on a preaching tour. John Smith of Burlington described him at this time as "slow of speech, correct, and very devout." At this time he met John Woolman, then eighteen. He returned to his home in London in the spring of 1740, accompanying the older minister, Michael Lightfoot, from America, and married 1740, "an agreeable widow, with a fortune of £2000." (John Smith.) John Hunt's house in London was a home for visiting Friends. Daniel Stanton writes, in 1749, "he would have me to his house and gave me a kind reception, where I made my home for the most part during the time my lot was cast in that great city." (*Friends' Library*, Vol. XII, 161.)

In 1756 John Hunt and Christopher Wilson were sent from London Yearly Meeting to look into the question of the alleged mismanagement of the Indian affairs. Their mission bore fruit of grave import to Pennsylvania history, Quaker and other, in the ultimate departure of all the Quakers from the Assembly of that Province. Doctor Fothergill was in constant touch with Hunt and Wilson during their sojourn in America. The Philadelphia *Meeting for Sufferings* held a special meeting before they returned home in 1757, to present an account of the state of affairs among them. (Minutes, Vol. I. p. 141.)

John Hunt was in America at least once more before he finally emigrated to Pennsylvania. R. Foster writes from Gravesend to John Pemberton, imo. 39th. 1769, that he had seen off "Cos. John Hunt, his two daug", Jos. Elliott, &c., in the ship "York" for New York." (Pemberton Letters, Vol. 19, p. 133, Hist. Soc. Penna.) John Hunt settled in Darby. He was one of the twenty two Friends banished to Winchester, Va. for their Quaker neutrality during the Revolution, and, with another, died in exile there March 31, 1778. He was called by John Pemberton, "a great, wise and experienced

minister and elder." (Bowden, "*Hist. Friends in America*," II. Chap. X. Gilpin; "*Exiles in Virginia*," 1848.)

1A

Christopher Wilson (1704-1761)

Son of John Wilson, of Graysothern, Cumberland, Eng. Traveled in the ministry on both sides of the Atlantic, and was active in service. He left behind him on his death a manuscript dated 6mo. 30th. 1759, in which he deplored the losses he had suffered in trade, and advised his successors to beware of similar temptations. He was with John Hunt on the mission to Philadelphia in 1756. (The Friend, Phila. 1842, p. 308.)

2

John Reynell (1708-1784)

Born Bristol, England, June, 1708; son of Samuel and Sarah Reynell: educated at Exeter. The Reynell family was one of distinction in England, and his uncle, Michael Lee Dicker, was Mayor of Exeter. It was probably this uncle who established the young John in business. He went first to Barbados, where he engaged in trade, and in 1728 removed to Philadelphia, becoming at once an exporter to Barbados and Great Britain. Business letters still existing from his brother Samuel Reynell, dated 1729 and 1730, are addressed to him "in care of Edward Horne and Samuel Good, merchants." In December, 1744, he was in partnership with John Smith, of Burlington and Philadelphia, and the Israel Pembertons, father and son, when they loaded the brigantine "Dolphin" and sent her to Barbados. A few months later they sent the ship, "Bolton", Captain Dowers, to Dublin and Liverpool. (Diary of John Smith.) John Reynell was successful as a shipping and commission merchant, and no less active in the civic life of his town. He was, moreover, a large hearted philanthropist, and devout Christian; a leader in many benevolent works, and a prominent Quaker.

One of the founders of the Pennsylvania Hospital, the first of its kind in America, John Reynell served as its Treasurer, and was for long its President. He continued to be a Manager until 1780. (Morton. "The Penna. Hospital.") John Reynell was the last President of the "Friendly Association for Preserving Peace with the Indians," for whose welfare he had labored unceasingly. The Indian Treaties held by the Colonial Governors were usually attended by him, the Quakers in many cases being movers in these conferences, which, owing to the political situation, rarely named them officially,

although gladly accepting their peaceful intervention, which was usually of great service.

John Reynell married, April 15, 1736, Mary, daughter of Thomas and Beulah Coates, then widow of Samuel Nicholas. (1707-1773) None of their five children lived to maturity. Mary Reynell died March 25th. 1773. Her husband survived her for eleven years, and died at his house N.W. corner Front and Walnut Streets, September 3rd. 1784, at the age of seventy six. His benefactions were many. Rebecca Jones, in England at the time of his death, dreamed that Samuel Coates handed her a plate of soup. When he wrote her that John Reynell had left her fifty pounds, Esther Tuke, with whom she was stopping, remarked, "Dear Rebecca, this is thy plate of Soup!" For years he had allotted one third of his expenditures for the relief of the poor, and in his will left a thousand pounds to be given them in sums of five pounds each. [Data from Joseph H. Coates, of Berwyn, Pa., "Memorials," R. Jones, pp. 83, 84.]

3

James Pemberton (1723-1809)

Son of Isaac and Rachel (Read) Pemberton, of Philadelphia. A successful merchant, who was a prominent figure both in public life, and in the affairs of the Quaker meetings. A founder of the Pennsylvania Hospital, and a member of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, where he succeeded Franklin as President, 1790. He was sent as an exile to Virginia with his brothers, Israel and John in 1777, because of the accusation of disloyalty. Washington and the administration later on endeavored to make amends. He was one of the powerful group of Quakers who, in 1756, withdrew from the Pennsylvania Assembly because of their conscientious scruples against war, in connection with the militia appropriations.

He had been Clerk of the "Meeting for Sufferings," and was released in 1762. In 1764 his brother John succeeded Samuel Emlen, and in this office had the custody of the papers which were left in the hands of that body, when John Woolman sailed for England in 1772. [Minutes: p. 241.]

James Pemberton married October 15th 1751, Hannah, daughter of Mordecai, and Hannah (Fishbourne) Lloyd.

4

Anthony Benezet: (1713-1784).

Born at St. Quentin, France, son of a French Protestant, John Stephen Benezet. His parents took him to Holland when he was two years old, and then, viâ Rotterdam, to London, to escape perse-

cution. Here, at the age of fourteen, he became a Quaker, and the family removed in 1731 to Philadelphia, where in 1736 he married Joyce Marriott. In 1739 he tried manufacturing at Wilmington, but returned to his teaching shortly, which throughout his active life was his chosen profession. He taught the Friends' School in Germantown, and in the Friends' Public School in Philadelphia, finally establishing a very successful school for girls in the latter town. For a time, in 1766, possibly because of frail health, he gave up his school and retired to his wife's former home in Burlington, N. J., but within a year or so, he was back at his teaching, which occupied him for the rest of his days. His great interest in the coloured race and his association with John Woolman in his anti-slavery efforts, caused him to devote the last two years of his life to teaching coloured children. He was known and respected by all classes of his townspeople, and kept up a vast correspondence abroad with important persons in England and his native France. His death occurred 1784, at the age of 71. He was followed to his grave by an enormous concourse of rich and poor.

Anthony Benezet wrote and circulated a large volume of papers, tracts, and books upon philanthropic subjects, chiefly, however, on slavery, which he opposed in every possible way. He distributed these writings gratis to the rich and poor. He and John Woolman were intimate and congenial friends, their philanthropies directed toward the same ends. In the writings of each may be seen the influence of the other. His small fortune was left to the Friends in charge of the Educational Funds, for the benefit of the School for Coloured Children, founded in 1770, in which he had taught, and which is today engaged in that benevolent work, and known as the Anthony Benezet School. It is now located, with several other charities, in Benezet House, 918 Locust street Philadelphia.

Benezet's writings are worth the effort of collecting them into the edition which still awaits publication. He is well deserving also of an adequate biography.

5

Owen Jones (1711-1793)

Born gmo. (November) 19, 1711. Son of Jonathan and Gainor Jones, of Merion Pa. and a grandson of Dr. Edward Jones, leader of a group of Welsh Quakers who settled at Merion in 1682. Owen Jones was a resident of Lower Merion, and later, of Philadelphia. He served with distinction as Treasurer of the Province of Pennsylvania. Owen Jones married, May 30, 1740, Susanna, daughter of Hugh Evans, by his 3d wife, Lowry Lloyd. He died October 9, 1793.

6

Israel Pemberton (Jr.) (1715-1779)

Son of Israel Pemberton Sr., (1684-1754) (son of Phineas,) and Rachel, dau. of Charles Read, of Burlington, N. J. Their three sons, Israel Jr., James and John were all distinguished Quakers of Pennsylvania. Israel Pemberton Jr. was born in 1715 in Philadelphia. His father's mansion "Evergreen", on a tract of seventy six acres near the "Lower Ferry", at 29th. and Fitzwater Streets, passed on their father's death to the second son, James. Israel Pemberton, Jr. married, 1747, Mary, daughter of Nathan and Mary Stanbury, who had been twice married before, and was respectively the widow of Richard Hill and Robert Jordan. He had had a good education, was a prominent business man, and during the period preceding the outbreak of the Revolution, was a leader in the meetings of the Friends, and known in Philadelphia as the "King of the Quakers". He was wealthy, and a liberal patron of many of the city's public institutions, and of the Pennsylvania Hospital, of which he was one of the founders. The dinner for the Indian Chiefs held at his house, 4mo. (April) 19, 1756, has become a famous occasion. He and his brothers were among the Quakers arrested and sent to Virginia in 1777, for their non-resistant principles. (See Th. Gilpin: "Exiles in Virginia.") His wife's coach was seized by the British during the occupation of Philadelphia, as the finest one in town, and placed at the disposal of General Howe. Israel Pemberton Jr. had a very large correspondence in England and the letters of the three brothers now in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, occupy over forty volumes. Among them is ample evidence of his service as business adviser and counsellor to John Woolman, whose correspondence is noted in the Introduction.

Israel Pemberton Jr. died in Philadelphia, 4mo. 22nd. 1779, at the age of sixty four. Samuel Emlen preached a remarkable sermon at his grave.

7

Samuel Emlen (1730-1799)

Born in Philadelphia, 3mo. (May) 15, 1730; only child of Joshua (died 1776) and Deborah (Powel) Emlen. Joshua Emlen's first wife had been Mary (Holton) widow of Samuel Hudson. Slight and delicate of frame, Samuel Emlen was never very robust, but was given an excellent education, which developed his fine mind. He spoke the modern languages fluently, and was an accomplished Greek and Latin scholar, once addressing a learned audience in the

Latin tongue. When the Frenchman, Jean de Marsillac, attended Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1795, Samuel Emlen acted as his interpreter when he addressed the meeting. As a young man he was for a time employed in the counting house of James Pemberton, but his frail health and defective eyesight, coupled with the fact that he inherited an ample fortune, led him at an early period in his life to give up any mercantile pursuit. His figure was short and slight, he always dressed in drab, and his personality was rather remarkable.

Samuel Emlen traveled in the Southern colonies with the preacher, Michael Lightfoot, and in 1756 went with Abraham Farrington to Great Britain and Ireland, during which visit he first spoke in the ministry. He married, 1st. Elizabeth Moode, by whom he had two sons, William and Samuel, both born in Bristol, Eng. He married, 2d. Sarah Mott, and had two daughters, Elizabeth and Deborah.

Samuel Emlen and his intimate friend Rebecca Jones, had promised each other that the survivor would attend the other's funeral. He died December 30th 1799, and she preached his funeral sermon in the "Great Meeting House" on Market st. Philadelphia, on New Year's Day, 1800. No minister of his society has been more highly esteemed, and his name has passed with respect through several generations in the direct line. John Woolman used the "Junior", to distinguish him from his uncle, Samuel, (mar. Rachel Hudson) for whom he was named. His son Samuel used the "Jr" afterward. Samuel Emlen made seven visits to Europe.

[Bowden: "Hist. Friends in America." II. 402. "Tho^s. Scattergood and his Times." "Memoirs of Sam^l. Fothergill": 266. "Memorials of Rebecca Jones." "Frd's Miscel." xii. 162 ff.]

8

John Pemberton (1727-1795)

Youngest son of Israel Pemberton Sr. and Rachel Read. Born in Philadelphia 11mo. (February) 27, 1727, one of the survivors of ten children. He was not very robust, and went to England for his health in 1751. He was a companion of John Churchman on the voyage and accompanied that preacher on some of his travels. At a meeting in Penzance, Cornwall, he first spoke as a minister, and soon became a very able preacher. He was ever a firm friend of the Indian, and was present at the great Treaty with the Indians at Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1757.

John Pemberton married Hannah, daughter of Isaac and Sarah Zane at the "Great Meeting House" in High street (now Market) Philadelphia, "on 5th. day, 8th. of 5th. mo., 1766". John Griffith,⁷⁹ an English Friend, preached the sermon. Thomas Wilkinson, also from

England, wrote afterward to John's brother James, "On the day of his marriage, when most men are so taken up with their own happiness as to forget there is misery elsewhere, he ordered provision to be sent to all the prisons in Philadelphia." (Pemberton Letters, Hist. Soc. of Penna.) They had no children.

In the year 1777 he was a prisoner, together with his two brothers, in Winchester, Virginia, where John Hunt and Thomas Gilpin died. (See T. Gilpin. "Exiles in Va.") All non-combatant Quakers were suspected of lack of patriotism, and the more prominent ones were arrested by order of General Washington, who, however, later made amends. An interesting letter from Anthony Benezet to the three brothers in exile is given in Comly's "Friends' Miscellany", vol. xii, p. 205. It is dated "1mo. 1778".

John Pemberton was in England at the time of John Woolman's death, and ministered to him during his illness and attended his funeral. He was again in Europe on the Continent in 1794, when he was taken ill and died and was buried in Pymont, Germany, 1mo. 31, 1795, at the age of sixty eight.

9

William Hunt (1733-1772)

Authorities differ as to the early ancestry of William Hunt. We find a minister of that name in Barbados on a religious visit, noted in the Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting for 6mo. (August) 3, 1685. The same source shows that Samuel Carpenter was appointed by the meeting 8mo. (October) 5, 1685, to write William Peachy for copies of papers regarding William Hunt, to be sent to William Frampton. Both the latter were Burlington County Friends.

Burlington (N. J.) Monthly Meeting minutes have for 4mo. (June) 6, 1687, a most unusual record, when they state that William Hunt and Margaret Pearson, "having no certificates, are advised to be married before a magistrate." The actual marriage is not on the records, which would indicate that the recommendation was complied with. All the evidence points to their final settlement in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where a great many Friends were moving at this time. The minutes of the Women's meeting (now in private hands) show the removal of a Sarah Hunt from Darby, Penna. to the "Falls", (as Fallsington was generally known), her certificate bearing date, 2d. of 8mo. (October) 1717.

The marriages of Burlington M.M. for 2mo. (April) 14, 1720, record for 2mo. (April) 14, 1720, that of "William Hunt of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and Mary Woolman, daughter of John, late

of Northampton, deceased", at Springfield Meeting (Burlington Co.) (Book A. p. 58). William, Margaret and Sarah Hunt, are among the witnesses. The Women's meeting at the "Falls" has record of the removal from Burlington M.M. (of which Springfield was a part,) to their meeting of Mary Hunt, her certificate dated, "1 of 6mo." (August) 1720. Mary Hunt was John Woolman's aunt.

Soon after this, the Quaker stream of migration to North Carolina and the South began to gain volume, and from this point the records coincide with an uncertain family tradition. This states that William Hunt, Senior, died while William, Jr. was a child, and the family became scattered, William going to live with an aunt, whose name is not given, in Virginia, and who brought him up as a strict Friend.

William was a very sober, religious child, and began to preach at the age of fifteen. Finding himself somewhat vain of the gift, which was encouraged by the elder Friends, he held his peace for some time, and finally began all over again, becoming eventually one of the foremost ministers of his denomination.

He married early, before his majority, Sarah Mills, in 4mo., 1753. Just before this, the minutes of Cane Creek, N. C. under date, 11mo. 4, 1752, state that William Hunt produced a certificate of removal from the Monthly Meeting of Hopewell, Virginia, dated 6mo. 1, 1752. Unfortunately, the Hopewell minutes have been destroyed by fire. He eventually became a resident at Guilford, N. C., with which most of his later life is associated. He had eight children, one of them his famous son Nathan. He traveled much in the ministry, one of his descendants writing, "he had at one time preached in nearly all the Friends' meeting houses in America."

His cousin John Hunt of Chesterfield N. J. relates in his own Journal¹ under date, 4mo. 11, 1771 that William Hunt attended meeting at Upper Springfield at that time and preached an impressive sermon. He was making a farewell visit to his early home before sailing for England. John Hunt says, "he told us to note it down; that there was little hope for this generation, but it was his belief that the next would make better progress in the Truth." Exactly a year to the day before his cousin John Woolman sailed, William Hunt embarked on the same vessel. John Hunt writes, "My wife, her sister, Elizabeth Haines, brother Robert and myself went to Philadelphia to take leave of Cousin William, who was about to sail for old England on a religious visit. Divers friends went on board the vessel with him, and we had a meeting in the cabin, in which Cousin William preached and prayed in a very affectionate manner,

¹ Friends' Miscellany, Vol. X, p. 23.

and we took leave of him in dear and tender love, with strong desires for each other's preservation." John asked William if he were not afraid to go to sea? He replied, that it was an "anxious prospect," "but when the mind has passed through the necessary baptism, there is not much for the fear of death to lay hold on."

William Hunt was accompanied by his nephew, Thomas Thornborough, the "cousin Thomma" of the letters.³³ They reached London after a short voyage. A letter to John Hunt and Peter and Mary Harvey brought the family word of their arrival. "My right dear and inwardly beloved relations, not only by consanguinity, but by the immortal seed and Heavenly birth of immortal life. . . . We got to London and to our lodgings in twenty eight days after we parted with you." A tiny missive was sent "to my dear little cousins, John and Esther Hunt." Four of his letters to Uriah Woolman have been printed. (Memorials, W. & N. Hunt, p. 82ff.)

During the year the two visited Yorkshire, Lancashire and Ireland, meeting John Woolman in London in June, 1772. They sailed thence to Holland, a letter which William Hunt wrote his wife from Amsterdam, dated "8mo. 1772" reaching her after his death. Embarking on the return to England for Scarborough, they were forced by contrary winds into Shields, where they landed on the 16th. of August, and went to the house of James King at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. They attended meeting there on the 27th, and William Hunt preached. Being asked where he intended going next, he replied that he "saw no further at present than Newcastle." Next day he was taken with an illness which on the fourth day proved to be smallpox. He was devotedly nursed by Elizabeth Carter, whose account is given in "Friends Miscellany", Vol. VI. 176, ff. His nephew had not had the disease, and at his desire, Thomas Thornborough removed to the house of Joseph King at Kenton. William Hunt died September 9th. 1772, his last words being "Truth reigns over all!" Esther Tuke, whose good offices were extended so soon to John Woolman under similar circumstances, wrote a sympathetic letter to his children, dated "York 26th. 10mo. 1772."

Thomas Priestman's Diary contains the following: "Dear William Hunt of North Carolina Died at Newcastle in the small pox, He being on a Religious Visit to this Nation had been to Visit Holland and landed at Shields from thence, on 26 of 8mo: on 27th, began to be Ill at Newcastle. In a few day the smallpox appear'd. He was a deeply exercised minister; very sound and living, tho' in many places he pass'd unknown, having many silent meetings yet in some places he was wonderfully favoured to preach the Gospel, to the Comfort of the heavy hearted and Travailed deep that Truth might

rise into dominion; his exercise on this acct. was Great. The Loss seems unspeakable that the Church has sustained by being deprived of such a Member, seemingly one of the Greatest in our Society, according to my apprehension. I never heard or was acquainted with his fellow. His nephew Thomas Thornborough was his companion, and is now left like a Dove without its mate." John Woolman arrived soon after at Thomas Priestman's, where he died of the same disease. Sarah Mills Hunt died "14 of 7 mo. 1778."

10

Elizabeth (Woolman) Payne, Hunt, Harvey, (1685-1755).

Daughter of John and Elizabeth (Borton) Woolman. Born in Northampton Township 3mo. (May) 15, 1685. She was married at the age of 18 to Nathaniel Payne (-1707) of Mansfield, N. J., son of John "Paine" of Wellingboro', Burlington Co. 9mo (Nov.) 16, 1703. He was a man of property, and probably some years older than Elizabeth Woolman. Thomas Scattergood, Jr. sold to Nathaniel Payne, yeoman, one hundred acres of land "on the south side of Rancocas River", June 6, 1696. (Surveyed for T.S. by Symon Charles, 2mo. (Feb.) 1691. N. J. Archives, Vol. XXI, pp. 375, 485.) The Will of N. Payne was proved May 26, 1707. His wife Elizabeth is made sole heiress, and he mentions but does not name, "children under age." His plantation is at "Mount Pleasant." The condemnation paper of N. Payne for "paying to y^e Military Act" was "red in y^e Mt'g" 4 of y^e 9mo. (November) 1706." He does not appear to have been a very strict member of the Society of Friends. (Burlington M.M. Records. Minutes, Vol. I p. 263.)

Upon the death of her husband Elizabeth Woolman Payne, then but twenty two years of age, promptly married Robert Hunt, also of Mansfield, "at Northampton Meeting House" 4mo (June) 15, 1708. (Burlington Records. Vol. I, p. 291, B'k A, p. 11). Of the family who sign the certificate, there are present William, Sarah, and Margaret Hunt, John and Elizabeth Woolman, Sarah Haines, John and Ann Borton, and thirty five others. They had at least four children. 1. Robert Jr., born 1709, mar. Abigail Wood, and had a son John Hunt, (1740-1824) who became the well known minister, and kept an interesting Journal, (Comly's "Fr'ds Miscellany," Vol. X) which has been quoted. He was an intimate younger cousin of William Hunt and John Woolman. 2. John, born 1711. died 1729. 3. Elizabeth, born 1713, died 1733. Mar. Francis Ellis Jr, 2mo. 18, 1733 & died in same year, leaving a son. 4 Samuel Hunt, born 1715. Robert Hunt was a very consistent member of the Society of Friends, and his name is in the list of members of Burlington

Monthly Meeting who in 11mo., (January) 1704, claim exemption from fighting. (M.M. Recs. Vol. I, p. 227.) The estate of Robert Hunt, April 10, 1716, was administered by his wife, and the inventory of personal property, by Wm. Pancoast and Thos. Potts, is placed at £150, including seventy bushels of wheat at £10,10. (N. J. Archives, Vol. XXXII, p. 248. Deed Book, II, p. 64.)

Two years later, the Burlington Records show that "John Harvey and Elizabeth Hunt declare their intentions of marriage, "y^e 8th day of y^e 8th Month, 1718." On the third of the next month "..... they were left to their Liberty to Solemnize their intended Marriage when they shall see Meet to, Save onely that the said Elizabeth take Care to Secure what belong to ye Children of her former Husband, Viz. Robert Hunt, and y^e Meeting app. Joshua Fretwell & Thos. Scattergood to assist y^e said Elizabeth to accomplish y^e same before Marriage with John Harvey." (Burl. M.M. Vol. I, p. 375.)

John and Elizabeth Harvey had five children,—Mary b. 1719; 2. *Peter* [1721-1771]; 3. John Jr. 1724; 4. Sarah ———; 5. Job ———. *Peter Harvey* became a well known minister in his own neighborhood, and his cousin John Woolman wrote the "testimony" on his death, which has often been published. John Harvey, Sr. was an elder. His death occurred 7mo. 5 1754. Elizabeth Harvey, who had long been an acceptable preacher, died at Mansfield 3mo. 27th. 1755. Of her John Smith wrote, "She was wife of John Harvey of Mansfield, in the county of Burlington, New Jersey, and daughter of John Woolman, of said County. An honest, circumspect woman, and a recommended minister for many years." (Manuscript "Lives of Ministers of the Gospel among the People called Quakers", p. 135. At Haverford College. "The Friend", Phila. Biog. Notices, Vol. XXXI).

John Woolman's "testimony" to Peter Harvey is as follows: the original may be found on page 282 of M.S. A.

da mo

Peter Harvey departed this life 1771, he stood as an Elder years and as he increased in years I believe his experience of the Sanctifying power of Truth was enlarged.

[In the time of his health a few months before he departed, I had some loving conversation with him in regard to sundry things in his possession relating to his living, which appear'd to be conformable to the Spirit of this world.

He appear'd to take my visit very kind, and though he was not fully settled in his mind as to what he should do with them, yet he told me that he was inwardly united to a plain way of living, and

to such who in faithfulness walked therein]¹ I was twice with him in his last Sickness and the first of these times he told me that in his youthful years his mind was much on improvement in outward business, and that being Successful, many spoke in praise of his conduct, and in this prosperity he got Sundry sorts of Superfluities in workmanship about him and though he had not seen clearly what to do with them; yet he saw that at the time of geting these things he went on in the dark, and they were latterly a burden to his mind.

He appeared in a meek and loving frame of spirit, both times when I saw him, and told me the last of these times that he had felt a living sence of divine love on his heart many times in this his Sickness, and had tasted of that joy which is the everlasting portion of them who are Sanctified, and that the thoughts of death were not terrible to him.

John Woolman.

Peter Harvey was born in 1721, thus being one year younger than John Woolman. He died 10mo. 9, 1771, aged fifty years.

10A

Ann Woolman (1694-1750)

Daughter of John and Elizabeth (Borton) Woolman. Married John Buffin, having received the consent of the meeting, 9mo. (November) 10, 1712. John Buffin was son of Michael and Christian (Chapman) Buffin, of Mansfield, N. J., "Yeoman."

10B

Mary Woolman, (1692-)

Daughter of John and Elizabeth (Borton) Woolman married at Springfield Mtg., 2mo. (April) 14, 1720, William Hunt, of Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Witnesses, Samuel, Hannah, Hester, and Elizabeth Woolman, and John and Elizabeth Harvey. &c.

(Burlington Marriage Recs. Book A, p. 58.) Her removal certificate to Fallsington M.M. is dated 1st of 6mo. 1720. [Fallsington Records. Women's Meeting.]

11

Samuel Woolman (1690-1750)

Born Northampton township, Burlington County, April 14, 1690. Only son of John and Elizabeth (Borton) Woolman. Inherited and

¹A note in margin by Woolman reads, "This paragraf was not in the paper sent to the monthly meeting."

lived and died at the old homestead of his father, on the Rancocas River. His name appears very frequently on the pages of the *Archives of New Jersey* as a man of affairs, who acted in the capacity of executor for many of his neighbors, and who bought and sold land, settled claims, and often witnessed wills and made inventories. It is from him and under his guidance that his son John inherited tastes and evidently obtained some of his training in the legal matters that were of the greatest importance in a newly settled country. The books included in his library at the time of his death indicate what were his activities and interests, comprising divinity, navigation and law.

Samuel Woolman added to the original acreage of his father, and there are surveys to him of the following, and probably others: 50 acres on branch of Ancocas called "Old Swamp," May 20, 1738.

[Office, Surveyor Gen. Liber M. 270.]

10½ acres, on branch of Ancocas, called "Old Swamp," May 20, 1738.

[Do. Lib. M. 271.]

358 acres, Morris County, N. J. October 5, 1738.

[Do. Lib. M. 291.]

50 acres, branch of Ancocas called "Old Swamp," Nov. 14, 1739.

[Do. Lib. M. 282.]

Samuel Woolman married at Chesterfield, West Jersey, 8mo. (October) 21, 1714, Elizabeth Jr., daughter of Henry Burr and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Robert and Mary (Thredder) Hudson. The *Burr Genealogy* has a very interesting history of Henry Burr and his family. Elizabeth (Burr) Woolman was born in 1695, and died October 8, 1773. She is described as much given to hospitality.

Samuel and Elizabeth Woolman had thirteen children, seven sons and six daughters:—

I. Elizabeth Born 9mo. (November) 6, 1715. Died 1747, Unmarried.

II. Sarah B. 1mo. (March) 24, 1717. D. Married Robert Elton, of West Jersey. License dated Apr. 8, 1737.

III. Patience B. 10mo. (December) 27, 1718. D. Married 1738, Joseph Moore.

IV. John B. 8mo. (October) 19, 1720. D. October 7, 1772. Married 8mo. (October) 18, 1749, Sarah Ellis.

V. Asher B. 6mo. (August) 27, 1722. D. April 15, 1796. Married 12mo. 13th. 1769, Rachel Norcross, (b. 8mo. 15. 1750)

VI. Abner B. 5mo. (July) 20, 1724. D. November 4, 1771. Married 1752, Mary Aaronson

VII. Hannah B. 4mo. (June) 9, 1726. D. Married 8mo. (October) 1749, Samuel Gauntt.

VIII. Uriah. B. 4mo. (June) 14, 1728. D. May 8, 1804. Married 1mo. (March) 2, 1769, Susanna Burr. (b. 8mo. 26, 1736) License dated "Phila Co. P^a. March 2nd. 1769."

IX. Esther. B. 4mo. (June) 20, 1730. D. Married 1752 Zebulon Gauntt, Jr. [Acknowledgment, Burlington, M.M. 3mo. 2, 1752 for "marrying out."]

X. Jonah. B. 2mo. (April) 3, 1733. D. February 17, 1799. Married November 23, 1764, Martha Mullen. (b. Mar. 25, 1745.)

XI. Rachel. B. 9mo. (November) 26, 1735. D. September 1, 1798. Unmarried.

XII. Abraham. B. 10mo. (December) 17, 1737. D. 1784. Married Elizabeth Newton, (License dated Nov. 23, 1765.)

XIII. Eber. B. 12mo. (February) 28, 1739. D. Married Rebecca Stokes.

Since all the sons of Samuel and Elizabeth Woolman married, and with one exception, left families, it will be easily understood that the name of Woolman is now not uncommon in the Middle States, and equally evident that, since John had no son, no one bearing the name can be his direct descendant.

Samuel Woolman died in the autumn of 1750, aged sixty years. His wife survived twenty three years, outliving also her son John.

The will of Samuel Woolman (See Appendix) is very interesting. The inventory made by Joseph Burr and John Deacon shows personal estate of £819,1,4. (Also, N. J. Archives xxx. p. 547.) The books are volumes, as stated, on divinity, navigation and law, and are valued at £19,0,2.

Mary Aaronson, who married Abner Woolman, was a descendant of Derick Areson, a Dutchman from Amsterdam, who came to Long Island, near Flushing. He died in 1678. His will is dated October 1st 1678. He left seven children. Captain Thomas Willett and Elias Doughty of Long Island, Executors. He was twice married; first, to a Sarah Oara (?) and second, to Mary Hedger. The Aresons (or *Arenson*, as it soon became) came to Mansfield township, in Burlington County, N. J., which was the home of the wife of Abner Woolman. Benjamin Moore, who founded Moorestown, N. J. was the father of Joseph who married Patience Woolman. Eber, son of Abraham Woolman, made a runaway match with his first cousin, Rebecca, daughter of Asher Woolman. They rowed off down the Rancocas one First day morning when everybody else was at meeting, and were married by a magistrate!

[*Areson* information from Josephine E. Scattergood.]

12

Elizabeth Woolman "Junior" (1715-1747)

Eldest of the thirteen children of Samuel and Elizabeth (Burr) Woolman. She was evidently much like her brother John in temperament and religious feeling, and they were more intimate than the other children. She became a tailoress, removed to Haddonfield, N. J., 1740, and died of the scourge of smallpox, at the early age of thirty one.

A letter of her cousin John Hunt, written 6mo. 22, 1822, at an advanced age, quotes her as once exclaiming, "Oh Lord, let me enjoy thy presence or else my time is lost, and my life a snare to my soul." (Fr'ds Miscellany, III p. 89.) Little more is known of her than is here given, but the impression remains of a saintly and sensitive character and intelligent mind.

13

Uriah Woolman (1728-1804)

Eighth child and fourth son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Burr) Woolman. Born 4mo. (June) 14, 1728. At twenty seven, he obtained a certificate from his Monthly Meeting of Burlington, to Philadelphia, where for some years he was successfully engaged in business. His house was on "the east side of Front St." ("A Directory of Friends in Phila." Penna. Magazine of History & Biography. IX. 229.) The certificate is dated 8mo. (August) 4, 1755. His brother Jonah wrote him a letter which warns Uriah of the temptations and snares of a great city, and gives him much brotherly advice. The letter is yet in existence, in the hands of a descendant of Jonah Woolman.

Uriah is the brother who accompanied John Woolman on his southern tour in the spring of 1757, and whose attention to "outward affairs" in North Carolina gave John much uneasiness, until counsel was taken of the Elders in Philadelphia as to his acceptance of such a worldly companion. They reassured John, a certificate was obtained for Uriah, dated 5mo. 1757, and they set off together, Uriah returning home somewhat ahead of John.

Uriah Woolman married, 1mo. 2nd, 1769, his cousin, Susanna (b. 1736) daughter of John Burr, and spent the latter part of his life in his old neighborhood, having built a house on his New Jersey property, known as "Breezy Ridge", which was finely located along the Rancocas a short distance from the present railroad station at Hainesport, a mile from Mount Holly and destroyed by fire in 1919. His death occurred May 7th, 1804. Poulson's "American Daily Adver-

tiser," for May 17th. contains the following notice:—"Died, at his residence in Northampton Township, Burlington County, New Jersey, on the 7th. instant, in the seventy sixth year of his age, Mr. Uriah Woolman, a respectable member of the Society of Friends, an upright & benevolent man, and an useful citizen." His wife survived him. They had no children. For his Will, see Appendix.

John Burr, Susanna's father, was a man of affairs, and in May, 1728, was appointed Surveyor-General of West Jersey. [N. J. Archives, V. 212.] He was son of Henry and Elizabeth Burr, born May 29, 1691, and hence an uncle of John Woolman and Uriah, so that the latter and Susanna Burr were first cousins.

14

Samuel Smith. (1720-1776)

Born December 13, 1720. Eldest son of Hon. Richard Smith, of Burlington, N. J. The family were of a well known stock of Bramham, Yorkshire. Richard Smith served for twenty years in the West Jersey Assembly, and was a prosperous merchant and ship builder. Samuel Smith, his son, was with his father as a West India merchant, and for a time lived in Philadelphia, settling finally in Burlington, where his town house was on the High street, and his fine old estate of "Hickory Grove" has but recently passed out of the family. He married November 13, 1741, Jane, daughter of Joseph Kirkbride, of Bucks Co., Pa. They had four children.

Samuel Smith, an intimate friend of John Woolman, was benevolent and upright, exact in the discharge of his public duties, and a man of excellent mind and education, and wide and accurate reading. His "History of New Jersey", printed in 1765, remains today the standard authority for the earlier period. Not only a leader in meeting affairs, as a sincere Quaker, he filled some of the most important public offices, in the province of New Jersey. For many years he was a member and Secretary of the King's Council, and Treasurer of the Province, &c. His brother Richard was a member of the first Continental Congress, and his brother John was also in the New Jersey Assembly. Samuel Smith died July 13, 1776.

15

John Smith (1722-1771)

John Smith, son of Hon. Richard Smith, of Burlington, who married Aug. 20, 1719, Abigail, daughter of Thomas and Abigail (Perkins) Raper of Sindorsby, Yorkshire, England. Richard Smith was a member of the Assembly of New Jersey for nearly twenty years, and a merchant. John, his son, born March 20, 1722, went to sea *

in 1741 as supercargo of one of his father's vessels. Upon his return he settled in Philadelphia as a merchant, and entered into partnership with Abel James. This firm maintained a commerce with England, Ireland, Portugal, Madeira, the West Indies, &c. During his residence in Philadelphia John Smith was an active citizen. He was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Hospital, a manager of that institution, and its first secretary. He was one of the original citizens who introduced public lamps for lighting the streets, and was a founder of the Philadelphia Contributionship for Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire, and the first secretary and main executive officer of that company. In 1751-'52 he was elected a member of the Assembly, and in the same year was appointed Justice of the Peace and County Judge. He was a prominent member of the Society of Friends. William Reckitt, an English visiting minister, calls him "a substantial Friend, and a very serviceable man in the Society." He wrote a reply to Gilbert Tennent's sermon on the lawfulness of war. While residing in Philadelphia he married October 7, 1748, Hannah Logan, the daughter of James Logan, the secretary and trusted friend of William Penn. He joined with William and James Logan Jr. in carrying out the intention of James Logan in the establishment of the Loganian Library. The deeds for the donation of the books of James Logan were prepared in his lifetime, and were left unsigned at the time of his death. His children decided to carry out his known intentions in this respect, and to their liberality is due the establishment of the Loganian Library, with the creation of an endowment for its support. After the death of his wife, in 1762, John Smith retired to Burlington, and purchased of Governor William Franklin an estate for a country-seat on the Rancocas. It was called and is still known as Franklin Park. After his removal to New Jersey John Smith was appointed by mandamus from the King one of the Councilors of New Jersey, which office he held to the time of his death, March 26, 1771.

16

Elizabeth Smith, (1724-1772)

Daughter of Hon. Richard Smith, of Burlington, N. J. and Abigail, dau. of Thomas Raper, of Sindorsby, Yorkshire, England. Her father was for twenty years a member of the West Jersey Assembly. Her brothers were 1. Hon. Samuel Smith, Historian, and Treasurer of the Province of New Jersey; 2. Hon. John Smith, who married James Logan's daughter Hannah, and who was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Hospital; 3. William Lovett Smith, whose wife, Mary Doughty, was daughter of the granddaughter of Governor

Samuel Jenings, and was a prominent man in the county, and 4. Hon. Richard Smith, member of the Assembly, and a prominent lawyer in New Jersey and Philadelphia. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he was elected senator and delegate from New Jersey. He was again returned to the second Continental Congress, and his signature as Secretary of that body is attached to the early issues of the Continental Currency. His portrait is introduced in Molleson's painting, "The First Prayer in Congress."

The family were very intimate with John Woolman, especially Elizabeth and John Smith. She began to preach at the age of twenty one, her brother John recording in his diary, "The latter end of the 7th. and beginning of the 8th. month, 1745, my Sister and Coz., both Eliza. Smiths, came forth in the Ministry among Friends at Burlington, which, tho' but small at present, I hope will prove a Blessing to the Church." Rebecca Jones, the distinguished preacher, was another intimate. Elizabeth Smith wrote the latter, 4mo. (April) 23rd. 1759 a letter which could only have been written to a close friend, and is an example of the reflective and moralizing strain, characteristic of the correspondence of the day ["Memorials of R. Jones." p. 27]. They attended the General meeting at Shrewsbury together in 1762.

The family all subscribed to the "New Jersey Society for Helping the Indians," Elizabeth giving fifteen pounds. She made many visits in the middle provinces, and also went to New England in the course of her ministry until failing health kept her at home. She was planning a visit to England in company with Sarah Morris and had obtained a certificate from Burlington Monthly Meeting for the purpose, at the same time with John Woolman, but was unable to leave, and died five days before him, i.e. 10mo. 2nd. 1772, aged forty eight "a pattern of modest virtue." (See *Intro.*) The "Pennsylvania Gazette" for October 14, 1772, has the following obituary of her;

"On the 3d. inst. was interred at Burlington, after a solemn meeting on that occasion, Elizabeth Smith, in whom were happily united many pious excellencies: by a steady conformity to the Divine will, she became eminently distinguished; being deep in council, sound in judgment; awful (i.e. dignified) her manners, refined her sentiments, and graceful her deportment. She passed through a large share of bodily affliction with great patience and stability, having a foretaste of that joy which is unspeakable and full of glory.

"She was from a child of unusual steadiness and composure of deportment and character, and being early entrusted with the care of her widowed father and his family, her faithfulness not only won his

confidence and love, but was also attended with the divine blessing. She was of sympathetic heart, much given to works of charity. She valued the Scriptures, and testified against the fashionable publications of the times. She was early called to the ministry, and traveled somewhat in "Truth's service."

Her letter from John Woolman, 1772, regarding her furniture, is quoted *ante*, p. 121.

17

Peter Andrews (1707-1756)

Son of Edward and Sarah Andrews of Egg Harbor, N. J. Born 9mo. (November) 20, 1707. In 1728, married Esther, daughter of Samuel and Silence Butcher. In 1742 he was recommended for the ministry on the same day with John Woolman, and was a minister the last fourteen years of his life. In 1734 he removed to Northampton Township, Burlington County, on the verge of Mount Holly, with John Woolman for his neighbor. They became very close friends, and he was Woolman's companion on the latter's first preaching tour to New England, in 1747.

Like Woolman and Farrington, Peter Andrews died in England. He went thither in the year 1755, and was accompanied on his travels by the eminent Quaker preacher, Edmund Peckover. He was taken ill on his way north, and reaching the house of John Oxley, at Norwich, died there July 13, 1756, at the age of forty nine. "After an awfull meeting of worship (his corpse being attended by a very large number of Friends and other sober people)", he was interred in the Friends' burying ground at Norwich. Edmund Peckover said of him, "he lived beloved, and died lamented." His daughter Temperance died while he was in England. His wife survived him but two years. A note exists to John Smith, of Burlington, in John Woolman's handwriting, (Devonshire House, London, Gibson II, 171), regarding her burial:

"10 of 9mo. & first of the week, 1758.

Belov'd Friend

John Smith Our Friend, Esther Andrews departed this life about eight o'clock this morning. They propose to bury her corps tomorrow in the afternoon, to meet at the house where she lived at 2 o'clock. If thou would please to mention it in your meeting this afternoon, with a general Invitation to friends, it will be Acceptable to those who have the Care of the burial.

thy loving frd.

John Woolman."

The Removal certificate for Peter and Esther Andrews is dated 1mo (March) 11, 1734. (Burlington Records, Certificates, p. 51.

See "The Friend," Phila. Vol. XXXI, pp. 268, 277, 284.) John Smith, ("Lives of Ministers of the Gospel among the People called Quakers," in Library of Haverford College) mentions a *Journal* kept by Peter Andrews. There is at present no clue to the whereabouts of any American Journal, or whether it still exists. A copy of his *English Journal* is in possession of J. J. Green, of Hastings, England. See article in *Bulletin* of Friends' Historical Society of Phila, for May, 1920, p. 100.

18

Josiah White (1705-1780)

Son of Josiah and Hannah (Powell) White. Born at Alloway's Creek, Salem County, N. J. 6mo. (August) 21, 1705. Grandson of Christopher and Esther (Biddle) White. Christopher (son of Thomas) was of an old Cumberland family, and came in the "Kent" to West Jersey in 1677.

A dispute in law with neighboring landowners of Salem County, in which Josiah White was unjustly treated, led him to remove to Evesham, Burlington County, and his certificate of removal, dated at Salem, to Burlington M.M. 4mo. (June) 30, 1729, states that "he was born and educated within the compass of our Meeting." (Minutes, Burlington M.M. I, p. 47.) Josiah White bought land in Mount Holly, where his fulling mill and cloth factory brought prosperity to the town and himself. He became one of the most useful citizens and a very public spirited man. He was recorded as a Quaker preacher on the same day with John Woolman and Peter Andrews, in 1743, and served his day and generation as a minister until his death.

Josiah White held the Homeric idea that there are plants and herbs suited to the cure of every disease, and he had quite a reputation as an "herb doctor." Doubtless his clear head and sound judgment were the chief factors in the cures effected. He is said to have been on intimate terms with Dr. Franklin and his son William, whose farm adjoined Mount Holly. His tastes were scientific, and there must have been much in common between them.

Josiah White married 10mo. (December) 1, 1734, at Evesham, Rebecca, (1702-1771), daughter of Josiah and Amy (Borden) Foster. They had six children, of whom John, who died at thirty eight in 1785, leaving a wife and six children, was the *John* who was asked to accompany his father to the little bedroom meeting during John Woolman's attack of pleurisy, in 1770.

Josiah White died in 1780. The record of interments in the Garden street burial ground at Mt. Holly has the following, "First Row,

No. 1. 1780-7th. of 12mo. Josiah White, 20 Feet from the NorthWest corner Post, being now the First in the First Row." Below, "John White, son of Josiah, 23 8mo. 1785, next to his father."

19

Abraham Farrington (1691-1758)

A native of Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He was converted in early life by the preaching of Thomas Wilkinson and James Dickinson and traveled much during a ministry of forty four years. He was a relative of Samuel Emlen, and for a time lived in Somerset County, New Jersey. Abraham Farrington married, 8mo. (October) 1st. 1725, Phoebe, daughter of Samuel and Mary Bunting, at Chesterfield, N. J. (Chesterfield Friends' Marriage Records.) He became a resident of Burlington, N. J., in 1733, and the Friends of Chesterfield wrote of him and his wife, "we hope and desire their removal may be to their advantage, otherwise we should not be willing to part with them, for their service in carrying on the affairs of the church we shall feel the want of. . . . As to Abraham's publick testimony, we need say little, you being so well acquainted with it. However, we have unity with it, It being to our Edification." (Burlington Records. Certificates.)

From 1740-1750 Abraham Farrington appears in the papers of Philadelphia as a man of affairs, offering property for sale, and acting in the capacity of executor, administrator on estates, &c. While traveling on a religious visit abroad, he was taken ill in London, and died at the house of Thomas Jackson, Devonshire Square, in that city, 1mo. 26, 1758, and was buried in Bunhill Fields. A letter from him to John Churchman, with whom his daughter resided, is dated "London, 28th of 5mo, 1757." He had just returned from travels in the Northern counties of England, and says, "I had a high, humbling time, like the country. I am now at another eminent high place—what will be found here I know not yet." ("Friends' Miscellany," vol. xii. p. 164. Testimony of Devonshire M. M. Bowden, "History of Fr'ds in America", II, 388. "Collection of Memorials" for Penna. and N.J., &c. p. 179.)

20

Elizabeth (Haddon) Estaugh (1682-1762)

Born in London, 1682, daughter of John and Elizabeth Haddon. At the age of twenty, she came out to West Jersey with the aid and consent of her father, to take up land which he had purchased of William Penn, with the intention of settling in the new country himself. Circumstances prevented his own removal. The story of his

daughter Elizabeth's arrival in his stead and the circumstances of her genuine "concern" in the matter, are very interesting. John Haddon was a man of large estate, and the young Elizabeth arrived under the chaperonage of an elderly woman as companion, and a number of men and women servants. She had great natural ability and had been given a liberal education, and successfully managed a large plantation. In 1702 she married John Estaugh (1676-1742) of Kelvedon, Essex, England, who came to America on a religious visit in 1700. He settled at Haddonfield on plantation of his wife for whom the place had been named. He was "well instructed as a scribe" said his neighbors of him, and his wife wrote after his much lamented death in Tortola in 1742, where he had accompanied John Cadwalader on a religious visit, "few if any in a married state ever lived in sweeter harmony than we did." Elizabeth Haddon was an intimate friend of John Woolman's sister, Elizabeth (1716-1747,) who was a tailoress in Haddonfield.

Elizabeth Haddon was most hospitable, and Friends wrote of her after her death, "Her heart and house were open to her friends, whom to entertain seemed one of her greatest pleasures." (Testimony of Haddonfield M.M.) Her death occurred at her home, 3mo. 30, 1762 at the age of eighty two.

21

Peter Fearon (1683-1762)

This intimate friend of John Woolman, who spent most of his life, when not at sea, on his farm between Burlington and Mount Holly, N. J., was born in Great Broughton, Cumberland, England, the son of John and Elizabeth Fearon. "He came amongst Friends on a principle of conviction, during his apprenticeship with his uncle Peter Fearon, and appeared in a few words in meetings before he was 20 years of age." (Testimony of Burlington, M.M.) This uncle Peter was of Seaton, Cumberland, educated in the established church, but became convinced of Friends' principles, and for fifty four years was a powerful preacher and an excellent disciplinarian. He died in 1734 at the age of eighty three. He was husband of Jane Fearon, who had the remarkable escape from the bandits with James Dickinson. [Friends' "Miscellany" V. 181.]

Peter (Junior) came to Virginia in 1703, and after three months, removed to Burlington, N. J. where he remained a member the rest of his life. Between April, 1704 the date of his arrival, and 1730, he traveled much in the ministry and spent two years in Great Britain and Ireland. After 1730 he was for a time reduced in finances and made many voyages at sea as a factor, chiefly to Boston and Barba-

dos. He succeeded in paying his debts, and saved a competency for old age and assisting others more needy than himself. Early in 1746 he was in Barbados, and visited Tortola, where he was the first visitor after Thomas Chalkley, John Cadwalader and John Estaugh had all died there. The Friends said, "He came in a needful time, as a cloud full of rain upon a thirsty land." He made a second visit there in 1750 with Thomas Lancaster, who fell ill suddenly and died and was buried at sea.

Peter Fearon married in 1714 (the second "passing" is on the minutes under date 4mo. 8th: the marriage itself is not recorded), Susanna, widow of Isaac Marriott, a very prominent citizen of West Jersey, whose second wife she had been. She was daughter of Robert Field of Newtown, Long Island, at whose house she and Isaac Marriott were married in 1699. She was a helpless paralytic for five years before her death, and Thomas Chalkley relates in his Journal, under date "5mo. (July) 22d. 1741"—after attending the burial of Restore Lippincott in Mount Holly, "went with a few choice Friends to visit Susanna Fearon, who had long been ill; in which visit we were favoured with the Divine Presence and goodness of the Most High."

Peter Fearon was a minister for sixty years, and lived for some years after the death of his wife. "He was seized with a fit, by his own fireside which quickly deprived him of understanding, and about three days after he breathed his last." "He was interred (12mo 23, 1762,) in Friends' burying ground in Burlington, after a solid meeting had on the occasion." (Testimony of Burl. M.M.; "Collection of Memorials," &c. p. 216.) John Woolman was an executor with Thomas Wetherill, and they advertise the "plantation" of Peter "to be sold at Public Vendue" in the "Pennsylvania Gazette" for December 30, 1762. It contained "forty four acres and is remarkably well watered, about thirty acres of which is mowing meadow, situate about three miles from Burlington and four from Mount Holly, on which is a convenient Dwelling house, & other buildings, a Milk house, with a spring therein, which hath not been known to fail, and a Good Orchard of grafted fruit." Certainly this sounds like a pleasant home.

22

Thomas Shinn (1694-1753)

Born 11mo. (January) 6, 1694.

Son of Thomas and Mary Shinn, of Burlington County, N. J. He married in 1718, Martha, daughter of William Earle of Springfield, N. J. Thomas Shinn became a prominent Friend in his county, and

an elder in the meeting at Mount Holly. He was made Judge of the Court of Common Pleas by Governor Belcher, and his name occurs in many prominent cases. He lived on High Street, and died 2mo. 27, 1753, at the age of fifty nine.

22A

Henry Paxson (-)

Prominent in the civic life of Mount Holly. Was for some time Sheriff, and his docket, which is still at the Court House, is an interesting record of the town.

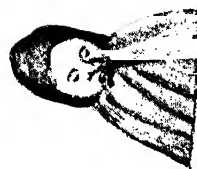
23

Isaac Andrews (-1775)

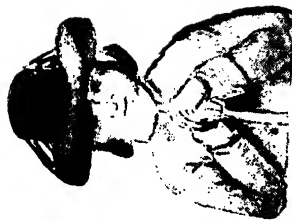
Son of Edward and Sarah [Ong] Andrews, of Little Egg Harbor, N. J. He was brother of Peter and Jacob Andrews, q.v. Isaac married, 9mo. (November) 21, 1738, at "Philadelphia Meeting House", "Elizabeth, daughter of Jeremiah Elfreth, blacksmith," and lived most of his life at Haddonfield, N. J. (Phila. Records, Book A, 159.) Isaac Andrews was an active member of his meeting, and succeeded Ebenezer Hopkins, of Salem, N. J. deceased, in the Meeting for Sufferings, Phila. 6mo. 28, 1757. (Minutes, p. 85.) He died 12mo. 1775. An obituary notice by Samuel Ffoulke, of Richland, calls him one "whose clean and exemplary conduct through life had been agreeable to the sweetness of his ministry."

The Andrews family was well connected and had not originally been Quaker. Edward the father of Isaac, born 1677, was a convert of Thomas Chalkley, and had been "mightily reached" by the latter's preaching at a meeting held under the trees at Crosswicks, N. J. The license for the marriage of Edward Andrews and Sarah Ong is dated February 8th. 1694. He removed from Mansfield to Little Egg Harbor about 1704, where he established a meeting, and continued to preach until his death of smallpox, 10mo. (December) 26, 1716, at the age of thirty nine. (See "Short Account of Edward Andrews", Phila. (8vo.) 1801. "Some Account of Edward Andrews", Manchester. (12mo.) No date. John Harrison, printer. "The Friend." (Phil^a.) xxviii. 166.)

Samuel Andrews, (-1693) of "Springhill" Burlington Co., N. J., father of Edward Andrews, was a Proprietary of West Jersey. His wife Mary (Wright), when very young, accompanied Margaret Brewster in 1658 to Boston to remonstrate with the authorities against the treatment and persecution of the Quakers. They were both whipped at the cart's tail. She had two sisters, Lydia and Hannah, both of them also preachers. Their home was at Oyster



Sophia Hume



John Townsend

In Gracechurch Meeting, London.

From a Contemporary Drawing in Possession of A. C. and S. H. Leitchworth.

Uriah Woolman, 1728-1804.
From original presented to
the John Woolman Memorial
Association by Gertrude Dea-
con.

John Comfort, 1745-1803.
From a named silhouette, found
in the attic of the John Woolman
Memorial, Mount Holly, N. J.

Bay, Long Island. Samuel Andrews, whom Mary Wright married in 1663, was a kinsman of the famous Governor, Sir Edmund Andros—or Andrews—of New York. The will of Samuel Andrews' daughter Mary, dated 1761, among other bequests, leaves to her nephews, Mordecai, Peter and Isaac, eleven hundred acres of land in Morris County, N. J., and "to William Peters, the elder, and Mary his wife," a silver tankard marked "E. A." formerly belonging to Edmund Andrews, (Andros) "heretofore Governor of New York." Jewelry is left to other relatives and friends, and to "Mrs. Moore, of Moore Hall, my *parrots Jacob and Africa!*" [The Friend, Phil. xxxi. 268.]

Edmund Andros, in 1686, petitioned the Crown for permission to use the arms and family crest of an ancestor, de Saumarez, stating that his great-grand-father's father was "John Andros, alias Andrews, an English gentleman of Northamptonshire". The London agent of the Colony of Massachusetts, John Collins, in 1674, wrote Governor Leverett, "New York being restored by the peace, one Mr. *Andrews* is appointed Governor, a man I know not". To this day the name of Andrews, not uncommon in New Jersey, is frequently pronounced *Andros*. (c. f. Bradford's "History of New York". "Notes and Queries", London, May 21, 1864.)

The Andros, or Andrews, family were of the Island of Guernsey, and during the early years of the Civil War, when Sir George Carteret was Governor of Jersey, we find two letters from Sir Peter Osborne, father-in-law of Sir William Temple, to his intimate friends Amias Andros, of Guernsey, and his wife. They occur in the recently published letters of his daughter Dorothy. For nine years Sir Peter Osborne, a staunch Royalist under the Stuarts, withstood the siege in the defence of Castle Cornet, just off St. Peter's Port, Guernsey. Then an almost impregnable fortress, it is today but the termination of a large breakwater. Guernsey became Cromwellian, but Sir Peter remained loyal to the King.

Amias Andros was then in the service in Jersey, and Sir Peter writes, in August, 1644, addressing him, "my loving friend, the Seigneur of Saumarez, at Jersey."¹ Over a year later he writes to the wife of Amias Andros, October, 1645, addressing his letter to "my Worthy friend, Mrs. Elizabeth Andrews Samares, at Jersey." He calls her, "good Mrs. Samares", expresses gratitude at news she has recently sent him of his wife, and assures her, "amongst your kindred in Jersey, I cannot doubt you will find assistance and courtesy. . . . Forbear, I pray, to look for an answer to the latter

¹ "Letters of Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple," p. 292. [Edited by Edward Abbott Parry.]

part of your letter, and have the patience not to expect your husband yet."¹

This was the family of Sir Edmund Andros, famous in Colonial history, and the Quakers of the name of Andrews in New Jersey are of the same stock. The spelling was interchangeable in the seventeenth century.

24

John Comfort (1745-1803)

Eldest son of the nine children of Stephen and Mercy Comfort of Middletown, Bucks county, Pa. Born 8mo. (October) 5 1745. The family were members of Fallsington meeting, and on his marriage to Mary, daughter of John Woolman, John Comfort removed to Mount Holly. He was a farmer, and added to the original acreage inherited by his wife from John Woolman. After the death of Sarah Woolman (1787) John and Mary Woolman removed to John's old home in what is now Morrisville, Pa. to his father's farm. Mary Woolman Comfort had ten children, and her husband records her death of smallpox "6da; of 4mo. 1797" aged forty seven. It is not surprising that in a little over a year he married his housekeeper, Ann English, at "The Falls", as Fallsington was usually called, 11mo. 14, 1798. (Fallsington Marriage Recs., Book B. p. 138) Twenty five witnesses sign the certificate. The farm at Mount Holly was sold and a record in the old account book, so often referred to, in the hand of one of his children, reads, "Our endeared Father John Comfort departed this Life 1 day of 7mo. 1803 about 4 o'clock in the morning." He was fifty eight.

Children of John and Mary Comfort.

- I John Born 6mo. 20 1772.
- II Stephen " 12mo. 24 1773.
- III Samuel " 7mo. 7 1776.
- IV Jeremiah " 2mo. 6 1778. Died 11mo. 1, 1778.
- V William " 10mo. 10 1780. Died 1mo. 15, 1786.
- VI Joseph " 6mo. 3 1783.
- VII Ira " 7mo. 8 1785.
- VIII Mary " 2mo. 15 1790.
- IX Sarah " 12mo. 9 1792. Died 1mo. 29, 1793.
- X Ellis " 12mo. 28 1794.

This record is from the fly leaf of the Larger Account Book of John Woolman. It was continued in use by John Comfort, who adds under this list, "My Beloved Wife Departed this life with the Small

¹ Ibid., p. 306.

da mo

pox y* 6 4 1797 about 12 o'clock at Night Aged 46 and a half lacking 12 days." She was born 10 mo. 18, 1750.

24A

Stephen Comfort (-1772)

A much respected and valued minister of Middletown Pa, meeting, and of Fallsington Monthly Meeting. He married Mercy, daughter of Jeremiah Croasdale, by whom he had nine children, one of whom was John who married Mary Woolman. His death occurred in December, 1772, shortly after that of John Woolman, for whose estate he was Trustee. His widow, Mercy Comfort, died at Middletown, in November, 1800.

25

Sarah Ellis Woolman (1721-1787)

Daughter of Benjamin and Mary (Abbott) Ellis. Born in Philadelphia, "6mo. (August) 26th. 1721". What is known of her has been given in the text. She married John Woolman at Chesterfield Meeting, 8mo. (October) 18, 1749, and survived her husband fifteen years. Her death occurred at Mount Holly, 3 mo. (March) 18. 1787. Her grave has recently been located from the excellent map, still preserved, of the graveyard at what was then the "new" meeting house, and was "number twelve of the first row" on Garden Street. A granite marker has been placed upon the spot by the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia.

Sarah Ellis Woolman's descent from the Sureties of the Magna Charta is extremely interesting, and has been traced to her grandmother, Ann (Mauleverer) Abbott, by Charles R. Browning, in his "Sureties of the Magna Charta." From Sir William Mauleverer (circa, 1418) and his wife Joan, is descended Sir William's great-great-grandson, Robert Mauleverer, who married October 16. 1524, Alice de Markenfield. His estate was Wothersome, Yorkshire. Their direct line is as follows:—

Edmund Mauleverer, married Mary Danby. Buried at Bardsey, April 27, 1571.

William Mauleverer, Married Eleanor Aldbrough. Buried at Arncliffe, April 1, 1618.

James Mauleverer, married Beatrice Hutton. Buried in St. Mary's Church, York, April 25, 1664.

Edmund Mauleverer, of East Aytoun Manor, Yorkshire. Married Ann Pearson. Died, November 27. 1679.

Ann Mauleverer; born 1678. Married, in Chesterfield West Jer-

sey, 1696, John Abbott, of Fernfield, Nottinghamshire. She died 1754. John and Ann (Mauleverer) Abbott were the grand parents of Sarah (Ellis) Woolman.

26

Samuel Eastburn. (1702-1785)

Samuel Eastburn was the fifth child of Robert and Sarah [Preston] Eastburn, of Thwait Keighley, of the Barony of Estburn, granted to Simon De Estburn in 1085 (now Eastbourne.) He was born 2mo. 20, 1702, and came in 1713 to Philadelphia with his parents, who settled nearby. He married Elizabeth Gillingham, daughter of Mary Gillingham of Oxford, Pa, at the Meeting House at Oxford, under the care of Abington Monthly Meeting, 3mo. 14, 1728, and moved to Center Hill, in Solebury Township, Bucks County, Penna., on 250 acres of land which belonged to Benjamin Canby. They had six children; Benjamin, Joseph, Ann E., Mary, Sarah and Robert. He moved his certificate from Abington to Buckingham Meeting 11mo. 27, 1729, and bought his land in 1734. He was an active member of Buckingham Meeting; was overseer in 1743; and clerk for sixteen years, from 1742 to 1758. He was long a minister and traveled in New Jersey, New England, Maryland and Virginia.

He resided in Solesbury until his death, which occurred in December 1785 at the age of 83 years. His will was made 11mo. 20, 1780, and probated 12mo. 9, 1785. [Information from Samuel E. Eastburn.]

27

Hannah Foster (1710-1777).

Born at Evesham, N. J. 10mo. (December) 17, 1710. Daughter of Enoch and Sarah [Roberts] Core. Her father died when she was very young, and her mother brought up her and her three other children in the fear of God. She married in 1729 William Foster, and later visited most of the American meetings of Friends, except the Carolinas. In 1770 she accompanied Rebecca Jones to New York Yearly meeting, on Long Island. She died at Evesham, 1mo. 14, 1777 at the age of sixty six having been a minister for forty years.

("Collection of Memorials" &c. 356. "Testimony" of Evesham M.M.)

Hannah Foster's husband, William Foster, was a prominent Friend in his neighborhood, and was one of the Commissioners appointed by the Legislature in 1758 to purchase land for the Indian Reservation, and who bought the tract in Burlington County, later called "Brotherton." (N. J. Archives, IX.) The "Pennsylvania Gazette"

for November 2, 1749 has an advertisement for a "schoolmaster or mistress for Mountholly in West Jersey." The applicant must be recommended as of sober behavior, and spell well, and write a good common hand! The notice is signed by William Foster, who was on the committee of the school kept by Friends as a public school. In 1760, he was a member of the "Meeting for Sufferings," in Philadelphia. William and Hannah Foster had twelve children.

28

William Lightfoot (1731-1797) of Pikeland. Known as "Junior".

Son of Samuel and Mary (Head) Lightfoot; born 1mo. 29, 1731/2. A letter from his older brother Benjamin, Surveyor, of Reading, to Israel Pemberton, dated "1mo. 18, 1765," asks about "Billy going to town to work." (Pemberton Papers, Vol. 18, p. 65. Hist. Soc. Pa.) William then had prospects of marriage, and the next year, he took for wife, Mary, (1745-1811) daughter of David and Mary Ferris, of Wilmington, Del., 4mo 5, 1766. He was a useful member of Uwchlan Monthly Meeting, Pa., and for many years was under appointment to draw marriage certificates and record births and burials. His residence was in Pikeland, Chester County, Pa. where he died, 7mo. 29th. 1811, aged sixty six.

When he accompanied John Woolman as far as Fort Allen on the Indian journey, William Lightfoot was not married, and was thirty two years of age. He signed himself "Junior" in order to distinguish himself from his cousin William Lightfoot of Philadelphia, son of Michael. [Information from Gilbert Cope.]

29

Elizabeth Shipley (1690-1777)

Born at Springfield, Chester County, Pa. 10mo. (December) 1690. Daughter of Samuel Levis. Began to preach when she was twenty four. She visited Barbados 1724-5 with Jane Fenn on a religious tour, when Thomas Chalkley addressed them a remarkable letter of sympathy and wise counsel as an "elder brother", upon their departure from Philadelphia. The letter is given entire in his *Journal*.

Upon her return in 1728, Elizabeth Levis married as his second wife, William Shipley, continuing to live at Springfield until 1736, when they removed to Wilmington, Delaware. In 1743, Elizabeth Shipley, accompanied by Esther White, went to England by way of North Carolina, and in 1760, in the seventieth year of her age, she and Hannah Foster traveled in the ministry to New England, where they met John Woolman. She died at West Marlborough, Pa., 10mo.

10, 1777, at the age of eighty seven, having been a minister for sixty three years.

("Collection of Memorials" &c. p. 371.)

30

Mary Ridgway (-1782)

Daughter of Joseph Burr of Northampton township, Burlington Co.; married at Mount Holly, 11mo. (January), 20, 1747-'8, Solomon, son of Job Ridgway, of Springfield, N. J. (Book B. Burl. Mar. Records.) They had several children and she survived him, dying 1mo. 17, 1782. Mary Ridgway was a cousin of John Woolman, and a neighbor of Hannah Foster.

31

Ann Gauntt (1710-)

A well known minister of Little Egg Harbour, New Jersey. Born 10mo. 10 1710. Daughter of Thomas [died 1724] and Ann (Pharo) Ridgway, and granddaughter of Richard Ridgway, immigrant. A granddaughter also of James Pharo, who came from England 1678 in the "Shield" to Burlington, with the grandfather of John Woolman. She began to preach in her girlhood and went on religious tours before her marriage which occurred 7mo. 19, 1730 to Hananiah Gauntt, [son of Hananiah, son of Peter] (born 1mo. 2, 1707.) He was famous as a local wit, and when their intentions were laid before the meeting, some surprise was expressed that the staid minister, Ann Ridgway, should choose for a husband so jovial a man as Hananiah Gauntt. Nothing whatever could be said against his sterling qualities however, and the marriage was approved. He was always greatly respected and beloved by the Friends of his time. "Long after he was laid beneath the green turf in the little graveyard at Tuckerton, New Jersey, his old neighbors related and laughed at his funny tales." He enjoyed considerable wealth, and was a man of influence in the community. His home was the resort of all the Friends on preaching tours in that part of New Jersey. The Gauntts were one of the many families of Huguenot descent who, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, found their way through Great Britain to America and identified themselves with the Dissenters of the colonies.

Ephraim Tomlinson (Journal. Fr'ds' Miscellany, II, 176) describes Ann Gauntt in 1768 as "a powerful minister", and calls her "my sister". When she was attending Westbury Quarterly meeting on Long Island, in 1770, she visited a Friend, Clements Willitts, an invalid, confined to her bed for thirty nine years, who so enjoyed the

visit, that she wrote in her diary, "I thought I should never have so much comfort in this tribulated tabernacle." In 1787 she was still preaching, and John Hunt in his *Journal*, ("Friends' Miscel." X. p. 246) says of her, "she is far advanced in years, but is Divinely favoured, and is large and lively in the ministry."

Ann Gauntt was exceedingly industrious and a great knitter. She sometimes rose from her bed at an early hour in the morning, and while the family slept, would set up on her needles and start one of the long stockings which were worn by men of the period, coming over the knee and secured under the knee-breeches. Before midnight the stocking would be completed. She died *after* 1787.

32

John Storer (1725-1795)

Son of Jonathan and Rebecca Storer of Nottingham, England. Was "educated in the way of the National Church", but became a Quaker in 1748. Four years later he began to preach. In 1760, John Storer came to America, where he met and was associated with John Woolman. The "Epistle" from New England Friends at Newport to London, 12 of 6mo. 1760, says, "This our Annual Meeting, which were Large, have through the Great Goodness & Merciful Condescention of our God been Eminently favoured with his Blessed Appearance both immediately and Instrumentally by his Servants and handmaids whome he hath Concerned to pay us a Religious Visit, Among whome is our Worthy Friend, John Storer, whose testimonies Being Conducted in the power of Truth, was very Comfortable and Refreshing to the faithful."¹

A second visit was made in 1785, after the death of John Woolman, when he was one of three Friends who came together, the first to cross the ocean after the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, in an interval of ten years. The two others were John Townsend⁴ of London and Thomas Colley, of Sheffield (1742-1812). John Hunt of New Jersey calls John Storer "a great, lively and powerful minister." (The *Journal* of John Hunt in *Friends' Miscellany*, Vol. X.)

John Storer married, 1st. Sarah Northin, of Norwich, England. They had a daughter Sarah, the mother dying soon after. Sarah, Jr. married 1784, Thomas Jowitt, of Nottingham and Leeds. John Storer married, 2nd., in 1764, Hannah, daughter of Thomas and Sarah Sparrow, of Maplestead, Essex, who survived as his widow until 1821. His death occurred in 1795. (Bowden, *Hist. Frds. in America*. II. 373. *Journal*, *Frds' Hist. Soc.*, London, Vol. XI. No. 2. p. 95.)

¹ Minutes of New England Y. M., Vol. I, p. 252.

John Churchman (1705-1775)

Born at Nottingham, Chester Co. Pa. 6mo. (August) 1705. Died at same place, 7mo. 24, 1775, at the age of seventy. He began to preach at twenty five, and traveled much in his own country, Europe, Great Britain and Ireland, and left an interesting Journal of his travels and experiences. He was chosen a Justice of the Peace in 1748, which was a great trial to him, and after much reflection, he declined the honor, "because God called him to avoid worldly cumbers." He and Israel Pemberton about this time waited upon the Mayor of Philadelphia, probably Charles Willing, and warned him to deal justly. He made also in this year (1748) a visit to the State House, in Philadelphia, where the Assembly was then sitting, and addressed them on the subject of the war tax and slavery, John Kinsey, a leading Quaker of Philadelphia, being then speaker of the House. The visit was not made without much tribulation of spirit, and some discouragement from the Speaker, but the Journals of the two men would indicate that the Friend to whom John Churchman imparted his "concern" was John Woolman. His address made a deep impression on the statesmen assembled, and Woolman's encouragement was justified.

John Churchman was in England in 1750, and visited Christopher Wilson^a at Graysotthen, near Broughton, and also Robert Barclay, grandson of the Apologist. He returned from this English visit in the "Carolina", Captain Stephen Mesnard, a popular Captain among the Friends, in company with Samuel Fothergill, in 1754.

In the spring of 1758 John Churchman accompanied John Woolman to a few of the New Jersey meetings, and at Chesterfield rebuked the 'raw persons', mentioned by both in their Journals, who had come to see two or three proposals of marriage.

In 1759 Churchman says, "In this year I was also engaged with my Friend John Woolman in visiting some active members of our Society who kept slaves, first in the City of Philadelphia and in other places; also in New Jersey where we were enabled to go through some heavy labours and were favoured with peace." On his death-bed John Churchman said "I feel that which lies beyond death and the grave, which is now an inexpressible comfort to me." Divine refreshment seeming, as some present noted, to pass through him as a flowing stream, "I may tell you of it," said he, "but you cannot feel it as I do." MS.A, of Woolman's Journal, contains a long extract from J. Churchman's Journal.

John Churchman married Margaret, daughter of William and

Esther Brown, of Chester County, Pa.; born 1mo. (March) 13, 1707. She died of cancer, after a painful illness, in the summer of 1770.

See *Friends' Miscel.* V. 8. (1836) for his letters to John Casey, 2mo. 10, 1743, and John Pemberton, 1754.

34

Jane Crosfield (1712-1784)

Daughter of James Rowlandson, of Frith Hall, Lancashire. The ancient dwelling is now a ruin. It was situated on the river Leven, not far from Swarthmoor. She appeared in the ministry in 1740, and made her first tour with a certificate in 1748, after which she was for twenty four years almost constantly engaged abroad in "Truth's Service." She married, in "2mo. (April) 1746", George Crosfield, of "Low Park," Preston Patrick, near Kendal, Westmoreland, who died 1784. Her husband's sister, Isabel Crosfield, married Thomas Gawthrop,⁴ q.v.

In company with George Mason and Susannah (Hudson) Hatton,⁴ (afterwards Lightfoot), she came to America on the "Philadelphia Packet", Captain Richard Budden, sailing 7mo. 23 1760, in a fleet of thirty six sail under convoy, and arrived at Philadelphia 9mo. 11. Sixty three pounds were paid by the London Meeting for Sufferings for the passage of the party. A full account exists of her American visit not, unfortunately, in her own hand. A very interesting list of the "sea-stores" which she took on board the "Catherine and Mary", Captain Condy, the vessel on which she made the return voyage home from Philadelphia, 10mo. 22, 1761, exists, in the handwriting of James Pemberton. (*Jour. Frds' Hist. Soc. London*, Vol. II, p. 139. 1905). One is struck with the amazing amount of liquors of all kinds which she took on board, as was customary in those days, even with the knowledge that much of it was to be shared with the passengers and crew.

She must have become quite well acquainted with John Woolman during her visit in America; they had many friends in common. Her death occurred 2mo. 2 1784. Her husband survived her but four months, dying in 6mo. ("*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*", 1903. p. 244.)

35

Joseph White (1712-1777).

Born at Fallsington, Bucks County, Penna. 11mo. (January) 28, 1712. He began to preach in the twentieth year of his age. Being an orphan, he was brought up by relatives, who so well performed

their task that Samuel Foulke says of him, "though he had only a mechanic education, he was admirably raised, and endowed with gifts natural and divine." He traveled in the ministry in his own country, and in 1758 went to England on a similar mission, where he remained three years. During his absence, John Churchman visited his wife after parting with John Woolman at Bordentown, in 1758, and writes in his Journal, (p. 202) "had a comfortable season in the family with the children, she appearing to be resigned in the absence of her husband, her spirit being sweetened with the Truth in innocent quietude."

Another Joseph White, who lived at Pemberton, N. J. must not be confounded with this preacher. [Bowden. "History of Friends in America" vol. II. p. 397.]

36

Rebecca Jones. (1739-1817)

Born in Philadelphia, 7mo. 8, 1739, of pious parents of the Church of England. Her father, William Jones, was a seaman, and was lost on a voyage when Rebecca was a young child. Mary the widow opened a school at No. 8, Drinker's Alley, which proved very successful, and she was able to give her two children a careful education. Daniel was nine years older than Rebecca. She never married.

Rebecca Jones was convinced of Friends' principles at the age of fifteen, and was led to join the Society largely through the influence of Catharine Peyton, an English Friend who visited Philadelphia on a preaching tour in 1754. Upon her mother's death in 1761, Rebecca succeeded to the school, and joined with her Hannah Cathrall, who remained a devoted assistant until her retirement in failing health. The school was given up when Rebecca Jones went to England on a preaching tour in 1784, and she eked out a modest income upon her return home by opening a little shop or agency, which her English friends kept supplied with lawns and cambrics and fine cap muslins. She was an intimate friend of John Woolman.

Rebecca Jones was a victim of the yellow fever of 1793, but was carefully nursed back to life by the devoted Doctor Edward Cathrall and her friends, one of whom was Thomas Scattergood. There was an understanding between her and Samuel Emlen that whichever survived, should preach at the other's funeral, and Rebecca preached at the graveside of Samuel on the first day of the year 1800. She herself died 4mo. 10th. 1817.

[Memorials of R. Jones. Edited by Wm. J. Allinson.]

37

William Calvert (-)

A prominent merchant of Mt. Holly, who became purchaser of a portion of the estate of Stephen Girard, when that Frenchman, who was destined to become one of the merchant princes of the Colonial period, removed to Philadelphia, and sold to a merchant from whom Calvert bought later, having his shop on Mill Street, at the corner of what is now Cherry. He was a tenant of the Woolmans for some years, and supplied the hardware and many materials used in building the present "Memorial" on Branch street.

William Calvert married in 1764 Martha, daughter of Thomas and Susanna Atkinson. She died 10mo. 9, 1786, and was buried beside her mother in the Friends' graveyard, Mount Holly.

38

John Sleeper (1731-)

Born 10mo. (December) 14 1731. Son of Jonathan and Hannah Sleeper, of Bridgetown (Mount Holly) N. J.: carpenter. Married, 9mo. (November) 26, 1754, Hannah, daughter of Nehemiah and Ann Haines, of Chesterfield, Burlington Co. N. J. They had ten children.

Jonathan Sleeper is said to have come with his brother John from New Hampshire because of the Quaker persecutions in New England. John settled in Virginia. (F. C. Mason. "Borton and Mason Families." Rec's. Burlington M.M.) A record of the Monthly Meeting for 8mo. (August) 11, 1757, states, that John Sleeper, "not removing as he had expected from Mount Holly", returns his minute to that meeting. He owned land near that of John Woolman, and they were life long friends. He died at Mount Holly.

39

David Brainerd. (1718-1747)

Born at Haddam, Connecticut, April 20, 1718. Was educated at Yale, where he entered in 1739 and was expelled in 1742 for his vehemence and over zealous espousal of evangelical and revival sentiments and methods. In 1743 he began his mission to the Indians at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and the next year went to the Delaware Indians in Pennsylvania. Thence he went to "Crossweeksung" (Crosswicks) New Jersey, where he settled, and had signal success in Christianizing the savage heart. His work among the New Jersey Indians should receive closer attention from historians than it has yet had, for although cut off in his early career, David Brainerd's

influence was far-reaching in its later development, and his brother John and he were remarkable pioneers as missionaries.

David Brainerd's health failed him, and he made several journeys to New England in search of relief. He became engaged to be married to a daughter of the great leader, Jonathan Edwards, to whose house he went and died after a brief illness, at Northampton, Massachusetts, October 9, 1747, of rapid consumption, at the early age of twenty nine. His brother John continued his work.

His *Memoir* was written and published by Jonathan Edwards, at Boston, in 1749, and a new edition appeared by Sherwood, N. Y., 1884.

40

David Zeisberger (1721-1808)

Son of David and Rosina Zeisberger. Born Zauchtenthal, Moravia, April 11. 1721. His parents were among the *Bohemian Brethren*, who escaped the persecutions when David had reached the age of five by flying to Herrnhut, on the estate of Count Zinzendorf, where their safety was secured with the loss of all their earthly possessions. In 1733, James Oglethorpe founded Georgia. In 1736 Bishop Nitschman led the second body of Moravian emigrants to that colony, and organized a church under John Wesley. Among these emigrants were David and Rosina Zeisberger, with all their children except the young David, who as a promising scholar, was left behind to finish his education at Herrnhut. He showed especial linguistic talent, and to this is to be ascribed his ease in acquiring the Indian languages.

Count Zinzendorf took him to Holland, where he became a shop-boy near Utrecht. He finally followed his parents to Georgia, and in 1740, after the outbreak of the Spanish war, escaped with his parents to Philadelphia from Savannah in George Whitefield's sloop. They settled at first at the "Forks of Delaware" where they aided in building "Whitefield's House", still standing in Northampton County, Pa. With other Moravians, Zeisberger fell under the displeasure of George Whitefield upon theological grounds, and, under the leadership of Bishop Nitschman, in 1741, a group of believers settled at what is now Bethlehem, Pennsylvania,—a name bestowed upon it by Count Zinzendorf. Here the parents died shortly after.

From the time of Count Zinzendorf's visit to America, David Zeisberger became the greatest missionary to the Indians among the Moravians. All his early years were spent in dangerous journeys preaching Christianity to the tribes of the wilderness of Pennsylvania. The Indians of Wyoming and Wyalusing and the valleys of

the Lehigh and Susquehanna were particularly his converts. The Delaware Indians, Anthony and Nathaniel, as stated in their biographical notes, were the constant companions of Zeisberger, and were his assistants, often holding services themselves. Both died before their instructor. On this particular visit of the Moravians to Wyalusing, they had learned at Wyoming, on their way up the Susquehanna, of Pontiac's rebellion, but regarding the rumors of attacks on the forts as exaggerated, they had pushed on. After they had concluded the baptism and services which followed the departure of John Woolman and Benjamin Parvin, they remained some time with the new converts, and returning by way of Tioga, were met at that place on June 30th. with orders from Bishop Seidel to return at once because of danger: they reached Bethlehem on July 10th.

Zeisberger familiarized himself more, perhaps, with the language and spirit of the American Indian than any man of his day; his translation of Moravian hymns into the Indian dialects has been referred to. He died November 17. 1808, at Goshen, Penna. aged nearly 88, after a strenuous missionary career of sixty two years.

[See "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," by Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz.]

41

Papunahung—or Papoonahal—(1705-1775)

A native Delaware Indian Chief of the Minsi tribe, born about 1705. Bishop de Schweinitz ("Life and Times of David Zeisberger," 265, ff.) places him prominently among the savage preachers, somewhat like their "medicine men", who attempted to counteract the influence of the Moravian Missionaries. The period of their peculiar "preaching" lasted some thirty years. Papunahung was early converted by the Moravian Pastor Zeisberger, who visited his village of Wyalusing on the Susquehanna in 1745. Conrad Weiser, Indian Commissioner, was there even earlier. Papunahung consistently pursued a Christian life, and unfailingly led his people in the paths of peace and righteousness. Throughout his life he remained in close touch with, and under the influence of, the mother church in Bethlehem. He was baptized in 1763 at Wyalusing, and received the name of *John Papunahung*, or "Minsi John". With his wife Ann Joanna, and child, he is named in the list of baptized persons of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, in 1771. (W. C. Reichel, "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Soc." Church Diary, I. 217.) John Hays, who accompanied Ch. Frederick Post on his missionary tour to the village of Wyalusing in 1760, in his diary, calls him "Wamphoonham: a very Religious, Civilized man in his own way,

and shewed us a great deal of kindness." (Pa. Archives, III, 736.) Bishop de Schweinitz says, "God overruled the man's discourses, to the awakening of his tribe." Papunahung died May 15, 1775, at the age of seventy.

The land on which he settled at Wyalusing—the old Indian Mack-hackloosing, "The Place of the Hoary Veteran"—was granted to Papunahung by the Iroquois, after the peace. In November, 1768, the Iroquois, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, sold this land to the agents of the Penns; John Penn, however, promised to allow Papunahung's people to remain undisturbed on a nearby tract. Knowing from bitter experience the dangers involved in too close proximity to the English, the Church at Bethlehem determined to remove them to the Moravian settlement in Ohio, which was carried out in 1772. Job Chilaway,* who remained behind, became the practical owner of the land.

There is much reference to Teedyuscung and Papunahung, the great Chiefs of the Delawares, in the Records of the Meeting for Sufferings, in Philadelphia. Various accounts of him exist; the Tract No. 50 called "John Papoonahung, The Converted Indian" issued by the Tract Association of Friends, 304 Arch St. Phil^a, does not follow Anthony Benezet's manuscript, but is probably based on it.

42

Susanna (Hudson) Hatton, afterward Lightfoot. (1719-1781)

Born at Grange, County Antrim, Ireland, 1mo. (March) 10, 1719. Daughter of John and Margaret Hudson, who were in limited circumstances, and was eldest of several children. Her father died when she was 13, and her pious mother put her out at service with a Friend who was a minister, Ruth Courtney. Her son's and her own accounts show her experience with a most hard and exacting mistress, for whom she worked as personal maid; she also was forced to tend the cattle and horses. When she accompanied her mistress on her preaching tours, and was endorsed by her meeting also as preacher, she sat in the kitchen, and was sent to rub down the riding horses, for which she was not permitted to ask aid. She was but seventeen when she began to preach, and came to America with Ruth Courtney, also with a certificate as minister. Upon her return, she married Joseph Hatton, to whom she had been engaged for two years, in 9mo. (November) 25, 1742, and in 1754 they removed to Waterford. Her husband died in 1759, leaving her with several children, the survivors of nine, among whom were four sets of twins.

A year after her husband's death, Susanna Hatton paid her second visit to America, when she remained over a year. It was during

this visit that she was at the Indian conference at Easton, and preached with such power. Upon her return to Ireland, Thomas Lightfoot made his addresses, and they were married 9mo. 25, 1763, and in rather less than a year, Susanna and her new husband returned to America as their future home. They settled at Uwchlan, which had long been Thomas Lightfoot's residence, and here Susanna Lightfoot died 5mo. 8, 1781 at the age of sixty one, having been a minister for forty four years. She told her husband on her deathbed to bury her in some of her meanest linen, as "good enough to go into the ground" and to use a black oak coffin, since that was the commonest wood then in use. ["The Friend" (Phila.) Vol. 61, p. 10, Dò. Vol. 74, pp. 339, 348, 356. "Friend's Miscellany", Vol. IX, p. 69.]

43

Robert Proud (1728-1813)

Born May 10. 1728, in a farm house at Low Foxton, near Crathorne, a mile from Yarm on the river Teas, boundary between Yorkshire and Durham. Son of William and Ann (Hedley) Proud, (mar. 1727,) who later settled at Wood-End, a mile or two from Thirsk, in Yorkshire. Robert Proud was educated by David Hall at Skipton, becoming a good Greek and Latin scholar. He went to London in 1750, and under the advice of "that eminent friend of education and the advancement of science" Doctor Fothergill, who was his relative, he says, "I applied myself to further improvement in some parts of learning and science." He had great ability, and became a tutor in the Bevan family.

In 1758 he came to America, and made his home at first with Mordecai Yarnall.¹⁰⁹ Two years later, he became teacher of the "Public Latin School of Friends" in Philadelphia, founded by William Penn in 1689. This is now (1922) the William Penn Charter School, and has had a continuous existence since the days of the founder. He remained in that position for nine years, resigning in 1770, to enter business with his brother John, from England. While the American Revolution was in progress and business disturbed, he was engaged on the task of writing his "History of Pennsylvania", which ever since has been a standard work.

Robert Proud's relatives in England remained at Thirsk, and the family and John Woolman had many friends in common. The death of R. Proud occurred in Philadelphia, 1813. He left an autobiography, which has appeared in the "Penna. Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XIII, pp. 430-440. (1889) [Memoirs of Hist. Soc. Pa., Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 393-5.]

His cousin, another Robert Proud, became a prominent preacher among the Quakers and visited America.

44

Job Chilaway (-1796)

A well known and intelligent Indian, frequently employed, because of his fluent English, by the Government in a civil capacity, and also by the commanders of troops and the militia. He is said to have been a native of New Jersey, from the neighborhood of Little Egg Harbor, and first appears as the friend and companion of Papunahung at Wyalusing. He acted in the capacity of guide and interpreter to Conrad Weiser, Indian Commissioner; became a convert to the Moravian church and was baptized in 1770, serving thereafter faithfully for twenty years with much ability, especially in negotiations with Indian chiefs.¹ In his youth, he was an especial favorite of Sir William Johnson, and one of his interpreters.

Chilaway became the final native owner of the lands at Wyalusing and was evidently a thrifty business man. Papunahung's village lay near by, upon which the Bethlehem Synod had bestowed the name of Friedenshütten (second of the name) in 1766. The last settlement had been made there by Papunahung and his people, with the consent of the Six Nations. In November, 1768, the land was sold over their heads by these tribes, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, to the agents of the Penns. The Indians thereupon petitioned the Government for a survey of four hundred acres, six miles below the present village. John Penn, Governor, promised to stand by them, that Friedenshütten should not be included in the survey of the Government. The policy pursued by the Colonial Government urged the "immediate removal of all Indians indiscriminately, beyond the limits of lands held by the white man by right of purchase."² Papunahung was one of three deputies who, in 1769, petitioned the Government for the appointment of trustees who could sell, or pay money to the Indians. He declared the land on which they lived to be insecurely held.

Meantime, Job Chilaway had appealed (Nov. 26, 1768), for the survey of Wyalusing Indian lands to himself, under the claim that he was defending the Indians rights. They, however, stated "that they had never desired Chilaway to take up land for them" and that he had no valid claim; his procedure was to the prejudice of the brother, John Papunahung, who had been settled at Wyalusing two

¹ Edmund de Schweinitz: "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," p. 629.

² W. C. Reichel: "Hist. Moravian Church," in "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society"; I, p. 186.

years before Job Chilaway came.”¹ In view of all these complications, the Bethlehem Synod, with an eye always single to the preservation of its spiritual children in the simplicity of faith, determined to remove them from what they recognized were dangers to their welfare in the proximity of white settlers, and accepted the Government offer of a reservation in Ohio, where, as has been noted, they removed in 1772.² John Ettwein (1712-1802) pastor, and leader of one division of the emigrants, entrusted the fifty two deserted houses to the care of Job Chilaway who, with his wife Elizabeth, remained behind. September 16th. of the following year, the Surveyor-General, John Lukens, made the survey of these lands to Chilaway. Two years later, May 4th. 1775, Job and his wife sold to Henry Pawling for the sum of £784, “subject, however, to the payment of certain debts due, and owing therefore, to John Pemberton, Abel James, Henry Drinker, Samuel Pleasants, and Reuben Haines, all of the County of Philadelphia”, amounting to £236, Pennsylvania currency. When General Sullivan’s expedition encamped at Wyalusing in 1779, they found no trace left of the old Indian village.

Job Chilaway died in the winter of 1796/7.³ Much was said of him, warm in praise after his death; and the Brigade Chaplain of General Sullivan says his memory was

“By strangers honour’d and by strangers mourn’d.”⁴

44A

John Curtis.

Nothing has been found by the editor regarding this Indian, who was in all probability a brother of the chief Samuel.

45

Anthony (1697-1773)

A Delaware Indian from Tunkhannock, Pa. baptized by Bishop Cammerhoff in the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, February 8. 1750. “He was for many years a faithful native assistant, one of the most brilliant illustrations of the power of the Gospel among the Indians. Nature had made him an orator, and grace sanctified his eloquence.” His wife was baptized Joanna. (Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz; “Life and Times of David Zeisberger.” p. 267) Anthony

¹ W. C. Reichel: “Transactions of the Moravian Hist. Soc.” I, p. 204.

² Ibid., p. 186.

³ Ibid., p. 224. According to Bishop de Schweinitz [“Life and Times of David Zeisberger,” p. 629], the death of Job took place September 22, 1791. If, as Reichel asserts, Job had a brother William or “Billy,” the dates may well be those of the deaths of the two brothers.

⁴ *American Universal Magazine* for May, 1797.

was employed by Zeisberger as his guide and companion on the expedition to Wyalusing in 1763. He settled at Goschgoschunk, and was a powerful preacher. His death occurred September 5. 1773, at the age of seventy six. "With lips eloquent even in death, he exhorted his countrymen to remain steadfast in the faith and delivered a last testimony as bright as had been the daily testimony of his life. Zeisberger mourned for him as for a brother." [Ibid. p. 389. See also G. H. Loskiel: "History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America" p. 93, for an eloquent tribute to this Indian convert.]

45A

Nathaniel (-1767) own brother to Anthony, probably older, who died of small pox, was also a Tunkhannock Delaware, baptized by the same Bishop Cammerhoff, shortly before Anthony, i.e. May 17. 1749. He accompanied Pastor Zeisberger on his second Wyalusing journey and was present during John Woolman's visit. His death occurred in 1767. (E. de Schweinitz: Work quoted, p. 270. Note.)

45B

Jacob January

An Indian or halfbreed, who spoke good English, and had traded with the whites, acting on occasion as interpreter. A Thomas January was Provincial Armourer in Philadelphia. See letter to him from Joseph Shippen, June, 1758, for arms, &c. (Pa. Archives, III, p. 410.)

46

Benjamin Parvin (1727-)

Francis Parvin and Deborah Pearson were married in Ireland in 12mo 1723/4, and about 1729 came to Pennsylvania. They brought with them three young sons, Francis, Thomas and Benjamin, the last born in 1727. The mother died soon after landing, and the father married again, at New Garden, 3mo. (May) 2, 1734, Eleanor Lightfoot, daughter of Michael, and granddaughter of Thomas Lightfoot, of both of whom memorials and biographical sketches have been published. Francis and Eleanor Parvin settled at Maiden Creek, Berks Co. Pa. Francis Parvin served as Coroner for Berks Co. 1748, 1761, 1762, and was member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, in 1755.

After the death of their mother, the three young sons of Francis by his first wife were sent home to Ireland to be educated. When

ready to return, their passage was engaged and provisions laid in, when one of them went ashore for something forgotten, and the vessel sailed without him. The voyage, however, was long and the provisions none too much for two, and the other brother arriving by the first vessel that offered, was not much behind the first. Benjamin Parvin was a surveyor of lands under the Penns, and like his father, served as Coroner for Berks Co. in 1755.

A cousin of this Benjamin Parvin, also a Benjamin, who was a grandson of the brother Thomas, of Cohansey, Salem Co. N. J., weaver, died in 1744, and his father-in-law William Bradford, and John Woolman made the inventory. (N. J. Archives, xxx, p. 57.) Both Benjamins received the name from their grandfather, the father of Francis Parvin, an account of whose imprisonment in Longford, Ireland is given in the Works of Benjamin Holmes, a fellow prisoner. [Jos. Smith's Catalogue of Frds' Books. Information from G. Cope.]

47

Thomas Bartow (1737-1793)

Born at Perth Amboy, N. J. 1737, and married 1768, Sarah, daughter of Daniel Benezet, a brother of Anthony, and son of John Stephen Benezet, the Huguenot merchant. Thomas Bartow became a well known merchant of Philadelphia. Three of the daughters of John Stephen Benezet married Moravian ministers, i.e. Mary, who was married to Rev. Jacob Lischy; Susanna, to Rev. John C. Pyrlaeus, and Judith, first, to Rev. David Bruce, and second, to Dr. John F. Otto.

This intimate connection of Anthony Benezet, the Quaker philanthropist, and friend of John Woolman, with the Moravians, is quite sufficient to explain the very evident acquaintance of Woolman with the interests of the Moravian missionaries, with whose efforts we cannot doubt he was in true sympathy.

Thomas Bartow died in 1793 and his wife, Sarah (Benezet) Bartow, in 1818. One of their daughters married Joseph Drinker. (Information from Dr. John W. Jordan.)

48

Samuel Foulke (1718-1797)

Of Richland, Bucks County, Pa. Grandson of Edward Foulke, of Merionethshire, N. Wales, who emigrated to America in 1698, settling at Gwynedd, Montgomery Co. Pa. Edward's son Hugh removed to Richland, (now Quakertown) and had John and Samuel.

Samuel Foulke was born 12mo. 4, 1718. He sat in the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania from 1761 to 1768, and was succeeded by

his elder brother John, from 1769 to the period of the Revolution. Samuel was actively in sympathy with ideas of independence, and regarded the claims of the Penn family as encroachments on the rights of private citizens. His *Journal of the Assembly* exists, and has been published. (*Penna. Magazine of Hist. & Biog.* Vol. V. p. 60; *Ibid*, Vol. VIII, 407.)

When Richland Monthly Meeting was established, Samuel Foulke was its first Clerk, and he served for thirty seven years. He was not a minister, but a wise and valued elder. An interesting letter of his to a young minister may be found in *Friends' Miscellany*, Vol. IV. p. 14. His obituary was published in the same serial, Vol. iii, p. 16.

49

Joseph Nichols (1730-)

Founder of a sect about the middle of the 18th. century, called from him, "Nicholites". Most of his followers resided in Maryland, a few in Delaware and North Carolina. They regularly organized in 1780. Nichols was born near Dover, Delaware, and the "Eastern Shore" of Maryland was his headquarters. By the end of the century, finding their views on the immanence of the Divine Spirit, war, the oath, and their marriage rites to be much like those of the Quakers, they lost many to the latter society, and were gradually absorbed as a sect. They were so plain that they declined to mix colors or material: the women wore caps and the men hats, of the natural color of the wool, and nearly white. Nichols was the first man in Delaware and along the Maryland border to preach against slave holding.

50

Benjamin Ferris (1740-1771)

Son of David and Mary Ferris, and nephew and namesake of Benjamin Ferris of New York. Born 5mo. (July) 8, 1740. Married Hannah, daughter of James Brown (d. 1767), and lived in Wilmington, Delaware. He died in March 1771. There is a notice of his funeral in the *Journal of John Churchman*, (*Friends' Miscel.* XII p. 283.)

51

Reuben Haines (1728-1793)

Son of Josiah Haines (d. 1728) and Martha, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Hudson) Burr. Martha Burr was the younger sister of Elizabeth Burr, who married Samuel Woolman. Reuben Haines and John Woolman were therefore first cousins, their mothers being sisters. Martha Haines, as widow, married Timothy Matlack (d.

1752) and became the mother of the famous "Fighting Quaker", Timothy Matlack, II. of Revolutionary fame. There was a further relationship, for Josiah Haines was a grandson of the immigrant ancestor, Richard Haines, who, with his wife Margaret, came from Aynhoe, Northamptonshire, England, in 1682 and died at sea, following his son John, who had accompanied John and Ann Borton from the same place to America 1679 and who married their daughter, Esther, in 1684. Esther's sister Elizabeth married John Woolman,¹ another neighbor in England, in the same year (1684) and they became the grandparents of John Woolman, the preacher. There are notices of John Haines (Vol. 29, 268,) and of his wife, Esther, (Vol. 38, 339) in "The Friend" Phila. He "was an appointed elder and a zealous man." Another complication for the genealogist lies in the fact of the marriage of another sister of Elizabeth and Martha Burr, to Caleb Haines, brother to Josiah Haines. Caleb Haines and Sarah Burr were married in 9mo. 1719. In the above brief family history is found an excellent example of the marriage intricacies of the old Quaker—and in fact many other—immigrant settlers in the new country of America. Caleb and Sarah Haines removed from Had-donfield to Burlington Monthly meeting 12mo. (February) 11, 1744, with two daughters, Elizabeth and Patience.

Reuben Haines (called "The Elder") born 1mo. (March) 1st, 1728, lived in Philadelphia, where he inherited the brewhouse at Fourth and Market Streets from his step-father, Timothy Matlack. He lived on the north side of High (as Market street was then called), just below Fourth. He married Margaret, daughter of Caspar and Catharine (Jansen-Johnson) Wistar, 4mo. 24. 1760. Margaret Wistar Haines inherited the beautiful old house, still the pride of Germantown, known as "Wyck," which is yet in possession of the family. Reuben Haines was a good business man, as well as a pillar of the church, although he was not a preacher, but served many years as an elder. Their town house was a centre of Quaker hospitality, and always the home of John Woolman when he was in Philadelphia. He appears to have been Woolman's financial adviser. He died in the dreadful year of 1793, (September) a victim to his heroic efforts to relieve the yellow fever plague. [Information from Reuben Haines, and Caspar W. Haines, of "Wyck," Germantown, &c.]

51A

Margaret Wistar Haines (1729-1793)

Born, 1mo. (Mar.) 26, 1729. Daughter of Caspar and Catherine Wistar of Germantown. She was an elder of Market street meeting. Possessed of singular energy and efficiency, able to attend to many

things at once, her capabilities seemed to be developed by grace. She discovered almost by intuition cases of suffering and need, and her benevolence knew no distinction of class. She was sympathetically able to provide for the wants of her friends less amply endowed with material comforts than herself, and especially for Friends traveling in the ministry. Her delicacy of bestowal was as great as her ability to provide.

When the awful outbreak of yellow fever occurred in the autumn of 1793, she and her husband gave themselves unreservedly to the relief of the suffering, and both fell victims of the disease. She died 10mo. 3rd. and her very intimate friend, Rebecca Jones wrote to her children Caspar and Catherine Haines, on the morning of her death, only three weeks after that of their father:

"I hear that all is well over with your dear parent and my truly precious friend. My sympathy is renewed with you, who feel like my own children. You will, I trust, be helped now, in the needful hour, and if, by my coming down, I could render you any material service, I would run all risks. Don't think at all about me; the Lord hath helped hitherto, and I bless His holy name." Only a few days later, R. Jones herself was struggling for her life, which was spared. ("Testimonials". Memoir of Thomas Scattergood, Fr'ds. Library, VIII, p. 57.)

52

Caleb Carr. (1719-1783)

Born 11mo. (January) 4 1719/20, at Egg Harbor, New Jersey, son of Job and Hannah Carr, of Long Island. Job Carr was the grandson of Caleb Carr, (1624-1695) famous Governor of the Colony of Rhode Island, who died in office. The Governor's son Samuel removed to Long Island, where his son Job was born. Caleb Carr married first Sarah Ridgway (died 1762) at Mount Holly, N. J. in 1746. He married, 2nd. Rebecca Bishop. He died in Mount Holly, 9mo. 11, 1783, and the burial record of the meeting states that his grave was made "on the North side of his daughter, Rebecca Winner." The diary of Clements Willetts claims him as "cousin."

(Diary of Clements Willetts of Islip, L. I. "Frds' Miscel. V. 322.)

53

John Bispham Sr. (1734-1791)

Son of Benjamin and Sarah [Backhouse] Bispham, and grandson of Joseph and Hannah (Hubbersty) Bispham, of Lancashire, England. The wife of Benjamin Bispham was the daughter of John

Backhouse of Hilderstone, Lancashire, and came of a distinguished Quaker family. Benjamin and Joshua, sons of Joseph Bispham, came to America, the former in the year 1734, bringing with him his wife and two sons, Joseph and John. A third son, Thomas, between these in age, was left behind in England with his grandparents, because of delicate health. He recovered and followed his family later.

John Bispham was but two months old when brought to America, having been born at Bickerstaffe, March 31, 1734. His father settled first in Chester, Pa., and after one or two other removes, finally bought large tracts of land, and in 1743 became a resident of Mount Holly, New Jersey, where he passed the remainder of his life. His death occurred in 1763. His wife inherited considerable property from her father, and doubtless aided in the purchases in that province. John Bispham, at the age of twenty one, married (1755) Margaret, daughter of Patrick Reynolds, of Mount Holly, whose father, Sir Patrick Reynolds, a wealthy linen manufacturer of Ireland, had been Lord Mayor of Dublin. The son acquired a large landed property in Burlington County, New Jersey. John and Margaret had ten children. The family possessions which he inherited were largely increased by the high state of cultivation in which he kept his farms, on which much timber was cut, and many hides were tanned every year. He was a consistent Friend, and a minister much respected at home and abroad. During the latter part of his life he lived in the house originally occupied by his father-in-law, Patrick Reynolds, who had bought it in 1736 from Thomas Shinn, High Sheriff of the County of Burlington. The land bought had formed part of a lot of 180 acres surveyed to Nathaniel Cripps about 1730, and the house is supposed to have been built about that time. At Patrick Reynolds' death the property was sold by Thomas Reynolds, (his son) and John Bispham, his Executors, to John Woolman, April 23, 1762, and by John Woolman sold back on the next day to Thomas Reynolds, to clear the title. The house, after one or two transfers, was finally purchased by John Bispham, April 1st. 1780, for £500, and still remains in the family.

John Bispham's wife Margaret Bispham wrote "Instructions" to her daughters (published in 1835 in Comly's "Miscellany" Vol. vii, Phila.) She died "20 of 9mo. 1783".

John Bispham's death occurred 8mo. 4. 1791, and his burial is recorded in the Friends' ground on Garden St. Mount Holly, "in the Third Row, No. 12, North side of his Wife."

A handsome silver can made in 1665 and brought over from England by Benjamin Bispham in 1734, is still in the family.

54

Thomas Middleton (1710-1803)

Son of John Middleton (born in England, 1686: died at Crosswicks, N. J. 1mo. (March) 25, 1741) and his wife, Esther (daughter of Thomas and Esther Gilberthorpe) born 12mo. (February) 3, 1684: died 4mo. (June) 27, 1759).

Thomas Middleton was born near Crosswicks, 11mo. 8, 1710, and married at Shrewsbury Meeting, N. J. 11mo. (January) 15, 1735, Patience, daughter of Samuel and Patience Tilton. They settled on the farm of his father, John Middleton, and had twelve children. Patience Middleton, his wife, died 5mo. 18, 1778, at the age of sixty one. Two years later, Thomas Middleton, who had lost his eyesight, married for the second time, 12mo. 1780, Mercy, widow of Matthew Forsythe. She led him through the meeting at both ceremonies, the "passing" and the marriage, as was then necessary. Thomas Middleton died 9mo. 21, 1803, at the advanced age of ninety three years, having been a preacher recorded for forty seven years, and traveling about on his tours long after he became totally blind.

The house in which Thomas Middleton lived is still standing, in excellent repair, and owned by his descendants, near Crosswicks. One of these has kindly furnished the following notes: "Near the kitchen door is the old brick smoke-house, where the hams and bacon were smoked and kept during the summer, and used as wanted. John Woolman had probably seen the negro man getting some of it down from the beam for supper. In the meadow behind the house is a stream of water known as "Doctor's Creek," which is crossed by a log in going to and fro to call on the neighbors. Often in time of storm it overflows its banks, and becomes dangerous." He adds, "Having eaten too heartily of the old bacon for supper, and partaken freely of strong tea, there was an attack of indigestion for which perhaps a little apple whiskey was taken before retiring, causing the brain to keep busy while the body rested. It was well they saw only foxes and cats! No doubt both were temperate Friends, but whiskey was homemade, and in common use at that time, and much later."

[Information from Joseph S. Middleton.]

55

Samuel Neale (1729-1792)

Born in Dublin, 1729. Son of Thomas and Martha Neale. When he was six his mother died, and his father emigrated to America, leaving his children behind him to be brought up in Ireland by relatives. Samuel Neale grew up a thoughtful young man, who became a power-

ful and well-known preacher among Friends, and in 1756 while resident at Rathangan, County Kildare, he married a very prominent woman Friend also a minister, Mary Peisley. They were both diligent in their calling, and visited most of the churches in the three kingdoms as well as in America. Samuel Neale died in 1792.

56

John Head (1723-1792)

Born in Philadelphia, 10mo. 20 1723. Son of John and Rebecca (Macy) Head, who came from Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, Eng., in 1717. They landed in Philadelphia and for some time formed a part of the colony living in the caves on the banks of the Delaware. John was one of two children which John and Rebecca Head carried ashore in a tub between them! John Head became one of the largest merchants in the colonies, and sent his ships to many foreign lands. He was three times married. His first wife was Mary Hudson, whom he married 2mo. (April) 15. 1746. She died 7mo. 16, 1757. He married, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel and Susanna Hastings, 11mo. 20, 1759. She died, 2mo. 2 1770. His third wife was Margaret, widow of Isaac Atwood, and daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth White, of North Carolina. They were married 6mo. 9, 1774. She died 10mo. 22, 1783.

John Head survived all his wives, and died at the age of sixty nine, 2mo. 21, 1792, at his residence on the east side of Second St. Philadelphia, between Market and Mulberry, (now Arch) streets, nearly opposite Christ Church.

[George Vaux; Family Memoranda.]

57

William Horne (1714-1772)

Son of Edward and Elizabeth (Scrase) Horne, the latter a minister; born at Horsham, Sussex, England, 1714. Emigrated with parents arriving in Philadelphia in 1724. Removed to Darby, Pa., 1736 and married soon after, Elizabeth Davis. In 1746 he became a preacher, and traveled in that service in 1752 to New England. In 1763 he went to Great Britain, where he remained over a year, returning at the close of 1764. He visited most of the meetings in the middle colonies, Maryland and Virginia. His house was a place of entertainment for all traveling Friends, and a hospitable home. He died 11mo. 11, 1772, at the age of fifty nine, having been a minister for twenty six years. The grandparents of Wm. Horne were Thomas (d. 2mo. (Apr.). 27, 1718) and Susanna Horne (d. 12mo. (Feb.) 1. 1733-4) of Sussex. Edward was one of ten children.

("Collection of Memorials." p. 317. Testimony of Darby, M.M. Gilbert Cope.)

58

Daniel Mildred (1731-1783)

Only child of Thomas Mildred, a wealthy cutler of London. Daniel Mildred was a banker of White Hart Lane, Gracechurch Street, and also a ship owner. An account of him in MS. at Devonshire House, London, says that he "was charitable to the poor, and a ready contributor to benevolent institutions."

[Information from N. Penney, London.]

58A

John Roberts (1716-1782)

Called "The Fourth". Son of Axtell Roberts, d. 1726, son of Daniel Roberts, d. 1726, son of John Roberts "the second" d. 1683-4, who was the famous John Roberts, whose Diary is an important glimpse into Quaker history of his period.

John Roberts IV, removed from Chesham, Buckinghamshire, to Bristol, in 1748, and to London in 1761, where he became a successful merchant, and was interested in trade with America.

[Information from N. Penney, London.]

59

Sarah Logan—(-1797)

Born in England, daughter of Doctor Portsmouth. Made a runaway match in 1770 with young Doctor William Logan, Jr. (1747-1772) son of William [1718-1776] and Hannah [1722-1777] (Em-len) Logan, (married 1740) and grandson of James Logan of Stenton, William Penn's Secretary in Pennsylvania.

William Logan Jr. had been sent abroad to complete his education and to study medicine under the celebrated Doctor Fothergill. He was graduated in medicine at Edinburgh, and made a hasty marriage without the knowledge of either family, for which the acknowledgments of the couple to Edinburgh Monthly Meeting occur on the records, for 4mo. 13, 1770. Three years before, he had been shipwrecked on the way to London, and the Friends of that meeting gave him a certificate to Edinburgh 11mo. 3, 1768. (See his letter about the shipwreck, *Journal of Friends' Hist. Soc. London*, Vol. IX, 86, ff.) Young Doctor Logan returned to Philadelphia with his wife, to practice surgery, and Dr. Fothergill wrote of him to his father, "that with great sensibility, he was too presumptuous; thought himself equal to any difficulty, and required still to be managed with great prudence and parental authority." He died, however, within

a year after his arrival, January 7. 1772, at the early age of twenty five, leaving his widow with an infant son named William Portsmouth Logan. The child was left for some time to be brought up by his grandparents Logan, and the mother returned in the following spring to her home in England, in the same vessel in which sailed the group of Friends who were intimate with William Logan, Senior, one of whom was John Woolman.

Some years later, William Portsmouth Logan was sent over to England. He lived at Plaistow, Essex, and died, unmarried, before his mother, whose death occurred in March, 1797. Elizabeth Drinker, ("Journal", p. 258) under date February 2. 1795 writes, "S. Emlen had a letter from London giving an account of the death of Wm. Logan, grandnephew of *our* James Logan." An obituary appeared in the "Penna. Gazette."

60

John Till Adams, M.D. (-1786)

A talented young Quaker physician of Bristol, England, whose "early and much-lamented death" was such as to call forth several "Elegies" and stanzas by one or two of his intimates. One of these, anonymously published, was entitled, "An Elegy, sacred to the Memory of that Patron of virtue, the truly admired and pious John Till Adams, M.D. of Bristol, whose Heaven-born soul, leaving its Earthly shrine, fled to its native Home and was received to Rest on Monday, the 20th. day of February, one hour P. M. or Afternoon (1786)."

(Joseph Smith; Catalogue of Friends' Books, Vol. I. p. 3.)

An elaborate monument was erected to his memory in Bristol, England.

(The Tills of Whitgreave, Staffordshire, were a very old family. William Till, son of John, came to Pennsylvania in 1700, became prominent in the history of the colony and was Mayor of Philadelphia in 1742. He married Ann Weeden in 1703; died 1711. John Till was the first of the family to join the Quakers, and was sixth in descent from Hugh Tyll of the parish of St. Mary's, Staffordshire. They were known as "The Tills of Whitgreave." Hugh Tyll died in 1552. William Till was a warden of Christ Church, Phila, in 1739. [Howard Williams Lloyd. "Lloyd MSS." 19. "Ancestry of Rosalie Morris Johnson."]

61

James Reynolds.

The identity of this James Reynolds is not clearly established. In all probability, he was a brother-in-law or possibly nephew, of

John Bispham, the latter's wife having been Margaret, daughter of Patrick Reynolds, and who became a Friend. Her family, of course, were members of the Church of England, and the records have not yet revealed the identity of this James.

One of the wardens of Christ Church in Philadelphia, in 1778 was James Reynolds. A James Reynolds of Monmouth, N. J., married June 23, 1729, Rebecca Parent, of the same place. (N. J. Archives, 1st. Ser. XXII, 321.) A James Reynolds and Judith Riebler, or Replier, were married February 16, 1762, at the Lutheran Church of St. Michael's and Zion, in Philadelphia.

62

Sarah Morris (1703-1775)

Daughter of Anthony and Elizabeth Morris, of Philadelphia. Born in 1703. When she was seventeen, her father on his deathbed said of her that "she never had disobeyed him, and was his Comfort." Her first religious tour was made with Margaret Ellis as companion. In 1764 accompanied by Joyce, wife of Anthony Benezet, and Elizabeth Smith, the maiden sister of Samuel and John Smith, of Burlington, N. J., she went on a religious visit to New England. Her mother received her close attention to the advanced age of ninety four years. After her death, Sarah Morris, accompanied by her niece, Deborah Morris, sailed with a Minute from her meeting for service in England, setting out from Philadelphia for London in the spring of 1772, shortly before John Woolman. They attended the same Yearly Meeting of that year, and Sarah Morris and her niece were also at the following one, after which she returned home in the autumn of 1773. Several other Friends from Great Britain crossed with them on the return voyage. She accompanied Mary Leaver and Elizabeth Robinson in some family visits in Philadelphia in the winter of 1773-4, and was at New York Yearly meeting in the spring.

Sarah Morris was stricken with dropsy, and was carried to her last meeting in Philadelphia, 6mo. 4, 1775. She died 10mo. 24, 1775, aged seventy two years, having been a recognized minister for thirty one.

[Testimony of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, "Coll. of Memorials," p. 334. Friends' Library, vi, 478-80.]

63

Thomas Thornborough (-1787).

Son of Thomas Thornborough, of New Garden, N. C. Accompanied William Hunt to England in 1771, and the latter wrote Thomas

Thornborough, Senior, from York, under date, "6mo. 27, 1771," "As to thy son, let it suffice he is well in the Seed; we travel in true unity and perfect harmony." Thomas Thornborough, Jr., was William Hunt's nephew, of whom, however, he sometimes speaks in his letters as "cousin."

Thomas Thornborough, Jr., died of smallpox while in Pennsylvania on his return from a second religious visit to Europe, before reaching his own home, in 1787.

[Life, William Hunt, pp. 103, 134.]

64

John Townsend (1725-1801)

Of London, pewterer. He was a modest but respected Friend, and acceptable preacher, who made, apparently without scruple, "Guinea basins" for the African slave trade, and for the army and navy, reasoning that these people all had to be fed. The basins received their name from the Guinea coast, whence came the trade in negroes. One of John Townsend's Quaker apprentices refused to make these basins.

His first visit to America was not undertaken until after the death of John Woolman, when he mentions making a visit to "the widow Woolman." He came in company with Thomas Colley and John Storer, the first Friends to cross the ocean on religious visits in an interval of ten years after the American Revolution. He was very short of stature, and his friend, Thomas Colley, was very tall. They furnished together some amusement to the sailors of their vessel on that account. John Townsend's red-spotted handkerchief, worn about his neck, has gone down on record as a great burden on the minds of his American Friends. Jacob Lindley, at Chesterfield M. M. in 1st mo. 1785, preached in a marked manner against the use by Friends of carved silver buckles, and *red-spotted handkerchiefs*. (See Journal of John Hunt, Fr'ds' Miscel. X. 238.) When John Townsend was in Philadelphia, John Hunt wrote him from Evesham, N. J., 3mo. 25, 1786, in a letter quoted by himself in his diary: "There are many well-concerned Friends in our parts, and up and down on our continent, that do think that wearing of such a Red-spotted Handkerchief will take the edge off and lessen the weight of thy testimony & peculiar service respecting the libertine appearance of our youth." "I have been very long pained to see these spotted handkerchiefs so much tolerated amongst ministers and elders. . . . I have observed that a red-spotted handkerchief is one of the first things that our children begin to crave and tease their parents for," and John Hunt adds that one of his own boys had wanted one!

John Townsend's house was a stopping place for many Friends in London. He died at the age of seventy six in 1801.

(See "Recollections of Spitalfields," by Theodore Compton, 1908; and "The British Friend," for 1874.)

65

John Haslam (1690-1773)
of Handsworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire. Born 1690, died 1773, at the age of eighty three. A preacher for fifty seven years. In company with Edmund Peckover, Samuel Hopwood, Eleazar Sheldon and Christopher Wilson, he came to America on a religious visit in 1742, and going hastily from New York, where they landed "16th day of the 7th. month" (September), they succeeded in reaching Burlington, New Jersey in time for the Yearly Meeting then just begun. Here no doubt he first met John Woolman, a serious youth of twenty two, not yet "recommended" to the ministry, which occurred the next year. John Haslam, in poor health, was unable to travel south with Edmund Peckover, who went direct to Maryland; but retired to Haddonfield, where he made his home during the following winter with Elizabeth Estaugh, visiting Friends in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania at the time that John Estaugh was making his visit to Tortola, from which he never returned.

John Haslam made one preaching tour on the continent of Europe, and two visits to Ireland. See letter of John Woolman dated from the home of John Haslam, 1772. (cf. "Piety Promoted" pt. IX. Bowden, Hist. Fr'ds in Amer. II. p. 243. Journal, Fr'ds Hist. Soc. London, Vol. I.)

Daniel Stanton visited John Haslam in 1749, and held a meeting at his house. "A dear Friend," he writes, "who had been very acceptable in his religious visits to Friends in America, and had visited the churches, to the great comfort of the faithful: his agreeable company at his own house received our fresh unity in pure and lasting Friendship" &c. [Friends' Library XII. p. 159.]

66

Rachel Wilson (1722-1775)

Daughter of John and Deborah Wilson of Kendal; for many years a prominent minister. In 1742 she married Isaac Wilson, and later visited America, arriving in November, 1768. "She was remarkably interesting and eloquent, and much admired by people of all classes." She attended Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the autumn of 1769, and during a sermon, when about to speak of her own services, she suddenly changed and addressed herself directly to



WILLIAM TUKE.

Born 24.I.1732. — Died 6.XII.1822.

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Esther [Maud] Tuke

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John Woolman, who was then under deep trial in regard to his visit to the West Indies. (See the Journal, Chapter X). "She addressed him with much sympathy, and ardently wished the good hand might be with him, and enable him to divide the word aright, to the honour of the great name, the comfort of those among whom he had to labour, and his own everlasting peace. And for his encouragement, she testified that as she had herself steadily eyed her Master from day to day, she had been in no lack of anything, but he had been altogether sufficient." (Anecdotes of R. W. "Frds' Miscel." VIII. 220.)

Sarah Rhoads wrote her father Israel Pemberton, from New York, 5mo. 31, 1769, that "Friend Wilson" had held a meeting at Elizabethtown, N. J. where, the parson being absent, and no one having authority to offer her the "Worship House" she held a large meeting on the inn porch. "The Sun shone very Hott & the People Restless, & noisy, till Rachel Wilson desired ym to be Still & Attend to what shée Should say, which in some measure Silenced them. She was led to speak of the Great Ignorance & Superstition that prevailed, reminding them of Saul, who was a Persicutor, being Mett with & becoming a Prophett . . . & concluded with Prayer." (Pemberton Papers. Hist. Soc. of Penna. Vol. 20, p. 30.)

On Rachel Wilson's departure for England, John Drinker addressed to her a curious poem of farewell. ("Frds' Miscel." IV. 239). Samuel Smith, a minister of Philadelphia, in 1789 visited John Wilson at Kendal, son of Isaac and Rachel. "Took tea at George Braithwaite's, whose wife is a sister of John Wilson and much resembles her mother." John Woolman had the highest regard for both mother and son. Rachel Wilson died in London, in 1775. (A. C. Thomas. "Bulletin", Friends' Hist. Soc. of Phila. VIII p. 32 ff. "The Friend". Phil^a xx. p. 108.)

67

Henry Tuke (1755-1814)

Son of William and Elizabeth (Hoyland) Tuke of York, England. He was educated at Sowerby, near Thirsk, under the private teaching of a Friend named Ellerby, and at an early age took up the study of medicine, but at fifteen his father needed his assistance in his business, and he returned to York. His taste for classical studies, however, was always retained. He was taken into partnership with his father and married 1781, Mary Maria Scott, daughter of Faville Scott, of Norwich.

Henry Tuke was an author of some note, and wrote much on the history and doctrines of Friends, his "Principles of Religion" having gone into many editions and languages. His *Works*, in four

volumes, were edited with a prefatory note, by Lindley Murray, the Grammarian, in 1815. He was a youth of seventeen when his father sent him out to meet John Woolman walking into York, and guide him to his hospitable home. What impressions, one wonders, were left on the mind of the boy? That they were lasting, we know.

The tie between Henry and his father was particularly beautiful, and their intimacy lasted throughout the son's life, who was the first to die. He writes of his father as remarkable for his simplicity and sanguine temperament. The son was a minister for thirty five years, of a very liberal mind, and very fond of children. He happily combined decision of character with unselfish and unwearied zeal for the benefit of others, and enjoyed social intercourse and the refinements of learning. Henry Tuke died at York, August 11th. 1814, in the sixtieth year of his age.

68

William Tuke (1732-1822) Esther Tuke. (1727-1794)

Descendant of an earlier William Tuke, who took up his civic freedom in 1629, and was later imprisoned in York as a Quaker. His son William II died in the reign of Queen Anne. Samuel Tuke, a son of the second William, was father of the subject of this note. The Tuke family were tea merchants for several generations.

William Tuke was born March 24. 1732/3, and became a prominent Friend of York, well known as the founder of the "Retreat" in that city, in 1792, an institution which was the cause of a complete revolution in the treatment of the insane. The Tukes were distinguished for "that nobility which comes from natural endowments, combined with the refinements of culture and religion." William Tuke was successful in his business, and lived and died at his house in Castlegate, York.

At the time of John Woolman's death, the Tukes were contemplating the establishment of a school for girls, a work in which the Friends heartily co-operated. When it was finally opened in 1784, Esther Tuke undertook the oversight with great success. It was discontinued in 1814. "The Mount School," established at Castlegate in 1831, continues its useful career today, under care of the Friends.

William Tuke married, first, Elizabeth Hoyland of Sheffield, daughter of John Hoyland, April 26. 1754. They had five children. She died August 30. 1760, at the age of thirty one. Her husband married for his second wife, June 3rd. 1765, Esther Maud daughter of Timothy Maud, of Bingley. She had a brother William, who died in Rhode Island, and another, Joseph, who was for some time in Philadelphia, and probably met John Woolman there. Joseph had

been a suitor for the hand of one of the daughters of William Hudson, who went to Pennsylvania in 1750 from the neighborhood of York, England. Joseph died at the Bay of Honduras. William and Esther Tuke had three children—two daughters, and a son who died young. [See *Journal*, Sam'l. Smith of Phil^a. "Frds' Miscel. ix. 130.]

Rebecca Jones met Esther Tuke in London, in 1784 when a close intimacy sprang up between them. The American describes her as a sort of "Princess", and she remains as one of the Queens of Quakerism. Her memorial is the York School, but her assiduity in nursing the Quaker saint who clung to her ministrations in his dying hour, has given her a place in Quaker history little dreamed of at the time. She wrote various pamphlets and "epistles" to her townspeople, and the Friends of her meeting. Her letters, with those of her husband, are the sources of our information regarding the last days of John Woolman. She died at York, February 13, 1794, aged sixty seven years.

William Tuke survived both his wives, and died at the advanced age of ninety, December 6. 1822. His biography and a memorial by York Friends have been published, as well as a collection of his writings on the abuses then existing in the York Asylum for the Insane.

69

Thomas Priestman (1736-1812)

Born 1736, son of John and Anne Priestman of Thornton-le-Dale, near Pickering, Yorkshire. His father was a tanner, and Thomas Priestman came to York in 1762 and established himself in the same kind of business. He prospered well, and soon was able to purchase the Almerly Garth property, which consisted of house, gardens and an extensive tanyard and land. The purchase was made in 1767, just five years before John Woolman's visit. In this interval, Thomas Priestman married 10mo. 9. 1766, Sarah Proctor of Pallathrope Hall, near Tadcaster. He was thirty five and his wife younger, when Woolman came to them, and it was a severe trial and test of their patience when smallpox appeared in their household of young children.

There was great intimacy between the Priestmans and the Tukes. This was later increased by the marriage of William Tuke, Jr. (1757-1835), eldest son of William Tuke, to Rachel (1765-1848) eldest daughter of Thomas Priestman. The house passed eventually to William and Rachel Tuke. Of their two daughters, Esther and Sarah, the former married Thomas Smith, and having no children, adopted their niece, Jane Riccarton. Sarah Priestman married George Riccarton, whose daughter Gulielma married Alfred H.

Spence. Jane, the unmarried daughter, adopted by her aunt Smith, inherited Almery Garth, and left it to her nephew, son of her sister Gulielma Spence, the late Malcolm Spence, through whose courtesy and that of his sister, Miss Ellen Spence, present owner, much of this information has been received.

Thomas Priestman was an interesting character, with strong likes and dislikes, and marked prejudices. He objected to all new-fangled ways, like the use of umbrellas and tea, preferring that his sons drink home-brewed ale. He was sincere and simple, with a clear and strong understanding, though lacking culture and education. But he was of a most benevolent and disinterested mind and hated pride, ostentation and idleness. Yet, while for these reasons, he allowed little visiting, and especially discouraged the absence of his women folk, holding that wives should remain in the home, his house and heart were always open to his friends, and the true spirit of hospitality reigned. Samuel Tuke's *Testimony* to Thos. Priestman, from which the above is taken, adds that before his death, he became remarkably sweet and gentle. He was an elder at York meeting, where his wife was an acceptable minister. He died suddenly of apoplexy at Almery Garth in April, 1812. His wife's death had occurred sixteen years before, i.e. 9mo. 6, 1796. Some of their correspondence has been preserved and is very interesting. Thomas Priestman kept a Journal, the manuscript of which is now in possession of Mrs. Joshua Priestman, of Kent, a descendant. To her brother the late Malcolm Spence, the editor is indebted for a complete set of photographs from that portion of it which describes the visit of John Woolman. A small facsimile extract from it has appeared in the "Century" edition of Woolman's Journal. (Headley Bros. London.)

(Information in private letters from the family. &c. and from Norman Penney, Devonshire House, London.)

70

Sarah Tuke, (afterwards Grubb) (1756-1790).

Daughter of William and Elizabeth Tuke. She is the young woman who cared for John Woolman and waited on him during his last illness. She was born in York, June 20, 1756. On her mother's death in 1760, her father married again, in 1765, Esther Maud, between whom and herself there was always great love and understanding. She was about sixteen when John Woolman came to them, and his patient saintliness during his illness did not fail to make the same lasting impression upon her sensitive mind that her brother Henry experienced when he walked with him along the Wensleydale

road. It was to her that Woolman said, "My child, thou seemest very kind to me, a poor creature. The Lord will reward thee for it."

Sarah Tuke became a recommended minister, and in 1782 married Robert Grubb of Clonmel, Ireland, who for sometime was engaged in business in York. She traveled considerably in Great Britain and Europe, and died at thirty four, December 8, 1790, while visiting at Cork, Ireland, where she was buried.

71

John Eliot (1734-1813)

Of Bartholomew Close, London. Third in succession of the name. Son of John Eliot II, and Mariabella [Farmborough] Briggins. The first John had married for his second wife, Theophila daughter of the well known Quaker philanthropist and philosopher, John Bellers. The Eliot family was given to hospitality, and for several generations the home in Bartholomew Close was the resort of all visiting ministers from America.

John Eliot III had not been a plain Friend. He was living a quiet but elegant life with his sister Mariabella in 1757, when he was convinced to such an extent of the doctrines of Quakerism by the preaching of William Joyce, during a visit from home, that he returned to discard his worldly hat, and replace it with a Quaker broad brim. He had worn a flowing white wig, and the buckles of his father, and carried a gold-headed cane. They had handsome family plate and old china, but like most people not of the old aristocracy, they dined off pewter, which of its kind, was handsome enough. But he declined to pay the church tithes, like most of the Friends, and suffered in consequence from distrains. His uncle Philip, a very plain Friend, wrote him while absent in Cornwall, in 1759; "All is well at Barth. Close, saving that y^e Collectors of y^e Tythes yesterday took all your Pewter Plates & dishes away, so that you'll have to become a Custom^r of John Townsend" for a new Sett." This happened several times after he was married.

John Eliot III married 1762, Mary Weston, (born August, 1743) daughter of the minister of that name, and a descendant of the famous Lord Weston, of the time of Charles I. Her father, Daniel Weston, was not living at the time of the marriage, which took place at her mother's house at Wandsworth, Surrey, August 4, 1762. Samuel Emlen was stopping at their house in December, 1767. J. Eliot was in Holland as a minister in 1770, and again in 1788. In the former year, the Eliots built a new house in Bartholomew Close, and it was here that they entertained Friends in 1772. There was an outbreak of small pox in the household about the time that John

Woolman arrived, and this may have been one of the houses where in consequence, he declined hospitality. The patients recovered, and they rejoiced "that they had not fallen in with the prevailing practice of inoculation." They gave up their coach and horses just before this. John Eliot III died January 10, 1813, at the age of seventy seven, his wife having died the year before.

[Eliot Papers. By Eliot Howard. 2 Vols. 1893.]

72

Thomas Ross (1709-1786)

Came over as a young man from Tyrone, Ireland to Wrightstown, Bucks Co. P^a. He never married. He was a sweet-spirited and acceptable minister among Friends, and traveled somewhat in religious service in America before going to England in company with Rebecca Jones and her party in 1784. He remained there for two years, and never returned. A serious fall on the voyage, occasioned by a sudden lurch of the vessel, injured him so that at his advanced age—he was then seventy seven—he never fully recovered. He was ill for some months before his death, which occurred at the home of the Grammarian, Lindley Murray, "Holdgate," near York, 2mo. 13, 1786. He was buried three days later, at his own desire, beside his friend and countryman, John Woolman. Rebecca Jones and George Dillwyn preached at his funeral. John Pemberton was in England at the time, and spent some days with him. He has left a memorandum of Thomas Ross's illness, as follows—

John Pemberton's Account of Thomas Ross, of Bucks county, when on a religious visit in England, 1st mo, 21st, 1786.

Dear, aged Thomas Ross has, indeed, been eminently owned, and favoured; but, for four months past, he has been very poorly, and now lies at Lindley Murray's, near York, afflicted with some inward obstruction, which occasions a great difficulty, at times, in his breathing. It rather increases upon him, and may gradually wear him away; though, at times, he is cheerful, and is in a resigned state of mind. He sometimes has prospects of further labour, which gives some hope or expectation, that he may get up again; but it seems very doubtful. It would have been acceptable to me, to be constantly with him, but it has been ordered otherwise. He is in a sweet disposition of mind. No care is wanting, respecting him; he is waited on, both day and night; that with respect to suitable accommodation, and tender attendance, he is full as well off, as though he had been at home. Many have dropped off, in this land; and he was desirous to get to York, so that if he was removed, his remains might be near dear John Woolman's.

A poem to his memory by his son is published in *Fr'ds. Miscel.* VI. p. 185. (*Memorials of Rebecca Jones* pp. 58-123. *Memorials of Deceased Friends*, Philadelphia, 1821.)

73

John Hunt (1740-1824)

Son of Robert Hunt, Junior, (Son of Robert and Elizabeth [Woolman, Paine] Hunt) and Abigail Wood. Born at Mansfield, New Jersey, 1740. His father and John Woolman were first cousins, Elizabeth Hunt (afterward Harvey) having been the sister of John's father, Samuel Woolman, and a widow when she married Robert Hunt. Their grandson John became a minister, and resided all his life as member of Chesterfield Meeting, N. J. He and his neighbor Joshua Evans, both under the influence of John Woolman, were much interested in the aid given to the Indians of Edgepellick and Brotherton, and often visited the reservations. He married Rebecca, daughter of Henry Warrington.

John Hunt kept a very interesting diary, extracts from which near the time of the Revolution are published in "Friends' Miscellany", Vol. I, p. 97. William Hunt,⁹ also his cousin, was an intimate relative, and one is interested in think of John Hunt, his father's half brother, Peter Harvey, and his cousins William Hunt and John Woolman, all being eminent ministers in their day and generation.

John Hunt died 9mo. 21, 1824 aged 84, and was buried at Moorestown, N. J.

74

Thomas Corbyn. (c. 1711-1791)

Apprenticed to a "highly respectable" apothecary, in London, and succeeded to the business. He was also a practical gardener. "The sternness of his manner veiled a heart susceptible to the kindest feelings. . . . His line appears to have been assisting young men in their first efforts to establish themselves in business. He used to lend small sums to such. . . . His losses from this practice were considerable." (Robson MSS. in Devonshire House Library.) He was an Elder in the meeting in London, and his wife Sarah Corbyn (c. 1719-1790) was a minister. Their second daughter, Sarah, married Richard Phillips, a well known Friend. (See his *Life*." *Journal Friends' Historical Soc.* London. Vol. XV. No. 1, p. 14.)

There is a letter from Tho^s. Corbyn to Israel Pemberton, dated London, 4mo. 29. 1768, in Pemberton Papers, Vol. XX p. 24, *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

75

Robert Willis (1713-1791)

Son of Samuel and Hannah (Pass) Willis. His father was an Englishman, but his mother came from New England. Their son Robert was born at Elizabethtown, East Jersey, where his parents were attenders, but not members of Friends' meetings. He married Jane Carpenter, Presbyterian, but both soon became Quakers. She died in 1759. Robert Willis had been brought up to the trade of a carpenter, but his health failing, he was obliged to give it up, and supported himself by making nets, which he knitted and knotted as he traveled about on his preaching tours. He went to England in the summer of 1771, and mentions lodging in York at the home of William Tuke, "where," he says, "I met with my dear countrymen, William Hunt and Thomas Thornburgh, from North Carolina, who landed in London a few days before. The sight of them was a great comfort to me." "8mo. 8th: I met William Hunt and Thomas Thornburgh, we having agreed at York to travel through Scotland together." Robert Willis and John Woolman both speak of meeting at the Yearly Meeting in London, 6mo. 1772. R. W. remained abroad for four years before returning home.

The rest of his life was spent in traveling about among his friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, always engaged in making his nets, many of which were bought by the Quaker housewives for holding vegetables apart while boiling with the meats in the great household kettles, in use among the plain folk of that day. Robert Willis has an interesting entry under date, "6mo. 1783. Mount Holly. Here I visited the widow and family of our late worthy Friend, John Woolman, and was glad to find her revived from a low drooping state of mind, through which she has been wading for several years." (Friends' Miscel. IX. 326.) He settled for a time in 1788 at Rancocas, at Aaron Wills', and visited Friends' families, accompanied by Samuel Woolman son of Abner and Mary Woolman (nephew of John), and Hannah Bolton. He finally died at Kaighn's Point, New Jersey, 4mo. 15, 1791 at the age of seventy eight.

(Friends' Miscel. Vol. IX. 289)

76

John Cheagle, (or Cheadle).

A headquarters for traveling Friends, near Caroline, Black Creek, Virginia. Thomas Chalkley visited there and held a meeting, on the 20th. of 5mo. 1738. His letter to Friends at Opeekon, M.M., is dated the next day, from John Cheagle's.

(See Jour. T. C. 2d. ed. Lond. 1751, p. 308.) Daniel Stanton also visited J. Cheagle, in 1760. [Friends' Library. xii. 172.]

77

Michael Lightfoot (1683-1754)

Emigrated from Ireland to New Garden, Pennsylvania in 1712, and began to preach at the age of forty two. Traveled much in the ministry, in Great Britain and Ireland, and had a reputation for being remarkably clear and "intelligible" in delivery. He traveled in the South in 1753. Married Mary, daughter of John Newby, of Dublin. In 1743 he came to Philadelphia, making his home with his son William "Senior" in order to fill the office of Treasurer of the Province of Pennsylvania, whose duties, Proud says, ("History of Penna." II, 332,) he "discharged with much honour and integrity, for eleven years, until his death, at the age of seventy, 12mo. 3, 1754." (Bowden, "Hist. Friends in America," II, 387. "Collection of Memorials", &c. p. 160.)

Thomas Lightfoot, (1644-1725) father of Michael, came to Chester County, Penna. in 1716 at an advanced age, soon after the arrival of his son in America. He had visited Benjamin Parvin and Benjamin Holme when they were imprisoned together for their Quakerism, at Longford, Ireland, in 1713. Proud calls him "an eminent minister among the Quakers, and much beloved for his piety and virtue." ("History of Penna." II, 188.) Thomas Chalkley preached at his funeral at Darby Penna. "9mo. 1725", and writes in his Journal," (p. 163) "The meeting was the largest I have ever seen at that place. Our dear Friend was greatly beloved for his piety and virtue, his sweet disposition and lively ministry. The Lord was with him in his life and death, and us at his burial."

Thomas Lightfoot II, son of Michael, married Mary, daughter of Daniel Smith II of Burlington, New Jersey, and lived in Philadelphia. They had no children. William Lightfoot, "Jr" of Pike-land, who accompanied John Woolman on his Indian journey as far as Bethlehem, was a cousin of the second Thomas. William "senior" of Phila., died 1772 at the home of his cousin, Thomas, son of Samuel, at Uwchlan, Pa. (A. C. Myers, "Hannah Logan's Courtship", 340, note. R. M. Smith "The Burlington Smiths," pp. 100, 115.) See Note 28.

78

Samuel Nottingham (1716-1787)

Of Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, England. Began to preach at twenty three. Came to America in 1747,; was at Newport

12 of 4mo. 1747, with a Minute from his home meeting, dated 12 of 12mo 1746,¹ and at New York, with John Woolman in 1747. On completion of his American visit, the Friends of Newport, 9th of 4mo. 1748, "on his return from the Westward", gave him a certificate of "acceptable service." He went, however, to Tortola, where he resided for some years. Thence he removed to Long Island, and after many years of absence, returned to England in 1779. He first visited extensively in Ireland, and then settled in the city of Bristol. The original certificate for his removal is at Devonshire House, London. Eventually, he removed to his native town of Wellingborough, where he died in 1787.

An interesting letter is quoted in Gurney's "Winter in the West Indies", (Appendix. A) from Samuel and Mary Nottingham, "late of Long Look" Tortola, giving advice to their liberated slaves on that Island.

(Bowden: "Hist. Friends in America", II. p. 244. Journal, Friends' Historical Soc., London, Vol. XI. June, 1913.)

79

John Griffith (1713-1776).

A native of Radnorshire, South Wales. Son of John and Amy Griffith. Emigrated to America in 1726, where he married and settled at Darby, Pennsylvania. Was a minister for forty two years, and traveled much in that service. He visited England and was captured by a privateer and carried into Spain and France. He effected his escape and returned to England in 1748, and thence home to America in 1750.

The next year he was again in England, where he married for his second wife, Frances Wyatt, of Chelmsford, Essex, where he finally settled. In the autumn of 1765 he landed again in Philadelphia, attending the "great meeting" on a "First day, when nearly, if not quite fifteen hundred Friends" were present.

John Griffith died at Chelmsford, 6mo. 17, 1776, at the age of sixty three, leaving a very full Autobiography, published 1779.

(Bowden, "Hist. Fr'ds' in America", II. 291. Journal, Frds' Hist. Soc. London, Vol. I. p. 148.)

80

Jane Hoskins (1693-1770)

Born Fenn, of pious parents in London, 1mo. (March) 3, 1693. At the age of nineteen in 1712 she came to Philadelphia as an indentured servant to Robert Davis, with his wife and two daughters and

¹ Minutes, New England Yearly Meeting, Vol. I, p. 148.

served them three years, for her passage. She then taught in Quaker families at Plymouth, Penna. and among the Welsh Quakers at Haverford, and finally became housekeeper in the large establishment of David and Grace Lloyd, who set her free when she felt that she must travel in the ministry. She went with Elizabeth Levis (afterwards Shipley) to the Barbados in 1724, upon which occasion Thomas Chalkley sent a loving paternal letter of encouragement and advice to the two young women, which is given at length in his Journal. (1st. ed. p. 139.)

Jane Fenn went to England in the ship "Dorothy", John Bedford master, returning in 1730. David Lloyd died soon after her return, 2mo. (April) 6, 1731. She married a Friend named Hoskins in 1738, but always lovingly attended Grace Lloyd, until the latter's death in 1760. In 1748 Elizabeth Hudson accompanied her to England and John Smith, (MS. Diary) mentions spending the evening of 1mo. (March) 12th. at John Reynell's in Philadelphia, with them before they sailed on the 25th. in one of his vessels, the "Pembroke", for Dublin. Jane Hoskins was with John Woolman in New England in 1755, and died about 1770. (Friends' Library, I. 460. Journal Fr'ds Hist. Soc. London. III. p. 104.)

81

Elizabeth Hudson (1721-1783)

Born 12mo. (February) 20, 1721, daughter of William Hudson II (1696-1762), and Jane (1699-1759), who were married 8mo. (October) 29, 1717. Elizabeth lived in Philadelphia, and married 1752, Anthony Morris, Jr.

She was a minister, and in 1748 went to Dublin on a preaching tour with Jane Fenn Hoskins. Her death occurred, 5mo. 22, 1783, at the age of sixty two.

The grandfather of Elizabeth Hudson, William Hudson I, was born at York, England 4mo. (June) 3, 1664, and died in Philadelphia, 10mo. (December) 16, 1742. He was an Elder among the Friends, and a member of the Governor's Council for Pennsylvania, 1704. (Proud, "Hist. Pa." 3, 460.) He was also in the first Council of Philadelphia under the Charter of Penn, for the same year. (Do. I. 452.) William Hudson was a signatory to the Quaker's address to Governor Keith in 1725, asking that the ancient Quaker privilege of wearing the hat in Court might be retained. The subject had been brought up by the forcible removal of the hat from Judge Kinsey, a Quaker lawyer of great eminence, afterward Chief Justice. The petitioners obtained their end. The house of William Hudson was at the S.E. corner of Third and Chestnut streets. His first

wife, Mary Richardson died in 1708 of her fourteenth child, at the age of thirty seven. His second wife was Hannah Ogden, then widow of Robert Barber, of Chester, Pa. They were married in 1709, and she lived until September, 16, 1759, dying at the great age of ninety nine.

His son, William Hudson II was a useful member of society, and a prominent man in the affairs of his neighborhood. (Pa. Archives, II Ser. Vol. IX, 729, 730, 738. Pa. Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XVI, 108-110. "Friends' Miscellany" Vol. IX. p. 131.) Elizabeth Hudson was familiarly known as "Betty", and it is possible she is the "Betty" to whom John Woolman alludes in his letter of 6mo. 13. 1772, from London to his wife, on his arrival.

82

Jacob Andrews (-)

Son of Edward and Sarah Andrews, of Little Egg Harbor, and a brother of Isaac and Peter. Married, 1735, Ann Sykes, at Upper Springfield, N. J. In 1743 he bought a farm of one hundred and ninety acres and the mills at what is now Cookstown. These he sold in 1748 to Isaac Ivins, Jr. and founded the village of Jacobstown, named for him. Here he opened the first "country store" for general merchandise in the place, and built the first blacksmith and wheelwright shop. He traveled somewhat in the ministry.

His certificate of removal for himself and his wife from Little Egg Harbor to Burlington is dated 7mo. 4, 1758, and states that "our Friend Jacob Andrews in his gift was serviceable and edifying." He was appointed a member of the Meeting for Sufferings in Phila. in 1757. (Burlington Recs. Certificates. p. 50.)

83

Amos Powell (1700-1749).

Of Islip, Long Island, son of Thomas and Mary (Willets) Powell, of Bethpage. Born 9mo. (November) 5, 1700. Died unmarried, 1mo. (March) 14, 1749/50. A member of Westbury Monthly Meeting. Mary P. Bunker ("Long Island Genealogies"), states that he accompanied John Woolman through Connecticut.

(Meeting Records, New York. J. Cox Jr.)

84

Thomas Gawthrop (1709-1780)

Born at Skipton, Yorkshire, England, 1709. In early life he was for five years in the army. Convinced by the preaching of Mary Slater, he became a Friend, secured his discharge and returned to

Skipton. Began to preach while there in 1733, soon after removing to Kendal. 1mo. 31, 1735 he married Isabel, daughter of Simon Crossfield, of Lowpark, near Kendal, and settled at Gatebeck, a picturesque village near by. Of their six children, two sons emigrated to America.

On Thomas Gawthrop's first visit, in 1747 he met John Woolman near Dover, New Hampshire. Returning to England, his vessel was captured by a French privateer. An account of this adventure is given in the *Journal of John Griffith*, who accompanied him. He made four voyages altogether, and on the third of these, in 1766, (the second had been in 1756) he was mainly engaged in efforts to relieve the sufferings of the negro slaves. John Hunt of New Jersey mentions Thomas Gawthrop's visit to the meeting in Moorestown, N. J., in that year, when he made prophetic allusion to the war that then threatened, saying "I am not come the third time into this wilderness country to sew pillows into the armholes of the people. (Ezekiel. xiii. 18.) No, I am not come to cry peace, but a sword. There is a bright, polished, glittering sword prepared for this nation." (Fr'ds Miscellany. I. 97.) His fourth and last visit, 1775, of a year or two, found him in Philadelphia at the time of its occupation by General Howe. "Four pins," he said, "sold for a half penny," and when the Friends desired to buy two yards of flannel to put about him at sea, they were unable to obtain it at any price.

The Pemberton Papers, at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, contain some of his correspondence, as does the Devonshire House collection in London. Among the former is a letter from Edward Stabler dated Petersburg, Virginia, 3mo. 2, 1767, to John Pemberton, saying, "Our Esteemed Friend Thomas Gawthrop left us about three weeks ago in good health. He hath been instrumental in giving such a stroke to the practice of slave-keeping in this Province, as, I believe, will not be forgot in this age." From Gatebeck, T. Gawthrop writes John Pemberton, "2 of 4mo. 1768" signing himself, "Thy affectionate brother worm."

Thomas Gawthrop's wife died five years before his own death, which occurred 9mo. 28th. 1780.

85

John Sykes, (1682-1771)

Emigrated when a boy from Hull, Yorkshire, with his father, Samuel Sykes, and his grandfather, John Sykes, for whom he was named, and settled at what is now Bordentown, New Jersey. John Sykes, senior, died soon after their arrival.

John Sykes the younger, born 8mo. (October) 6, 1682), became

a well known and much respected minister. He married, 8mo. (Oct.) 19, 1704, at Chesterfield, New Jersey, Johanna, daughter of Robert and Ann Murfin, (born 1684, at Nottingham) a sister of Mary Murfin, wife of Daniel Smith of Burlington, N. J. Mary was found drowned in 1739 near the "Long Bridge" in the Northern Liberties, Philadelphia, where she had evidently tried to water her horse in the deep channel of the Delaware. The bridge was on the direct road between Philadelphia and Burlington, constantly used by New Jersey Friends.

John Woolman notes in his Larger Account Book, several trips on business, and to take counsel with John Sykes, to whom he refers as "my aged friend." His sister Elizabeth married Isaac Hornor, one of the most important New Jersey Friends of his day. Robert and Ann Murfin came over from England with the Sykes family, from Yorkshire.

Samuel Neale, the Irish preacher, writes of a visit to the home of John Sykes just before the latter's death, under date "15, 7mo. 1771. We were at Bordentown meeting and lodged with John Sykes. He is in his 90th year, and his wife in her 87th, and they have lived together 66 years; they are both public Friends" (i. e. Ministers), "and seem to live like innocent children, and have their memory and faculties in such a degree of strength and clearness, that I have not seen or read the like: they seem full of love, and are in spiritual greenness now in old age." John Sykes died at Chesterfield, N. J., October 26. 1771, in his ninetieth year.

[Series, "Biog. Narrative, Epistol. and Miscel." Edit. by J. Barclay, London. 1845. Vol. VIII, p. 165.]

86

Richard Hallett (1691-1769)

Of "The Kilns", Newtown, Long Island. Tenth and youngest child of William and Sarah (Woolsey) Hallett. Born 9mo. (November) 17, 1691. He was for many years an approved minister among Friends, and his house became a hospitable home for all the traveling Quakers of the day. Thomas Chalkley visited his house in 1725, and mentions in his Journal the hospitality of "The Kills." Richard Hallett was the only one of his family to become a Quaker.

He married twice. His first wife was Amy, born 2mo. (April) 1. 1694 daughter of John and Mary (Cock) Bowne, whom he married 9mo. (Nov.) 14, 1717, and who died in 1733; they had five children.

His second wife, whom he married in 1739 at Birmingham, Pennsylvania, was Anne (Gilpin) Miller, widow of Joseph Miller, and

daughter of Joseph and Hannah Gilpin, "Yt was of Pennsylvania." Anne Hallett died 9mo. 15, 1759. Her husband survived her ten years, and died at Newtown, 5mo. 19, 1769.

(The Shotwell Family. p. 164. J. Cox Jr., "The Cox Family in America," &c.)

87

Matthew Franklin, (1698/9-1780)

Son of Henry and Sarah (Cock) Franklin of New York. Born 12mo (February) 19, 1698/9, at Flushing Long Island. His father was by trade a bricklayer, and held lands on Long Island; his first wife had been Dorothy, daughter of John and Hannah (Feake) Bowne, who died in 1690.

Matthew Franklin, son of the second wife, married, 1mo. (March) 1722/3, Deborah, daughter of Richard and Hannah (Thorne) Cornell. He was prominent in the activities of the Society of Friends, and on the committee to purchase and distribute the Works of John Woolman. He died 9mo. 29 1780, in his eighty second year.

(Memorial, MS.; "The Cox Family in America", J. Cox, Jr. N. Y. Mtg. Recs.)

88

John Scarborough (1704-1769)

His grandfather of the same name was an early settler in Bucks County, Pa; the grandson was a lifelong member of Buckingham Monthly Mt'g. He first appeared as a preacher in 1740, and is described as "excellent, but not learned." He died 5mo. 5, 1769, at the age of sixty five.

("Collection of Memorials" &c. p. 274. "Testimony" of Buckingham M.M.)

89

Susanna (Churchman) Brown (1701-1790).

Daughter of John and Hannah Churchman, of East Nottingham, Pennsylvania. Sister to John Churchman, minister and journalist. Born 7mo. (September) 13th. 1701. Married 2mo. (April) 11, 1728, William Brown (d. 1786), son of William and Esther Brown, of Nottingham, whose sister Margaret was wife of John Churchman Jr. Both William and Susanna Brown were ministers, and he spent more than four years in a visit to Friends in the "European Islands." Susanna Brown died near Belair, Maryland, 8mo. (August) 25, 1790 aged eighty nine.

(Information from Gilbert Cope.)

90

Benjamin Buffington (1701-1760)

Son of Benjamin and Hannah (Buffum) Buffington, who, in 1712, requested a removal certificate from Lynn, "he intending to remove his family to Swansea." His oldest son, Benjamin, was born in Lynn, Massachusetts, 2mo. (April) 9. 1701. He became a prominent minister, and visited Nantucket "in the Public Ministry" in 1746, 1752, 1759, with Paul Osborn as his companion. Swansea Monthly Meeting has a record of his return with certificates from a religious visit to Pasquotank, North Carolina, Gunpowder, Maryland, and Long Island, dated 10mo. 1757. This was the tour upon which he spent a night with John Woolman at the house of John Churchman in Nottingham, Penna. He was at Philadelphia the following spring (3mo.) The minutes of New England Yearly Meeting for 1756 name Benjamin Buffington as a member of the Committee for writing that meeting's *Epistles*, and he is again appointed in 1758. The following year, he is three times named in a list of visiting ministers through New England. His death occurred at Swansea, 4mo. 9. 1760. A "Testimony concerning Benjamin Buffington", from Swansea Monthly Meeting may be found in the "Memorials of Deceased Friends of New England Yearly Meeting," p. 23. Published, 1841, by M'tg for Sufferings.

Isabel, wife of Benjamin Buffington, also traveled quite extensively in various parts of the country "on Truth's Account", between the years 1740 and 1768. She was four times at Sandwich, and at Salem Yearly Meeting, and Long Plain, and also visited Long Island. The name Buffington is found also in records of Chester Co. Pa. (J. Cox. Jr)

91

William Cox (-1782)

Of Deer Creek, Maryland. He came from England "in his younger days" is the indefinite account given of him, accompanied by his wife Mary. His home became one of the headquarters for traveling Friends on their way to and from the Southern provinces. "Friends' Miscellany" (Vol. I. p. 401) gives the following extracts from a brief notice of his last illness and death, which occurred 4mo. 20, 1782.

"In his last sickness, he was concerned on account of the taxes required of him for war purposes, which he was not free to pay. Apprehending the collector had contrived some way of obtaining certain demands of that kind, without applying to him, he desired his son to take care not to connive at it; saying, "I had rather suffer

affliction with the Lord's people, than to enjoy transient pleasures or profits for a season."

A short time before his death, he expressed himself nearly as follows: "All I desire is, that at my end, I may obtain an assurance of peace forever. I now see respecting some little things, that I have soared too much above the pure Witness, in my own heart; and this causes me to mourn."

.

Next day he told a friend, that he had sent for a tailor to come without delay, and take the plaited buttons from his clothes, and the falling collar from his great coat. And further to manifest his concern, and bear his testimony for plainness and simplicity, he said, "These gold buttons must come out of my sleeves; for if I was to live longer, I see I ought to decline wearing them." He also said, "I see we ought to be faithful, even in little things; for Oh! there is nothing short of coming up in a faithful discharge of duty, according to the sight graciously afforded, that will yield peace, at such a time as this." Adding, "If I live, I must enforce these sentiments; and if I die, I leave them as my testimony."

92

William Standley (Stanley) (1729-1807)

Three brothers, John, James and Thomas Stanley came from England in the early eighteenth century and settled in Hanover County, Virginia. The family were all staunch Quakers. James and Catherine Stanley's son William, born in 1729, married in 1758, Elizabeth Walters, of Loudoun Co. Virginia. Just before his marriage, he was imprisoned at Winchester, Va. (1756) for refusing to bear arms. A letter from William Hunt to him, dated "4mb. 2d. 1753" is given in the "Memoirs of William Hunt," p. 117. The Stanleys were closely associated with the work of the Hunts, in North Carolina, and William Hunt's son Nathan was as remarkable a minister as his father. He lived to a great age—ninety eight—and died in 1853. Nathan's daughter Abigail married Joshua, grandson of William Stanley.

William and Elizabeth Stanley removed from Virginia, and settled at Guilford Court House, North Carolina, where William died, 11mo. 1807, and was buried in the Friends' Burial Ground at New Garden, N. C. [Bulletin, Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 92. "Nathan Hunt and His Times," by Mary Mendenhall Hobbs. Also information from S. S. Carter, Galena, Kan.]

93

Samuel Newby

Little is known of this Friend. It is possible he may have been a descendant or connexion of the Mark Newby (or Newbie) who, with his family, came to America in Captain Thomas Lurting's vessel, a "pink" from Dublin, sailing September 19, 1681. He settled at Elsinboro, Salem County, New Jersey, (Mickle's "Recollections of Old Gloucester.") He may also have been a near relative of the Mary Newby who married Michael Lightfoot. Her father was John Newby, of Dublin, Ireland. Joseph and Gabriel Newby were sons of Nathan Newby, of Perquimans County, N. C. Both died about 1734'5, and both were ministers. Samuel is probably of the same family. He was on the first Yearly M'tg. Committee of N. Carolina to oversee the *press*.

It will be recalled that John Audland, one of the "First Publishers of Truth" in England under George Fox, married Ann Newby, of Kendal. She afterward married John Camm.

94

James Cowpland (Copeland.)

The families of Copeland and Newby are mentioned by many traveling Friends at this period, but not much definite information has so far been gathered. They all entertained strangers much, and Daniel Stanton mentions holding a meeting at John Copeland's at Rich Square, and lodging at Thomas Copeland's in 1760. He went thence to Thomas Newby's, and to Joseph Newby's, at Piney Woods. A list of Friends in North Carolina in 1782 names a John Copeland in Hartford County at that time. The name is also found in Northampton County. William Reckitt was at John Copeland's, 1756.

95

John Everitt ()

Resided in West Nottingham Township, Chester Co. Pa, in 1732. His son Isaac was born there 12mo. 17, 1737, soon after which the family removed to Frederick County, Md. about twelve miles from Pipe Creek Meeting, a branch of Fairfax M.M. The son married 1759, Martha Griest, of Huntington, York Co, Pa, and in 1761 removed to that place. He was a minister and traveled considerably. He died 8mo. 4, 1801, and Menallen Meeting issued a memorial of his life, published by Baltimore Y.M. The father, John Everitt, removed from Maryland and settled at Menallen, as did some of his other children. He is less well known than his son Isaac.

(Information from G. Cope.)

96

Benjamin Jones, (Jr) (1728-1791)

Son of Benjamin and Sarah (Atkinson) Jones. Born Burlington Co., N. J. 1728. Married 1746, Elizabeth Carter. Their daughter Sarah married Uz Gauntt, son of Zebulon Jr. and Esther (Woolman) Gauntt, the latter a sister of John Woolman. Elizabeth Jones died in 1806, (11mo. 26.) and was buried at Mount Holly.

(Judge John Clement. "The Atkinsons of New Jersey." "The Shinn Family." Burial Recs. of Mt. Holly.)

97

Samuel Spavold (1708-1795)

Born at Bawtry, Yorkshire, Eng. 1708, and brought up to the trade of a carpenter. Settled in London and became a ship's carpenter at Deptford, and later removed to Folkstone, and finally to Hitchin (1750). He traveled much in the ministry, and had a "prophecy" in 1749, and a "vision" in 1754. He came to America in 1757, and was present at the Indian Treaty at Easton, Pennsylvania, 1759. He died Jan. 9, 1795, aged 87.

("The Friend" Phila. for 1903, p. 29. "Piety Promoted" pt. 9. Also, MSS. in Devonshire House London. "An Account of Ministering Friends from Europe who visited America"; *Journal Friends' Hist. Soc. London*, June, 1913.)

98

Mary Kirby (1709-1779).

Daughter of John and Mary Ransome, of Southrepps, Norfolk, Eng. She married at twenty one, Samuel Kirby, who died leaving her with several children. Between the years 1739 and 1769, she traveled much in the ministry. (Notes, *Journal*, Frd's Histor. Soc. London, June, 1913. MS. Testimony, in Devonshire House London.)

99

Daniel Stanton (1708-1770)

Called by Rebecca Jones, "that beloved Friend and Father in the Truth". He was born in Philadelphia, son of Daniel and Abigail Stanton, of Rhode Island. His father was lost at sea before his birth, and his mother died soon after. The orphan boy was brought up by a brother of his mother, in New Jersey, who apprenticed him to a ship's carpenter for a time. He afterward learned the trade of a joiner, and succeeded his master on the death of the latter. In 1731 he went as companion to Henry Frankland, an English Friend,

to Rhode Island, to visit his relatives. He was a nephew of Thomas Chalkley.

Daniel Stanton married, 2mo. 5, 1733, Sarah, daughter of John and Sarah Lloyd, of Philadelphia; she died 2mo. 1. 1748, aged forty years. He mentions having buried four sons before her death, and a week after he buried his youngest son. Of his two daughters, Abigail died 5mo. 23, 1757; she was the eldest, and in her twenty first year. There remained to him but Sarah who was left with his friends Israel Pemberton, or Reuben and Margaret Haines, in Germantown, when he was on his preaching tours. Sarah afterward married Benjamin Dorsey.

Daniel Stanton was a minister for over forty three years. He had traveled about for twenty of these before accompanying Samuel Nottingham, of England, to Barbados and Antigua. His wife's death occurred just before he left, in 1748. From Antigua they visited Tortola, and many "hazards", we are told, occasioned their landing in Ireland. Between 1757 and 1760, he was engaged in "visiting families" in Philadelphia. In 1758 he attended several Indian Treaties, and was at Easton, with James Pemberton and Benjamin Hooton, and mentions meeting the famous Indian, Tatamy (or Moses.) He was on the Committee with John Woolman when London Grove meeting was set off separately. He also served with John Woolman on the Yearly Meeting's Committee to visit the slave holders near Philadelphia. In 1760 Daniel Stanton was for six months in South Carolina, and in 1768 traveled about New Jersey, New York and Long Island. His chief efforts were directed in his home town against "stage plays, racing, drunkenness, and other great enormities encouraged and increasing in this city." He visited the sick, and his presence was a real benediction.

Daniel Stanton died at the house of Israel Pemberton, in Germantown, 6mo. 28, 1770, "universally beloved," aged 61: a preacher for 40 years.

("Collection of Memorials," p. 282. *Testimony*, Philada. M.M. Life, Friends' Library, XII, p. 150 ff. See also, Israel Pemberton to his brother John, Pemberton Papers, Vol. XXI. p. 23, *Histor. Soc. P.*, "Pennsylvania Gazette" for July 5. 1770.]

William Trimble (1705-1795.)

Born in County Antrim, Ireland, about 1705 and came with his brothers to Pennsylvania in 1729. He was admitted to membership at Concord meeting, "5 of 6mo. (August) 1734," and married, on the 13th. of 9mo. (November) of the same year, at that meeting, Ann

Palmer, and settled near Concordville, Pa. He became an elder in 1746, and died about 1795. A genealogy of his descendants has been published.

(See "Memoirs of Chester and Delaware Counties," p. 250. Information from Gilbert Cope.)

101

Aaron Ashbridge (1712-1776.)

Of Goshen, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Son of George and Mary (Malin) Ashbridge. A well-to-do farmer, taking an active part in public affairs, and serving as Justice of the Peace between 1749 and 1757. He was a Colonial Pacifist, as we learn from a minute of the Governor's Council:

"At a Council held at Philadelphia, Thursday, Feb. 3d. 1757.

Present

The Honourable William Denny, Esq. Lieut. Governor.

Richard Peters,
Thomas Cadwalader } Esquires.

..... Complaint was made by Capt. Moore of the Royal American Regiment, that Justice Ashbridge of Chester County, not only refused to attest his Recruits, but discouraged the men that were brought to him for that purpose from entering into the King's Service. The Governour wrote a letter and acquainted Mr. Ashbridge with his complaint and received his answer." (Colonial Records. Vol. VII. 406.) Aaron Ashbridge for some years took an active part in the Friends' Meetings. He married, 1st. 2mo. (April) 21, 1736/7, Sarah, daughter of David Davies, a Welshman, at Goshen Meeting

He married, 2nd. Nov. 4, 1746 Elizabeth (Sampson, b. 1713) Sullivan, widow. The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. [Vol. 31. p. 376), prints Aaron Ashbridge's invitation to a friend to his second marriage: - . . . "October 19th. 1746. My sweetheart as well as myself desire (if it may suit thy convenience and freedom), that thou wilt favour us with thy company at our marriage, which is intended to be at Burlington the 4th of next month. I am thy respectful friend, Aaron Ashbridge."

Elizabeth Ashbridge was a preacher of some prominence. She traveled considerably, and in 1753 went on a religious visit to Great Britain. While in Ireland she was taken ill at the house of Robert Lisky, Co. Carlow, where she died, May 16, 1755. Her autobiography may be found in "Friends' Library", Vol. IV. (Edited by Wm. and Thos. Evans, Phila.)

Five years later Aaron Ashbridge married a third time, in the

summer of 1760, Mary Tomlinson, widow, who, in November brought certificates for herself and her daughter, Mary, to Goshen, from Wilmington, Delaware. Aaron Ashbridge died in May, 1776. His will provided three hundred pounds to set up a school for Friends' children.

102

William Reckitt (1706-1769)

Born at Gainsborough, but settled at Wainfleet, Lincolnshire, England, where his trade was that of a weaver. He became a minister, and visited America in 1756. On the voyage he was taken prisoner to France, where he was detained for six months, and after a short stay at home again set out, reaching his destination in the end. He made a second visit to the American colonies in company with William Horne, who was returning home in 1764, when he remained nearly two years.

William Reckitt died at Wainfleet, 4mo. 6, 1769, aged sixty three. (See *Life*, reprinted also in Friends' Library, Vol. IX, Phila. 1845.)

103

Mordecai Yarnall (1705-1771.)

Eminent minister of Willistown, Chester Co., Pa., and after 1747, of Philadelphia. Son of Francis and Hannah (Baker) Yarnall. Married, 1733, Catharine Meredith. After her death in 1741, he married for the second time, Mary Roberts, in 1745. His death occurred on May 5, 1772.

Thomas Massey (-1784)

Son of Mordecai Massey, of Marple, Pa., and Rebecca. Thomas Massey lived at Willistown, Chester Co. He married Sarah, daughter of Isaac and Sarah Taylor, of North Providence, Pa. His will was proved Nov. 10, 1784.

Thomas Evans (-1758)

He was a minister of Philadelphia, and spent a large part of the summer of 1758 in the neighborhood of Egg Harbor, N. J., in an effort to revive the meetings there. He died in the latter part of the same year.

Joseph Parker (-1766)

A native of Yorkshire, England. He arrived in Pennsylvania early in the eighteenth century, and served for a time as Secretary to David Lloyd. He became a man of wealth and standing in Philadelphia and married Mary, daughter of John Ladd, of New Jersey. His daughter, Mary married Charles Norris, of Philadelphia, and they were parents of Deborah Norris, who married Dr. George Lo-

gan, of Stenton, the grandson of James Logan. Her contributions to history are well known. Joseph Parker died, 1766. [Penn. Logan Correspondence, &c. Vol. I. xliii.]

104

Mercy Redman (1721-1778)

Mercy Davis was a daughter of David Davis, of Pilesgrove, Salem County, New Jersey. Born 12mo. (February) 26, 1721/2. She married, 7mo. (Sept.) 29, 1747, as his second wife, Thomas Redman, [d. 9. 26. 1766] of Haddonfield, N. J., nephew of Doctor John Redman, a Founder of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia. Their only child did not live. Mercy Redman was a minister, and traveled somewhat in that capacity. She died at Haddonfield, 3mo. 15, 1778, and was buried in the Friends' Burial Ground at that place.

(Records of Haddonfield. M.M. Family Bible of Florence Redman Engle.)

105

John Casey (1695-1767)

A minister of Newport, R. I. for many years. Son of Thomas and Rebecca Casey. Married, April 17, 1719, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hicks, of Portsmouth, R. I.; they had two daughters, Mary, born in February, 1719; married, 1752, Joseph Cozzens, of Newport, and Elizabeth, born June 3 1722; married December 28, 1749, Philip, son of Philip and Hannah Wanton, of Newport.

Elizabeth (Hicks) Casey died March 14 1723 at the age of thirty three years. John Casey married a second time, Mary, daughter of John and Elizabeth Stanton, February 9, 1726.

Upon the general revision of the Discipline, which took place in 1760 after the agitation on the subject by Samuel Fothergill and others, John Casey was made a member of the Committee to revise the New England Discipline. The "strangers" also present at Newport were invited to act with them, among whom were John Woolman and John Storer, "and any other Friends that may find a concern to join them." (Minutes of New England Y.M.) John Casey served for some years as Clerk for the Meeting for Ministers and Elders. He was released in 1761 and died at Newport, October 11, 1767 aged seventy two years.

(Dates as given by Arnold. "Vital Statistics of Rhode Island," Vol. VII. p. 8, &c.)

106

Mary Noble (1722-1779)

This is probably Mary Noble Wetherill, of whom John Woolman speaks by her maiden name. She was the daughter of Joseph Noble,

(son of Abel Noble, the "contentious old "Free Will Baptist" with whom John Smith was given to arguing,) and Mary, daughter of Samuel Smith, 1st, a sister of Hon. Richard Smith I, and therefore aunt to the preacher, Elizabeth Smith. Mary Noble, was born 3mo. 31, 1722, and married in Philadelphia, 3mo. 19, 1743, Samuel Wetherill, of Burlington. She died in the latter place, 9mo. 9, 1779. The mother, Mary Smith Noble, died in 1733, aged 32.

107

John Cadwalader (-)

Son of John Cadwalader, a Welshman, (b. 1676) who married 1st. Mary, dau. Johannes Cassell, of the Palatinate, who came to Pennsylvania 1686. They were married at Abington, Pa. 1701. Mary died 1728, and in 1730, John. I, married a second time, Mary Peters, at Frankford Meeting. His last residence was in Warminster Township, Bucks, Co. Pa. He died in the Island of Tortola while on a religious visit, 9mo. (November) 26, 1742, having long been an acceptable minister. A brief Memorial was published 1787.

John Cadwalader, Jr., was recommended as a minister in 1728, and married soon after, Elizabeth Hingston, at Abington, making his permanent home in Bucks County. John Cadwalader was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1732 3.

108

John Smith, of East Marlborough, Pa. (1681-1766)

Born at Dartmouth, Bristol Co., Massachusetts, 4mo. (June) 22, 1681, of Presbyterian parents, but the family later became Quakers. At twenty two he "bore a testimony against war and fightings" for which he was fined and imprisoned. At the age of twenty four he went to England, where he was "pressed" on board a man-of-war, and imprisoned for six weeks. He returned to America, landing in Pennsylvania, and married there, Dorothy, daughter of Caleb Pusey, an eminent Friend, and made his home at Chester. In 1713 they removed to East Marlborough, Caleb Pusey accompanying them. Here they lived for forty years. In 1714 a meeting was settled at his house until the meeting house at London Grove was built, and he attended New Garden meeting. His death occurred at New Garden, 10mo 24, 1766, at the age of eighty six.

("Collection of memorials.", p. 253. Testimony of New Garden M M. "The Friend," (Phila) xxxiii, p. 332.)

109

William Jones, (-1782)

Of Mansfield, Burlington Co. N. J. Married, ("proposed ye 2d. time"), in Burlington M.M. 3mo. (May) 4, 1747. On 10mo. (Dec.)

17 1749, he obtained a certificate from Chesterfield to Burlington, and the inference is that his first wife had died, when we find him with Elizabeth Powell "proposing 2d. time" for marriage to the monthly meeting, 8mo. (October) 1, 1750. William Jones died 6mo. 18, 1782.

110

Sophia Hume (1702-1774)

A very able and interesting woman, of wide influence. She was great-granddaughter of Mary Fisher, one of the two Quakers first to come to Massachusetts in 1656. Mary Fisher's first husband was William Bayley, whom she married in 1662. He was a preacher and mariner of Poole, Dorchester, and was lost at sea in 1675. Her second husband was John Crosse, of London. They settled in Charleston, South Carolina, for what reason is not known. He died 1687. There were no children by the second marriage. Of the three by the first marriage, William, Mary and Susanna, the latter married, 1st Edward E. Rawlins; 2nd. Henry Wigington, Deputy Secretary of the Province of South Carolina. She died 1733. The eldest, and probably the only, child of the second marriage was Sophia Wigington, born 1702. She married Robert Hume, of Charleston, a prominent citizen, "the 15th. day of (month illegible) 1721". (Parish Church of St. Philips, Register.) Robert Hume's gravestone in that churchyard is dated "October 1st. 1737". His will names two children, Alexander and Susanna.

The mother of Sophia Hume, Susanna Wigington, was a Friend, but her father was an Episcopalian, and had much influence over her. At thirty eight, as a widow, Sophia became very serious, and in 1741 joined the Quakers. About this time she removed to London to live: In 1747 she came back to America on a religious visit, made under difficulties and amid much reproach, as her children disapproved of the step she had taken, and her former friends in the fashionable world quite misunderstood her. While in Charleston, she prepared an address to them, published when she reached Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin with the title, "An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of South Carolina," &c. This remarkable production, showing great grasp and ability, went into several editions. She was the author of other letters and pamphlets, notably one on "Days and Times" &c, and was an able writer. The pamphlet of 1748 was submitted to a Committee of Philadelphia Friends before publication: one of these Friends was John Woolman. They met at the house of John Smith, then living in Philadelphia, whose diary notes their progress and approval. She made her home with Israel Pemberton. The pamphlet

was published by subscription, and the author sailed for home with James Pemberton before it came out.

It was to Sophia Hume, then living in London, that John Woolman gave the Journal of his Voyage to England. His memorandum on the cover is dated but five days after landing. The manuscript shows no alteration in another hand, and upon his death it is likely that she sent it to America by the hand of Samuel Emlen, together with the other manuscripts given him in charge by the York Friends.

Sophia Hume died suddenly of a stroke of apoplexy January 26th 1774, aged seventy two at Miller Christy's, at White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street, London and was buried in Bunhill Fields. Her son Alexander Hume was present at her funeral, but her daughter Susanna and her husband were in France.

[MS. "Testimony" of Grace Church Monthly M'tg, London, Concerning Sophia Hume. 1774, &c. Art. by George Vaux, "The Friend" (Phil^a.) Vol. 82. no 51. Reference also in Friends' Quarterly Examiner, Vol. 36. p. 338. Bowden. "Hist. of Friends in Amer." I. p. 40.]

111

James Nayler (c. 1618-1660)

Born at Ardsley, near Wakefield, about 1618. After serving as Quartermaster in the army under General Lambert, Nayler was convinced of Quaker doctrines, and in 1665 joined the Quaker preachers in London, where his eloquence drew large audiences. He finally became so carried away with his own success, that he received homage from a group of infatuated men and women, in imitation of Christ himself. The severe punishments meted out to him by the Government, and disownment by his own Society, brought him to repentance at the end of his career, which was shortened by the sufferings he was forced to undergo. He died in an humble and repentant frame of mind, at a Friends' house at Soam, near Kings' Ripton, Huntingdonshire, England, and was buried 8mo. 21st, 1660. aged about 42 or 3. One of the most notable of the early Quakers. (Bevan. "Life of James Nayler.")

112

Jacob Howell (-1768)

Married Mary, daughter of Joseph Cooper. This Friend died 3mo. 17, 1768, "an ancient and industrious minister of the Gospel." ("The Friend," Phila. 35, p. 75.)

James Bartram (-1770)

Of Chester County, Pa. An Elder. ("The Friend," Phila. 35, 140.)

Josiah Foster (1682-1770)

Born of Quaker parents in Rhode Island. In early manhood removed to Evesham, N. J. Married Ann, daughter of Benjamin Borden. Was converted under the preaching of Thomas Wilson of England, and "served the church and his brethren as an Elder." He was most benevolent and hospitable. In his old age he removed to Mount Holly, and died of an apoplectic stroke at his son's house in Evesham, 5mo. 9, 1770, aged 87. ("The Friend," Phila. V. 35, 116.) Joseph Tomlinson (-1758)

The family were early settlers of West Jersey. Joseph was a member of Haddonfield meeting, in which he occupied the station of elder, and married, 1734, Lydia Wade, of Salem, N. J. His death occurred 9mo. 3, 1758.

John Evans (1689-1756)

Born in Wales, son of Cadwalader Evans. When young, he came with his family to the "Welsh Tract" of Pennsylvania, in 1698. In 1715 he married at Merion, Eleanor (1685-1765) daughter of Rowland Ellis. He became a celebrated minister among Friends, and died at Gwynedd, Pa., 9mo. 23, 1756. ("Merion in the Welsh Tract," T. A. Glenn.)

William Morris (-1766)

Son of John Morris and grandson of Anthony Morris, II. Married 1758, Margaret, daughter of Dr. Richard Hill of Maryland. He died in early manhood, 4mo. 14, 1766.

Samuel Abbott (1712-1760)

Born at Salem, N. J. Was left fatherless when young. Became a minister at twenty-two, and traveled in the "neighboring provinces." His death, of cancer in the face, occurred 11mo. 25, 1760. ("The Friend," Phila. V. 33, p. 45.)

113

William Brown (-1786)

Son of William and Esther Brown, of Nottingham, Pa. Married 1728, Susanna, dau. John Churchman. Both William and Susanna Brown were well known ministers for many years.

Thomas Carleton (1699-1792)

A native of Ballyhaken, Ireland. Came to America, 1711, with parents, and married Hannah, widow of Robert Roberts, and daughter of William and Mary Howell of Haverford, Pa. (For his wife, see "The Friend," Phila. 32, p. 388.)

Joshua Ely (-)

Son of Joshua, of Mansfield, England, and Mary Senior. Came with his parents to New Jersey in 1685. Married Mary ——— and settled in Bucks County, Pa., in 1720, becoming a member of Buckingham meeting 1734, and was an elder 1754.

William Jackson (-1785)

Son of Isaac [d. 1751], of London Grove, Pa. A highly esteemed Friend, who died in 1785.

Thomas Brown (1696-1757)

Son of Thomas; born at Barking, Essex, England, 9mo. 1, 1696. Came with parents to Pennsylvania as a child, and later lived in Plumsted, Bucks Co. Married ———, 1738; went to Abington, and then to Philadelphia, where he set up in business as a baker. "His gift in the ministry was living, deep and very edifying. . . . Though a man of no literature, yet he was often led into sublime matter." George Whitefield attended an evening meeting hoping to hear him, and expressed great admiration of his discourse, saying he "felt himself a mere child to him." He "was careful not to engage himself in worldly concerns so as to encumber his mind." He died of apoplexy 6mo. 21, 1757. Samuel Fothergill notes his death and speaks of him with affection. ("The Friend," Phila. 32, p. 301.)

Isaac Zane (-)

Benjamin Trotter (1699-1768)

A minister for many years in Philadelphia. His wife Mary died 3mo (May) 28, 1750, and his own death occurred 3mo (March) 23, 1768 "aged about seventy years." ("Friends' Library" Phila. XII, p. 183. "The Friend," Phila. 35, p. 68.)

John Armitt (1702-1762)

Son of Richard and Sophia Armitt. Born "8th of. 10 mo." (December) 1702. He lived for many years on Front Street, Phila. (Pa. Gazette, for June 7, 1750). John Armitt died 5mo. 21, 1762, aged 59. ("The Friend," Phila. 30, p. 84.)

Samuel Fothergill (1715-1772)

Born at Carr End, Wensleydale, Yorkshire, 1715. Son of John and Margaret (Hough) Fothergill. The well known Dr. John Fothergill of London was his elder brother. He married, 1738, Susannah Croudson, of Warrington, where he settled as a tea merchant and spent his life. His successful efforts to revive the declining membership and discipline in 1755 to 1760, correspond nearly with the labors of George Whitefield both in time and results. Samuel Fothergill spent two years in America, 1754-1756, and died much beloved at his home in Warrington, June 15, 1772, aged fifty-six.

COPY OF ORIGINAL DEED

for Land taken up in West Jersey by John Woolman I, 1687. In possession of the descendants, now living on part of the land, the heirs of the late Granville Woolman Leeds, of Rancocas, New Jersey.

THIS INDENTURE

made the thirtieth day of the Eleventh moneth, called January, in the yeare of o^r Lord, according to English acc^t One thousand six hundred & seven, Between Samuell Jenings of Greenhill in the County of Burlington in the Province of West Jersey, Yeoman of the one p^{te}, & John Woolman of y^e County & Province afores^d Yeoman of the other p^{te}, WHEREAS by Vertue of certaine Articles bearing date the fifteenth day of July ANNO 1685 & made between John Ridges, Citizen & Skinner of London in the Kingdom of England of the one pte And the said Samuell Jenings (ptie to these p^{ts}) of the other p^{te} The said John Ridges hath for diverse good Considerations him thereunto moving, ordayned & Appointed the said Samuell Jenings his lawful deputy & Atto^{ny} for him & in his name and for his use amongst other things to sell & dispose of one Moyetie or halfe p^{te} of his the said John Ridges one halfe of a Propriety by him purchased of William Penn, Gawen Lawry & Nicholas Lucas & Edward Billing by Indenture of Lease & Release dated the second day of March 1676 within the Province of West Jersey afores^d as by the same Articles relation thereunto being had amongst other things more fully may appeare

NOW THESE PRESENTS WITNESSE that according to the trust & power aforesaid to the said Samuell Jenings by the said John Ridges by Vertue of the said recyted Articles given, Hee, the said Samuell Jenings for & in Considera^{on} of the Sum^e of Twenty pounds of Currant Money within the said Province to him in hand paid by the sd John Woolman at & before the sealing & delivery hereof for the use & behoofe of the said John Ridges the receipt whereof the said Samuell Jenings doth hereby acknowledge & thereof & of every part & p^{cell} thereof, doth in the name & on the behalfe of the said John Ridges acquitt Exon^{ate} Release & discharge the sd John Woolman his Heires Exe^s. & Admi^s, every of them forever by these prsents, Hath granted & bargained & sold Alyened enfeoffed & confirmed And by these psents doth in the name & on the behalf of the

s^d John Ridges grant, bargain & sell alyen enfeoffe & confirme unto the sd John Woolman his heires & assigns forever Two hundred acres of land to be laid forth & surveyed to & for the sd John Woolman and the said Tract or Share of land belonging to the said John Ridges as aforesaid in the said Province of West Jersey Togeather with all & every the Mines Mineralls ffishings Hawkings huntings & fowlings & all other Royalties & its Comodities & apurtenances to the said grantee Two hundred Acres of land belonging or apperteyning And alsoe all the Estate, Gv^{ty} tythes, interest trust possession & party clayme & demand Whatsoever of the said Samuell Jenings or of the said John Ridges in Lawe and Equity & either of them of in or unto the sd granted p^mises or any pte or pcell thereafter & the Rest Residue & Remainder of the Same & of Every part thereof TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the sd Two hundred Acres of Land & granted & bargained p^mises with the Appurtenances, unto the sd John Woolman his Heires & Assigns forever to the onely pper use & behoofe of him the sd John Woolman his heires & Assigns forever more. And the sd Samuell Jenings for himselfe his Heires & Exe^{ors} & Admistrs in the name & on the behalfe of the aforesaid John Ridges, his Heires Exe^{ors}, & admitr^s, doth Covenant pmise & grant to & with the said John Woolman his Heires & Assigns by these p^r sents that they, the said Samuell Jenings & the said John Ridges or either of them, have not or hath not wittingly or willingly Committed suffered or done any Act matter or thing whatsoever whereby or by reason whereof the said granted p^mises or any pt^e thereof is are or shall or may be charged burthened or incumbered in any tythe charge Estate or otherwise howsoever (other than the Quitt Rents thereout issuing unto o^r Lord the King & his heires, & the Arreares thereof, if any bee paid) further that the said Samuel Jenings & his heires & the said John Ridges & his heires shall & will at all tymes hereafter dureing the terme & space of Seaven yeares next ensuing the date hereof at the request Costs & chrages of the sd John Woolman, his heires or Assignes make do & execute, or cause or p^rcure to be made done & executed such further & other lawfull Act & Acts, thing & things, Conveyance & assurance whatsoever, as by the said John Woolman his heires or assigns shall be reasonably required, & for the further better more full & p^rfect conveying & confirming the said granted p^mises & every or any p^t thereof with the appurtenances unto him the sd John Woolman his heires & assigns forever according to the Lawes & Constitutions of the sd Province of West Jersey & the tenour & true meaning of the sd Act as the p^{son} or p^{son} to whom such request shall be made be not compelled to goe from the place of his or their respective aboade or

habitation for the making doeing or executing thereof. And soe as such further Assurances containe noe further warranty than according to the tenour of these p^{sent} IN WITNESSE whereof the said p^{ty} first above named in this p^{sent} Indenture hath sett his hand & Seale the day & Year first Above written.

1687.

Sam^l Jenings.

DEPOSITION OF JOHN WILLS, 7mo. 17th 1742.

John Wills of Northampton Township in the County of Burlington, Esq^r of the Age of Eighty three Years & upwards doth declare that he was intimately acquainted with William Woolman late of the same Township Yeoman deced ever since the first arrival of the said William in America that he was also very well acquainted with George Elkinton late of the same place Yeoman having come into America Servant to the said John Will's ffather for ffour Years. And the said John Wills says he is very sure that the said William lived at the House of the said George Elkinton in the sd Township very near if not quite a whole Year next before the Death of the said William & that the said William dyed at the House of the sd George the thirtieth of March, 1692 or very near that time & that the said George maintain'd him all the Time he was there & took care of him in his Sickness & buryed him, all at the Expense of the said George. And the said John Wills said that he has often heard his ffather Daniel Wills say that the said William Woolman had given the said George Elkinton & his Wife Mary One half of the One hundred & ffifty acres in the said Township which his Son John Woolman had conveyed to him & that he had made 'em a Deed for it, and the sd John Wills saith he very well knows the sd William Woolman gave the sd George Elkinton & his wife the said Land for the great Services & kindness they had done him in so maintaining him as aforesaid & that the said William Woolman had nothing else of Value to repay them with. And the said John Wills saith that he verily believes the said land so given by the said William to the said George was worth about Six or Seven pounds Money at Nine & two pence ⁷/₈ ounce & that the said land so given to the said George would not compensate the Trouble & Care the sd George & his Wife had taken in the Entertainment and Burial of the said William. And the said John Wills saith that he very well knows that the said William Woolman was always a Man of sound Mind & Memory & so continued to the Day of his Death. The said John Wills further saith that he has often seen the Deed by which the sd William conveyed to the said George the Seventy ffive acres of Land therein

mentioned & knows it to be of his ffather Daniel Wills's proper hand Writing & that the said George peaceably & quietly enjoyed the same without any manner of Interruption or claim set up thereto by John Woolman after the Death of his ffather William for the space of Twenty five Years & that the said John Woolman dyed in the Month of April 1718 & left Joseph Elkinton Son of the sd George in the peaceable possession thereof without ever having claimed the same or set up any pretence thereto that the said John Wills hath ever heard of. And in Testimony of the Truth of all the within Matters the said John Wills hath hereto set his Hand the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred fforty two.

Signed in the presence of
Joseph Govett who saw & heard
John Wills read the same.

John Wills

Jos. Govett.

The said John Wills reflecting on the Date of the Deed from John Woolman to his ffather the before named William Woolman, says he very well remembers that at that time to wit about the year¹ 1688 there was an Arbitration between the said John & William & in consequence thereof the said Deed was made to the said William Woolman when he was at the House of the before named George Elkinton & that he always lived there to the time of his Death & that the Deed of the Seventy ffive Acres within mentioned was dated in March 1692 made by William Woolman to George Elkinton so that the said John Wills is well satisfied the sd Wm Woolman did abide & continue at the said George Elkinton's House before mentioned near ffour Years, & says as before that the Care & kindnesses he there receiv'd & met with was the sole reason & Consideration for his making the said Conveyance of the Said Seventy ffive Acres to the said George Elkinton & is fully sensible that it was at the making thereof far from being a full Satisfaction for what the said William had received from the sd George Elkinton.

(Not signed.)

(Copied from a paper in the possession of Gilbert Cope. What is supposed to be the original paper is in possession of H. E. Deacon, of Phila.)

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF JOHN WOOLMAN I AND ELIZABETH BOURTON.

Whereas, there hath been an intention of Marriage duly published at two several Monthly Meetings of ye people called Quakers

¹ ("19th of February" erased.)

in Burlington upon ye river Delaware in ye Province of West New Jersey in America. Between John Woolman of Northampton River, Husbandman, and Elizabeth Bourton near ye same place also in Province aforesaid, inquiry being made no obstruction appearing, also ye consent of Parents being had ye meeting gave their consent unto ye same.

Now these may certifie ye truth unto all conserne yt on ye day of ye datte hereoff in our sight and hearing and in an assembly of ye Lord's People ye said John Woolman did take and declare ye said Elizabeth Bourton to be his Wife, and ye said Elizabeth Bourton did take and declare the said John Woolman to be her husband according to ye example of ye Lord's People Recorded in ye Scriptures of truth each of them consenting or Promising to be loving, faithful and true in ye capacity as Husband and Wife ye tenure of their naturall lives together.

In Witness whereoff ye Parties themselves have first of all subscribed their names and wee also as Witnesses this eighth day of ye eighth Month 1684.

John Woolman
Elizabeth Woollman

John Bourton.	Jo. Hollinshead.	
Thomas Bourton	Jo. Haines.	Mary Hudson.
Tho. French.	Ann Bourton.	Mary Cooke.
Tho. Olive.	Jane Bourton.	Mary Harding
Wm. Evans	Ester Bourton.	Ben. Moore.
Robt. Dimsdale.	Jane Bourton.	Henry Ballinger.
Daniel Wills.	Ann Jennings.	
Wm. Peechee	Mary Wills.	
Thos. Harding	Bridget Guy.	
Freedom Lippincott.	Grace Hollinshead.	

Book I Marriages. Burlington M. Mt'g Records.

WILL OF JOHN WOOLMAN, I.

"28th. of 1st. Mo. called March, 1711."

I, John Woolman of Northampton in y^e County of Burlington, and Prov. of New Jersey being sick and weak of body but of sound and perfect mind and memory and considering the uncertainty of this life am willing to settle business here and to dispose of that outward Estate it pleased God to intrust me withall, I therefore make this my last will and Testament, made and ordained:

Imprimis: I Comitt my Soul unto the hands of all Mighty God, my Creator, and my body to ye Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my wife.

2dly. I give to my well beloved Wife, Elizabeth Woollman $\frac{1}{3}$ of my personal Estate and £20 more to be paid to her out of my personal Estate; also £6 pr. year to be paid to her by my Son Samuel out of ye plantation I now live on, in lieu of her thirds, Therefor the sd 6 pounds to be paid yearly to my said Wife during her natural life.

3dly. I give unto my Son Samuel Woolman ye Plantation I now live on, paying as aforesaid to his Mother 6 pounds a year during her Natural life, also all other of my lands within the Province of New Jersey aforesaid I bequeath unto my Son Samuel Woolman, his heirs and Assigns forever, Also I give unto said Son Samuel Woolman all my looms, and all other of my tools of all sorts belonging to the Weaver's trade.

4thly. All y^e remaining part of my Estate I give and bequeath unto my five daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, Ann, Hannah and Hester. I say I give all the remaining part of Estate to them or to ye survivors of them, to be divided amongst them equally, and to receive their share as they shall come to y^e age of one and twenty.

5thly. and lastly, I make and ordain my said Son Samuel Woolman the Whole and sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament, hereby ordering him to pay all my just debts, and to receive all such debts as are justly due me.

In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand and Seal ye day & year first above Written. I do publish and declare this to be my last Will and Testament.

Witnesses:

John Woolman. (Seal)

Joshua Humphries

John Hookes

Elizabeth Humphries.

Will probated, 30 April, 1718, before
Isaac DeCou, Surrogate.

[Office of Secretary of State, Trenton, N. J.]

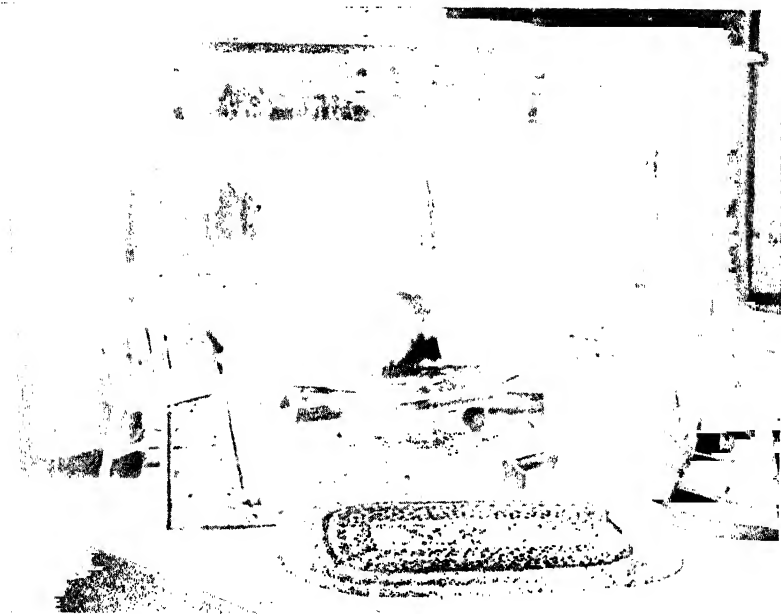
WILL OF ELIZABETH, WIDOW OF JOHN WOOLMAN I.
I, Elizabeth Woollman Widdow and Relict of John Woolman late of Northampton in the County of Burlington and Province of New Jersey, deceased. Whereas my said husband did by his last will and Testament dated the 26th day of the first month called March 1711 did give unto me one third of his personal estate and twenty pounds over and above the said third as by the said will proved and in the Office at Burlington may more particularly and at large appear and I being sick and weak of body at this presant but of sound and disposing mind and memory do make and ordain this my last will and



House Built 1771 by John Woolman for His Daughter, Mary, on Her Marriage
to John Comfort.

Now the Woolman Memorial, Mount Holly, N. J.

By H. Toerring.



Fireplace, John Woolman Memorial, Mount Holly, N. J.

Photograph by W. W. Dewees.

Testament and do hereby dispose of what my husband has by his last will given to me as followeth viz:

Imp^rmis: I give unto my son Samuëll Woolman a piece of gold value one pound nine shillings & three pence lawfull money of America.

2^dly I give unto my daughter Elizabeth Hunt fifteen shillings like money aforesaid to be paid to her within one year after my decease.

3^dly I give unto my daughter Ann Buffin the wife of John Buffin sume of fifteen shillings like money aforesaid to be paid to her within one year after my decease—

4thly I live and bequeath unto my daughter Mary Woolman one third part of the aforementioned thirds of my husbands estate after the legacies aforesaid are paid there out, to be paid to my said daughter Mary as soon as can be after my decease.

5 The other two thirds of the said third my will is that the same be equally divided between my two youngest daughters viz. Hannah and Hesther Woolman and their equall shares thereof to be paid to them or their Guardians as soon as can be after my decease and my will is that there respective shares thereof be put to Interest at the proper Risque and for the sole use of my said daughters.

Moreover I give to my youngest daughter Hesther Woolman the twenty pounds above mentioned to be paid to her or her Guardians as aforesaid and in case that either of my two daughters viz. Hannah or Hesther should die before they arrive at the age of twenty one years or are married, that then the survivor or survivors of my said three daughters viz. Mary, Hannah and Hesther shall have the share of eather of the two so dying equally divided betwixt them and if it should so happen that both of my said daughters Hannah and Hesther should die before they arrive at the age aforesaid or are married that then my will is that my daughter Mary shall have the whole thirds and twenty pounds aforesaid

Lastly, I constitute appoint and ordain my son Samuëll Woolman to be the sole Executor of this my last will ordering him to pay all my just debts funerall Charges and leceries aforesaid In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this first day of the month called May 1718

Elizab. Woolman (Seal)

In the presence of

John haines—affirmed 30 May 1718

John Wills and Executor affirmed

Hope Wills same date.

[795 C.] Inventory of estate of Elizabeth Wollman being ye widow

of John Wollman which was given her by her husband—appraised 13 of 3mo. 1718, by John haines & Joshua Humphris.

Office Secretary of State, N. J.

Liber C. of Wills. p. 789.

WILL OF SAMUEL WOOLMAN

I, Samuel Woolman, of Burlington Co. N. J. yeoman, being of sound mind and memory, do make this my last will and Testament. First, I recommend my soul unto the hands of God, and my body to be decently buried. And Touching my Worldly Estate I dispose of it as follows;—

Imprimis: I give to my loving wife Elizabeth Woolman one half of the improvements, half the barn, half the orchids, (sic) half the marshes on both sides the Creek with Firewood and Fencing to supply her said half of said Improvements where I now dwell during the term of Four years and three months from the date hereof.

Item: I give to my loving Wife my sorrel Mare called *Bonny* and one Colt. I give her the two *brick* Rooms below stairs and the least Brick room above stairs and half the cellar and half the kitchen during her Widowhood.

Item: I will that my Son Asher Enjoy the remaining half of my improvements and Buildings where I now dwell and also that he Enjoy all the improvements on north End of my land until my son Jonah arrives at full age.

Item: My land at *Evesham* I will that it be divided into *three* equal parts (the marsh on north end excluded) by lines near parallel with west side line. The Eastern part bounded on Mason Creek I give to my son *John Woolman* his heirs and assigns forever: The Western part bounding on Freedom Lippincott I give to my son *Jonah Woolman* his heirs and assigns forever. The Middle part and all the marsh on the north end and also the meadow ground I give to my son Asher Woolman, his heirs and assigns forever.

Item: I give to my son Asher Woolman all the South Side with buildings & I will that son Asher pay out of the same £20 to my son Uriah in 1 year after I die.

And also that he pay to my son Abraham £50 and to son Eber £30. All north End of lands and house thereon to son Jonah He to pay son Abraham £30 and £30 to son Eber.

My lands in Morris County of 388 Acres I give to my sons Abraham and Eber.

My Cedar Swamp called *Old Swamp* I give to my seven sons. Land I bequear of James Southwick I give to son Eber.

A Lot of Land in *Bridgetown*¹ I give to my loving Wife Elizabeth

¹ Now Mount Holly.

Woolman. After the 4 yrs. and 3mos. Expire, I will that my son Asher pay out of the profits of plantation the sum of £5 to Wife Elizabeth yearly and Every year during her widowhood, pasture for horse, cow, and necessary wood.

I give to Uriah £180.

To my daughters Sarah Elton, Patience Moore and Hannah Gauntt, each 5 shillings. To my son Asher £15 to be held in trust for my daughter Sarah Elton, to be used at his discretion for her or for her children.

To my daughters Esther and Rachel Woolman £50 when full age or marry. I will that my sons Abraham and Eber be put at trade at 14 years. To my sons Uriah and Jonah 1 flock, one bed and bolsters, 3 blankets, and one Coverlid.

To my sons Abraham and Eber, 1 chest, 1 Flock bed & like furniture, with the others.

All residue after debts and funeral Expenses are paid and Legacies, I give to Wife for her support, and to Enable her to Educate my Children. I wish my Wife to have care of Jonah, and to have benefit of his labor until he is of age.

As Executors, I appoint my Sons *John* and *Asher*.

Witnesses

Thomas Green

Daniel Wills, Jr.

Joseph Green.

11 of 6mo. 1750.

Samuel Woolman. (Seal)

Probated, 17 December 1750.

Recorded in Office of Secretary of State,

Trenton, N. J. Liber VI, p. 391.

1750. 5 day of 8mo. (October). Inventory, £819.1.4. Made by Joseph Burr and John Deacon. Includes books of divinity, navigation and law, £19.0.2.

WILL OF ELIZABETH WOOLMAN, SENIOR.

I, Elizabeth Woolman widow of Samuel Woolman, late dec^d, being of sound mind and memory, dispose of the outword Substance with which I am entrusted as follows:

My brick house in Mount holly, with the framed shop, and all the lot to them belonging, I give to my daughter Rachel Woolman to hold to her, her heirs & assigns forever, on condition that she pay ten pounds proclamation money to my grand daughter Elizabeth Elton. I give to my grand daughter Theodosia Allen Ten pounds to be paid in one year next after my decease.

I give to my grand daughter Elizabeth Elton my bed in the back room, below stairs with the bedstead, boulder, curtains, one covered, two sheets & two pillows.

I have made an inventory signed it with my hand and left it with my son Asher and all the goods therein mentioned, I give to my grand daughter Elizabeth Elton.

My lot of land in New street in Mount holly, I give to my grandson Asher Woolman son of Abner Woolman dec. to hold to the said Asher his heirs & assigns forever.

I give to my son Jonah my large bible & I give to my son John Thomas Chalkleys Journal.

I will that my executor pay to negro Issabel Thirty shillings and Thirty shillings to her sister Maria who lived with me, all in goods at the appraisment.

All the residue of my estate whatsoever I give to my four daughters namely Patience More, Hannah Gaunt, Esther gaunt & Rachel Woolman to be equally divided amongst them and if either of them dies before this will comes in force, I will that the part of such so dying do go equally amongst the children of such deceased.

I appoint my sons Asher & Jonah Woolman Executors of this my last will, and desire the part given to Esther Gaunt be paid her by my executors at my dwelling house to such persons as she or her husband or her children may appoint to receive it. Signed and sealed by Elizabeth Woolman the 11 of 2mo. in the year 1772.

Elizabeth < Woolman (Seal)
her mark

In the presence of

Aaron Wills

Jacob Hillier

Mary Willets—affirmed, 21 oct 1773.

Jonah Woolman affirmed as executor same date.

9597 C. Inventory of estate of Elizabeth Woolman. (widow) made 23 of 9mo. 1773.

by Joseph Buzby & Isaac Hillier

Amt £179—8—1½.

Office Sec. of State of New Jersey.
Trenton. Liber C. of Wills, p. 9595.

WILL OF ELIZABETH WOOLMAN JUNIOR

The ninth day of the Second month Anno Dom one Thousand Seven hundred and forty four I Elizabeth Woolman Junior of the County of Glocester in West Jersey in America Taylores being at present in good health and perfect mind & memory Yet calling to mind ye uncertainty of this Life do make and ordain this my last will. First and Principally I recomend my Soul into the hands of God and

my body to ye Earth to be Decently buried at the Discretion of my Executors here after named And as touching my Temporal Estate I Give and Dispose of ye Same as follows

Imprimis: I give to my Beloved Father, Samuel Woolman, my great Bible.

Item I give to my beloved mother, Elizabeth Woolman, my great Looking glass.

Item: I give to my Brother John Woolman the Sum of Twelve pounds proclamation money and my Gold buttons

Item: I give to my Sister Sarah Elton ye sum of Six pounds like money & one of my best Gowns.

Item: I give to my Sister Patience Moore ye sum of Six pounds Like money and one of my best Gowns.

Item: I give to my Brother Asher Woolman ye Sum of Six pounds, Like money.

Item: I give to my Brothers Abner, Uriah, Jonah, Abram and Eber and to my Sisters, Hannah, Esther and Rachel Woolman, to each and every of these my said Brothers and Sisters, ye Sum of Six pounds Like money, to be put out to Interest at their Proper Risque and for their Sole use until they shall Severally arive to ye age of Twenty one years.

Item: I give to my Sister Hannah Woolman ye following particulars, viz. my Bed, Bedstead and all ye furniture to them belonging also my Square Walnut Table, my nest of Drawers, my Lesser Looking glass, my Tea Table, Tea Kittle and Tea pot, all my China Ware and Silver Spoons, and also my Cloath Saddle and the bridle thereto belonging.

Item: after my Just Debts funeral Charges and above mentioned Legacies are paid, Then all the remaining part of my estate I give to my three Youngest sisters namely Hannah, Esther & Rachel Woolman to be Equally Divided amongst them, share and Share alike.

Item; in case Either one or more of my brothers or sisters above named Shall Die in their minority and without issue, I will that his, her, or their Legacies by me given be Equally Divided amongst ye survivors, and Lastly I appoint my brothers John and Asher Woolman to be Executors of this Last Will. In witness where of I have hereto Set my Hand and Seal the Day and Year above written.

Elizabeth Woolman, Junior. (Seal)

Signed & seal'd in presence of

John Craig.

Mary Gill.

Eliz^a Estaugh.

Affirmed to by John Craig

13 Apr. MDCCXLVII.

Both Ex^{ts} affirmed 4 May, MDCCXLVII.

Inventory of Eliz. Woolman Jr. dec. of Haddonfield, Gloucester Co.
N. J., made 17 of 1mo. (March). 1746/7,
by John Craig & Sam^l. Mickle, Jr.

Amt £273-11-11

Office of Secretary of State, Trenton, New Jersey,
Liber H. of Wills. p. 362.

DEED OF TRUST

John Woolman to Stephen Comfort.

da mo

27 : 4 : 1772

I John Woolman of Mountholly in Burlington County, West
jersey having bought in time past Some Lands And John Comfort
Son of Stephen Comfort having married our Daughter Mary And I
the Said John Woolman having it in my heart to prepare for a Voige
to Great Britain on a Religious Visit do not see any way in which I
may dispose of the Lands and buildings which I possess more to my
own peace than to Commit them to the said Stephen Comfort In
Trust for my Use and for the Use of my beloved Wife Sarah during
the time that we and the Survivor of us may live in this world And
that the Said Stephen Comfort may convey or devise all the Lands
which I now possess to his Son John or to our Daughter Mary or to
either of them and to their heirs and Assigns forever as he in the
fear of the Lord may believe right.

Now for the Uses aforesaid I John Woolman do fully clearly
and heartily Grant Convey and Confirm all the Lands buildings and
Improvements which I hold in fee simple To the Said Stephen Com-
fort his heirs and Assigns To the only proper Use and behoof of the
Said Stephen Comfort his heirs and Assigns forever. Only Reserv-
ing to mee and my beloved wife and to the Survivors of us the whole
benefit of all the Said Lands, buildings and Improvements During
the time of our living in this world. In Confirmation whereof I
hereto Set my hand & Seal the twenty Seventh day of the forth
Month in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred &
Seventy two

Signed Sealed and delivd.

In the presence of us

Aaron Barton

Bathsheba Barton

John Woolman. (Seal.)

[From autograph M.S. copy by John Woolman, in possession of
Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Original on file in office Secre-
tary of State, Trenton, N. J. Liber Y. p. 543.]

WILL OF STEPHEN COMFORT

"I Stephen Comfort of Middletown Township in Co. of Bucks Being Sick and weak in body yet sound mind and Memory, do make and Constitute this to be my Last will and Testament. First my will is that my Funeral Expenses and Just Debts be Paid by Executors hereafter named.

Item: I give and bequeath unto my Beloved wife Marcy Comfort all my rail Estate During her Widow Hood and Likewise it is my will that my wife may take as many of my Household Goods as she Shall Think Proper with her Choice of my Horses for a riding Creature & a milch cow.

Item: I give unto my son John Comfort the sum of five Pounds.

Item: I give unto my son Ezra Comfort the sum of Forty Pounds.

Item: I give unto my sons Jeremiah and Stephen Comfort the sum of One Hundred Pounds Each

Item I give unto my four children to wit Grace Comfort, Marcy Comfort, Moses Comfort & Robert Comfort The sum of forty pounds Each, it is my will that if any of my four last named Children should Die before they arive to the age of Twenty one years their share or shares shall be equally Divided amongst the survivors of the foure, it Likewise is my will that all my estate both Rale and personal shall be and Continue as it now stands in the hands of my Executors for the space of three years after my Decease without the Payment of any of the above Legacyes or any Distrebutation made. I give & bequeath unto my son John Comfort & Mary his wife to them their Heirs & assigns forever all that Estate of John Woolman Lying in the Jerseys or anywhere else, that I have any Right to by will or otherwise. it is my mind that the above Legasys be paid in Current Money of Pansylvania after the Three Years after my Decease as they shall arive to the age of Twenty one years It is my will that my Rale Estate after the Intermarriage or Death of my wife shall be sould, and if so be there should not be sufficient of my Personal Estate to Pay the above Legacies it shall be paid out of my rale Estate when Sould and the remainder of the money arising from such sale shall be equally Divided amongst all my Children then living share & share alike. And lastly I appoint my wife Mercy Comfort and Jeremiah Comfort to be my Executors of this my Last will and Testament, In witness where of I have here unto set my hand and Seal this Twentieth Day of the Ninth Month in the year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Two. 1772

Stephen Comfort (Seal)

Robert Croasdale

Maere Wilson

Witnesses—

Bucks & The 9th Day of December Anno Domini 1772 appeared the above named Robert Croasdale & Maere Wilson the witnesses to the foregoing will who upon their Solem affirmation severally did declare & affirm that they were Personally Present & Saw & Heard the above named Stephen Comfort the Testator sign seal Publish & declare the foregoing Instrument of Writing as for his last will & Testament and that at the Time of so doing he was of sound mind and Memory & of a Disposing understanding to the best of their Knowledge and Belief. Letters Testamentary Granted unto Marcy Comfort & Jeremiah Comfort Executors 9 Dec. 1772

Doylestown, Bucks County, Pa., Court House.
Register's office. Liber III. p. 299.

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF SARAH WOOLMAN.

I Sarah Woolman Widow and Relict of John Woolman (Late of Northampton in the County of Burlington in the Western Division of New Jersey Deceased) Being Desirous of Settling my Temporal Concerns DO make and Ordain this my Last Will and Testament in Manner following; that is to say, FIRST I desire and direct that all my Just Debts and Funeral Charges be Duly Paid. Secondly, I give unto my Daughter Mary Comfort all my Wearing Apparel. Thirdly, I give and Bequeath Unto my Grandson John Comfort my Chest of Drawers. Fourthly, All the Remainder of My Estate Wheresoever to Be found, I give and Bequeath the same unto my Five grand Children, To Wit, John Comfort, Stephen Comfort, Samuel Comfort, William Comfort, and Joseph Comfort, to be Equally Divided Among them my Said grand Children Share and Share alike. AND it is my Will that Each grandChild's Share as Near as the Same Can be Ascertained shall be Paid to him as Soon as he Attains to the Age of Twenty one years, Proper Allowances at the Discretion of my Executors Being made for Doubtful debts if any there should at Such time. AND further it is my Will that if Either of my Grand Children Should Depart this Life Without Lawfull Issue Before he Attains to the Age of Twenty one years that then and in Such Case the Share of him so deceased shall Be Equally Divided Among the Surviving Legatees, AND so in Like Manner if more of them should Die Under Age Without Lawfull Issue AND in Case all the Five grand Children should die Under Age Without Lawfull Issue AND my Daughter Mary Should have an other Child or Children by John Comfort then Living, In that Case I give the Said Residue of my Estate to them to be Paid to them or in Case of the Decease of Either Under Age to the Survivor or Survivors in Manner Aforesaid. AND it is my Will

that my Executors Immediately after my decease take into their Possession All my Moneys Bonds Bills Notes and Accounts and at their Discretion Call in Such Moneys of Mine as are out on Bond at Interest or Other Ways and From time to time Place the Same out Again as they See Cause as Well as Such Other Moneys as may arise to my Estate on Such Security as they shall Judge Safe and Best. LASTLY I Constitute and Appoint my Friends John Hoskins Daniel Smith John Bispham and John Cox Junr. Executors of this my Last Will and Testament. SEALED with my Seal and Signed with my Hand this Eighteenth Day of the Eleventh Month in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Five—1785.

Sarah Woolman (Seal)

Signed Sealed and Declared
By the Testatrix as and for her last
Will and Testament in the presnce of }
Us Who at her Request in her } A True Coppey.
Presence and in the presence of Each
other have Subscribed our Names. }

Sarah Butcher

Elizabeth Hatkinson Lydia Tillton

From the Larger
Account-Book

p. 43 Cost of John and Mary Woolman Comfort's house, now the
Mo Woolman Memorial, 99 Branch Street, Mount Holly, N. J.
8 1771. Expençe of Building a Brick house.

	£	s	d
Cash paid to Hancock in full for 8800 Bricks..	08	18	
da mo			
19 9 '71.			
Cash paid to Zachariah Rossel in full for 9800 Bricks.	12	05	
mo			
9 '71. Cash paid John Parrish in full for 12 Hogsheads			
of lime	09	06	
Paid Thomas Conarro Six pounds for Stone, to wit }			
three pound fifteen and ten pence to Jonah Woolman for }	6	00	
thee and the rest in a discompt in this Book, fol. 11 }			
Paid Matthew West his account to makeing Door cases }			
winder cases and Sash.....{	04	02	
Three pair of hooks and hinges of James Dobbins for y°			
doors	00	15	

	£	s	d
the Expençe of Diging the Celler supposed to be.....	03	10	
the Expençe of hawling 18,600 Bricks Supposed to be...	04	10	
Expençe of boards & timber used by Matthew West			
Suppost to be.....	04	10	
two pounds of Nails had of William Car(1)vert} lb.			
and then to twenty five pound more.....} in all 27		19	2
Cash paid William Calvert to buy more lime.....	03		
to 2lb. of Nails.....		1	6
to cash paid to primas (Negro).....		8	9
to cash paid to Larrance Fettes.....	2	5	2
John Wright to Cash.....	1	5	6
had of William Calvert 54lb. of Nails.....	1	18	3
da mo			
2. 3. Paid to Wm Norton for hawling 17 loads of Stone	4		
To 1500 Bricks and hawling.....	2	5	
to 350 Bricks.....		11	
to cash paid to labourers.....		11	3
to 23lb. of Nails.....		16	4
to 20lb. of Nails.....		14	2
To Ohinglys glass and other materials for building.....	12	18	5
To Scantlen laths and Boards from John Bispham.....	8	13	7
Cash paid to Adam Forker for Glaising & painting....	2	05	6
To 600 Bricks at 3/6 pr. hundred from Philadelphia.....	1	1	0
To Ridgway..work.....	15	16	9
To Joseph Mullen..work.....	15	2	
To Joseph Wever.....	2	4	

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF WILLIAM BOIN (BOWEN) AND DIDO.

5mo. 3d. 1763.

Whereas, William Boin a Negro man now Employed in the Affairs of Moses Haines of Springfield who by an Agreement with the said Moses Haines Set forth in Wrighting and Signed Expects to Enjoy the full benefit of his Labour on the first day of the fourth month in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty five And Dido a negro Woman of late servant to Joseph Burr who now enjoys the whole benefit of her labour Having for Some time manifested an Enclination to joyn in Marriage with each other, and On Enquiry no Difficulty appearing in respects to marriage Engagements with any others, They, the said William Boin and Dido on the third day of the fifth month in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Sixty three At a little meeting held

in a Dwelling-house on that Ocasion did publicly inform us the Witnesses to this Instrument that they took each other as Husband and Wife and mutually promised to use their best Endeavours through Divine Assistance to be Faithfull and true to Each Other untill Death Should Separate them. And in Confirmation thereof have hereto Set their hands

Witnesses present—

Joseph Burr

Patience Haines (by her order) for Negro Catherine, mother to Dido

Josiah White

for Negro London, her Father

Thomas Antrim

David Ridgway

Amey Stratton

Ann Brooks

Sarah Fenimore

Sarah Woolman

Daniel (Illegible)

Amey Antrim

John Woolman

William Boin

Dido Boin

Hager

Daphne

George Subeter

Cesar Morry

Simon Bustill

Elizabeth Morton

Primos

hager gewant (Gauntt?)

(illegible)

Susannah Fenimore

Catren Fenimore

Jeams hage

BIBLIOGRAPHY.¹

- A. The Works of John Woolman.
- B. The Journal of John Woolman.
- C. Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, etc. Part I.
- D. Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, etc. Part II.
- E. Considerations on Pure Wisdom, etc.
- F. Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind, etc.
- G. Remarks on Sundry Subjects.
- H. Serious Considerations on Various Subjects of Importance.
- I. An Epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends.
- J. Some Expressions of John Woolman in his Last Illness.
- K. Account of Elizabeth Woolman.
- L. A Plea for the Poor, or A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich.
- M. A First Book for Children, etc.
- N. Letters of John Woolman.
- O. A Small Paper on Prayer.
- P. Extracts from the Works of John Woolman.
- Q. Testimonies concerning John Woolman.
- R. Letters respecting the Illness and Death of John Woolman.
- S. Biographical and Other Articles on John Woolman.
- T. References to John Woolman.

A.

- 1.—The Works of John Woolman, in two parts, viz., Part I., *The Journal of John Woolman*; and Part II., *Other Writings*.
Philadelphia: Cruikshank. 8vo. 1774.
- 2.—Do. "The 2nd edition."
Philadelphia: Cruikshank. 8vo. 1775.
- 3.—Do.
London: Letchworth.² 8vo. 1775.

¹ This bibliography has been based, by permission, upon that of the "Century Edition," 1900, of John Woolman's Journal, published in London by Headley Brothers. It has been brought to date by the addition of the more important publications on the subject, but does not include everything that has been written.

² Thomas Letchworth printed [? 1774] a circular in small 4to of "Proposals for Publishing by Subscription (with the approval of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders in London) an edition of *The Works of John Woolman*." A copy is in the possession of the Society of Friends, London. An error in the first edition, 1774, page 204, reads "twenty fourth day of the eighth month." This should be *third* month.

- 4.—Do. "The 2nd edition."
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1775.
- 5.—Do. "The 3rd edition."
London: Phillips. 12mo. 1775.
- 6.—Do. "The 3rd edition."
Philadelphia: Johnson. 12mo. 1800.
- 7.—Do. "The 4th edition."
Philadelphia: B. Johnson, and David Allinson, Burlington,
N. J. 1806.
- 8.—Do. "The 5th edition."
Philadelphia: 1818.
- 9.—Do. 321 pp. 8vo.
Philadelphia: B. and T. Kite. 1818.

B.

- 1.—The Journal of John Woolman. In A1.
Philadelphia: Cruikshank. 8vo. 1774.
- 2.—Do. In A2.
Philadelphia: Cruikshank. 8vo. 1775.
- 3.—Do. In A3.
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- 4.—Do. In A4.
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1775.
- 5.—Do. In A5.
London: Phillips. 12mo. 1775.
- 6.—Do.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1776.
- 7.—Do.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1778.
- 8.—Do.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1794.
- 9.—Do. In A6.
Philadelphia: Johnson. 12mo. 1800.
- 10.—Do. "A new edition."
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1824.
- 11.—Do. In Vol. I. of *Friends' Library*, edited by William Allen.
Lindfield: Schools of Industry. 16mo. 1832.
- 12.—Do. "The 2nd edition."
Lindfield: Schools of Industry. 16mo. 1833.
- 13.—Do. "The 3rd edition."
Lindfield: Schools of Industry. Large 18mo. 1838.

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- 14.—Do. Edited by John Comly, collated with original MSS. and corrected.
Philadelphia: Chapman. 12mo. 1837.
- 15.—Do. In Vol. IV. of *The Friends' Library*, edited by William and Thomas Evans.
Philadelphia: Rakestraw. Imp. 8vo. 1840.
- 16.—Do. Edited in part by James Cropper.
Warrington: Hurst. 8vo. 1840.¹
- 17.—Do. As B16.
New York: Collins. 8vo. 1845.
- 17^a—New York. Collins Bro. & Co. New Bedford: Wm. C. Taber & Son. 1845.
- 18.—Do.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1847.
- 19.—Do.
London: Marsh. 12mo. 1857.
- 20.—Do.
Philadelphia: Friends' Association for the Diffusion of Religious and Useful Knowledge. 12mo. 1860.
- 21.—Do. With Introduction by John Greenleaf Whittier.²
Boston: Osgood. 8vo. 1871.
- 22.—Do. As B21.
Boston: Osgood. 8vo. 1872.
- NOTE.—Reprinted 1873 and later.
- 23.—Do. As B21.
Glasgow: Smeal. 8vo. 1882.
- 24.—Do. As B21.
Glasgow: Smeal. 8vo. 1883.
- 25.—Do.
Philadelphia: Friends' Book Association. 8vo. 1892.
- 26.—Do. As B21.
London: Hicks. 8vo. 1895.
- 27.—Do. As B21. "The 11th. edition."
London: Headley. 8vo. 1896.
- 28.—Do. In *Books of the Heart* series. With Introduction by Alexander Smellie, M.A.; and *Appreciation* by J. G. Whittier (as in B21).
London: Melrose. Small 8vo. 1898.
- 29.—Do. As B21.
Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 8vo.

¹ In this edition, "16th of 6mo." should be 5mo (page 151); and "13th of 6mo." should be 9mo. (page 167).

² Attention should be called to the error in dating in the Whittier editions: "Sixteenth of sixth month" should read "fifth" month (1772).

- 30.—Do. As B21. "Complete edition."
London: Headley. 8vo. 1899.
- 31.—Do. As B21.
London: Headley. 8vo. 1900.
- 32.—Do. As B21. "The New Century edition." Illustrated. With
Bibliography, Index, etc.
London: Headley. 8vo. 1900.
- 32a.—Do.
London: Essex House Press, Bow. 1901.
Printed on guarantee of John W. Pease and other
Friends, with Frontispiece by Reginald Savage, and
under care of C. R. Ashbee.
- 33.—Do. . . . to which are added his last Epistle and Other Writ-
ings: *Pocket Classics*.
New York: Macmillan Co. 12mo. 1903.
- 34.—Do. In *Harvard Classics*. Ed. by Charles W. Eliot, LL.D.
R. F. Collier and Son. 1909.
- 35.—Do. With Introduction by Vida D. Scudder. *Everyman's
Library*.
London: J. M. Dent & Co. 1912.
- 36.—Do. As B18. Translated into German as Tagebuch des
Lebens . . . Johann Woolman.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1852.
- Extracts from the Journal of John Woolman.
- 37.—An Extract from John Woolman's Journal in Manuscript,
Concerning the Ministry. ["On this visit . . . may raise
us."]
London. 8vo. 1775.
- 38.—Do. Another Extract. In Vol. I. of Friends' Miscellany,
edited by John and Isaac Comly.
Philadelphia: Richards. 12mo. 1831.
- 39.—Memoirs of John Woolman. Tract No. 15.
London: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo. 1815.
- NOTE.—This has been frequently reprinted.
- 40.—As B39. Translated into German.
London: Marsh. 12mo. 1869.
- 41.—Memoir of John Woolman. Tract No. 17.
Dublin: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo. 1815.
- NOTE.—"The 3rd. edition" was issued in 1827.
- 42.—Memoir of John Woolman. Tract No. 1.
Philadelphia: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo.
- NOTE.—"The 2nd edition" was issued in 1817.

43.—Memoire de Jean Woolman.

à Londres: chez Vogel. 12mo. 1819.

NOTE.—Reprinted by Wertheimer in 1845, 1851.

C.

- 1.—Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes recommended to the Professors of Christianity of every Denomination. Part I. (Whittier's *Introduction*, printed in the various editions, inaccurately ascribes a quotation beginning "When trade is carried on productive of much misery," to this Essay, whereas it is taken from his Essay written in England, "On the slave Trade.")

Phila.: Chattin. Small 8vo. 1754. (A note to the Whittier editions states, "This pamphlet bears the imprint of Benjamin Franklin, 1754," but it was printed by James Chattin, in Church Alley, Philadelphia. Franklin printed *Part II.* in 1762.

- 2.—Do. In A1.
Philadelphia. Crukshank. 8vo. 1775.
- 3.—Do. In A2.
Philadelphia. Crukshank. 8vo. 1775.
- 4.—Do. In B6.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1776.
- 5.—Do. In B7.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1778.
- 6.—Do. In B8.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1794.
- 7.—Do. In A6.
Philadelphia: Johnson. 12mo. 1800.
- 8.—Do. In P2, abridged under the title *On Christian Moderation*.
London: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo. 1816., etc.
- 9.—Do. In P3.
Dublin: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo. 1817, etc.
- 10.—Do. In B10.
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1824.
- 11.—Do. In B14. Edited by John Comly.
Philadelphia: Chapman. 12mo. 1837.
- 12.—Do. In B15.
Philadelphia: Rakestraw. Imp. 8vo. 1840.
- 13.—Do. In B16.
Warrington: Hurst. 8vo. 1840.

- 14.—Do. In B17.
New York: Collins. 8vo. 1845.
- 15.—Do. In B18.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1847.
- 16.—Do. In B20.
Philadelphia: Friends' Association, etc. 12mo. 1860.
- 17.—Do. Tract No. 85.
Philadelphia: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo.
- 18.—Do. In B36, as *Einige Betrachtungen über das Halten von Negern . . . Erster Theil.*
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1852.

D.

- 1.—Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, etc. Part II.
Philadelphia: B. Franklin and D. Hall. 8vo. 1762.
- 2.—Do. In A1.
Philadelphia: Cruikshank. 8vo. 1774.
- 3.—Do. In A2.
Philadelphia: Cruikshank. 8vo. 1775.
- 4.—Do. In B6.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1776.
- 5.—Do. In B7.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1778.
- 6.—Do. In B8.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1794.
- 7.—Do. In A6.
Philadelphia: Johnson. 12mo. 1800.
- 7a.—"Considerations on Slavery addressed to the Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination and affectionately recommended to their sober unprejudiced attention. By John Woolman."
Printed by Thomas Manied. Baltimore, Md. 1821.
(13pp. Introd. to "Considerations . . . on Negroes." Pt. II.)
- 8.—Do. In B10.
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1824.
- 9.—Do. In B14.
Philadelphia: Chapman. 12mo. 1837. (Comly's Edit.)
- 10.—Do. In B15.
Philadelphia: Rakestraw. Imp. 8vo. 1840.
- 11.—Do. In B16.
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- 12.—Do. In B17.
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- 13.—Do. In B18.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1847.
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- 15.—Do. In B36 as: Betrachtungen über das Halten von Negern.
. . . Zweiter Theil.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1852.

E.

- 1.—Considerations (i) on Pure Wisdom and Human Policy, (ii) on Labour, (iii) on Schools, (iv) on the Right Use of the Lord's Outward Gifts.
Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers. 8vo. 1758.
- 2.—Do. In H1.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
- 3.—Do. In A5.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
- 4.—Do. In H3.
Dublin: Jackson. 12mo. 1773.
- 5.—Do. In A1.
Philadelphia: Cruikshank. 8vo. 1774.
- 6.—Do. In A2.
Philadelphia: Cruikshank. 8vo. 1775.
- 7.—Do. In A3.
London: Letchworth. 8vo. 1775.
- 8.—Do. In A4.
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1775.
- 9.—Do. In B6.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1776.
- 10.—Do. In B7.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1778.
- 11.—Do. In B8.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1794.
- 12.—Do. In A6.
Philadelphia: Johnson. 12mo. 1800.
- 13.—Do. In H4.
New York: Collins. 12mo. 1805.
- 14.—Do. In P2, omitting (ii.) and (iii.) abridged.
London: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo. 1816, etc.

- 15.—Do. In P3.
Dublin: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo. 1817, etc.
- 16.—Do. In B10.
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1824.
- 17.—Do. In B11, omitting (ii).
Lindfield: Schools of Industry. 16mo. 1832.
- 18.—Do. In B12, omitting (ii).
Lindfield: Schools of Industry. 16mo. 1833.
- 19.—Do. In B13, omitting (ii.).
Lindfield: Schools of Industry. Large 18mo. 1838.
- 20.—Do. In B14.
Philadelphia: Chapman. 12mo. 1837.
- 21.—Do. In B15.
Philadelphia: Rakestraw. Imp. 8vo. 1840.
- 22.—Do. In B16.
Warrington: Hurst. 8vo. 1840.
- 23.—Do. In B17.
New York: Collins. 8vo. 1845.
- 24.—Do. In B18.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1847.
- 25.—Do. In B19.
London: Marsh. 12mo. 1857.
- 26.—Do. In B20.
Philadelphia: Friends' Tract Association, etc. 12mo. 1860.
- 27.—Do. In B36, as: Betrachtungen über ächte Weisheit und menschliche Klugheit, über Arbeit, über Schulen, und über den rechten Gebrauch äusserer Glücksgüter.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1852.

F.

- 1.—Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind, and how it is to be maintained. Chap. 1, on Serving the Lord in our Outward Employments; chap. 2, on the Example of Christ; chap. 3, on Merchandizing; chap. 4, on Divine Admonitions.
Philadelphia:: Cruikshank. 12mo. 1770.
- 2.—Do. In H1.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
- 3.—Do. In A5.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
- 4.—Do. In H2.
Dublin: Jackson. 12mo. 1773.

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- 5.—Do. In A1.
Philadelphia: Crukshank. 8vo. 1774.
- 6.—Do. In A2.
Philadelphia: Crukshank. 8vo. 1775.
- 7.—Do. In A3.
London: Letchworth. 8vo. 1775.
- 8.—Do. In A4.
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1775.
- 9.—Do. In B6.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1776.
- 10.—Do. In B7.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1778.
- 11.—Do. In B8.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1794.
- 12.—Do. In A6.
Philadelphia: Johnson. 12mo. 1800.
- 13.—Do. In H4.
New York. Collins. 12mo. 1805.
- 14.—Do. In P2, chap. 2 only, slightly abridged.
London: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo. 1816, etc.
- 15.—Do. In P3.
Dublin: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo. 1817, etc.
- 16.—Do. In B10.
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1824.
- 17.—Do. In B11, chapter 2 only.
Lindfield: Schools of Industry. 16mo. 1832.
- 18.—Do. In B12, chapters 1 and 2 only.
Lindfield: Schools of Industry. Large 18mo. 1833.
- 19.—Do. In B13, chapters 1 and 2 only.
Lindfield Schools of Industry. Large 18mo. 1838.
- 20.—Do. In B14.
Philadelphia: Chapman. 12mo. 1837.
- 21.—Do. In B15.
Philadelphia: Rakestraw. Imp. 8mo. 1840.
- 22.—Do. In B16.
Warrington: Hurst. 8vo. 1840.
- 23.—Do. In B17.
New York: Collins. 8vo. 1845.
- 24.—Do. In B18.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1847.
- 25.—In B19.
London: Marsh. 12mo. 1857.

- 26.—Do. In B20.
Philadelphia: Friends' Association, etc. 12mo. 1860.
- 27.—Do. In B36, as: Betrachtungen über die wahre Harmonie des Menschengeschlechts, und wie sie unterhalten werden kann. Cap. I. Ueber die Art und Weise, wie wir dem Herrn bei unsern äussern Berufsgeschäften dienen können. Cap. II. Ueber das Beispiel Christi. Cap. III. Ueber den Handel. Cap. IV. Ueber göttliche Zurechtweisungen.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1852.

G.

- 1.—Remarks on Sundry Subjects. (i.) on Loving our Neighbors as Ourselves, (ii.) on a Sailor's Life, (iii.) on Silent Worship, and in some editions (iv.) also, on Trading in Superfluities. In H1.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
("On Loving Our Neighbors," etc., is said to have been printed at Darlington, Eng., 1775, also, but has not as yet come to light.)
- 2.—Do. In A5.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
- 3.—Do. In H3.
Dublin: Jackson. 12mo. 1773.
- 4.—Do. In A1.
Philadelphia: Crukshank. 8vo. 1774.
- 5.—Do. In A2.
Philadelphia: Crukshank. 8vo. 1775.
- 6.—Do. In A3.
London: Letchworth. 8vo. 1775.
- 7.—Do. In A4.
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1775.
- 8.—Do. In B6, including (iv.).
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1776.
- 9.—Do. In B7, including (iv.).
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1778.
- 10.—Do. In B8, including (iv.).
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1794.
- 11.—Do. In A6.
Philadelphia: Johnson. 12mo. 1800.
- 12.—Do. In H4.
New York: Collins. 12mo. 1805.

- 13.—Do. (i.) only, with Preface by John Thorp.
Macclesfield: Wilson. 8vo. 1807.
- 14.—Do. In B10, including (iv.).
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1824.
- 15.—Do. In B11, (ii.) and (iii.) only.
Lindfield: Schools of Industry. 16mo. 1832.
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- 20.—Do. In B16, (i.) and (iii.) only.
Warrington: Hurst. 8vo. 1840.
- 21.—Do. In B17, (i.) and (iii.) only.
New York: Collins. 8vo. 1845.
- 22.—Do. In P4, (i.) only, briefly extracted.
Manchester: Harrison. 16mo. 1844.
- 23.—Do. In B18, (i) and (iii.) only.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1847.
- 24.—Do. In B19, (i.) and (iii.) only.
London: Marsh. 12mo. 1857.
- 25.—Do. In B20.
Philadelphia: Friends' Tract Association, etc. 12mo. 1860.
- 26.—Do. In B36 (i.) and (iii.) only, as: Betrachtungen über verschiedene Gegenstände: (i.) Ueber die Liebe zu unsern Nächsten; (iii.) Ueber stille Gottesverehrung.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1852.

H.

- 1.—Serious Considerations on Various Subjects of Importance, containing works under letters E, F, G, I, J, and an Introduction.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
- 2.—Do. In A5.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
- 3.—Do.
Dublin: Jackson. 12mo. 1773.
- 4.—Do. With L.
New York: Collins. 12mo. 1805.

I.

- 1.—An Epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends.
Dated Mount Holly, New Jersey, 4th month, 1772. 8vo.
1772.
- 2.—Do. In H1.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
- 3.—Do. In A5.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
- 4.—Do. In H3.
Dublin: Jackson. 12mo. 1773.
- 5.—Do. In A1.
Philadelphia: Crukshank. 8vo. 1774.
- 6.—Do. In A2.
Philadelphia: Crukshank. 8vo. 1775.
- 7.—Do. In A3.
London: Letchworth. 8vo. 1775.
- 8.—Do. In A4.
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1775.
- 9.—Do. In B6.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1776.
- 10.—Do. In B7.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1778.
- 11.—Do. In B8.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1794.
- 12.—Do. In A6.
Philadelphia: Johnson. 12mo. 1800.
- 13.—Do. In H4.
New York: Collins. 12mo. 1805.
- 14.—Do. With a Preface by J. B. (John Barclay.).
London: Harvey and Darton. 12mo. 1820.
- 15.—Do. In B10.
London: Phillips. 8vo. 1824.
- 16.—Do. As No. 48 of Manchester and Stockport Tract Association.
12mo. 1837.
- 17.—Do. In B14.
Philadelphia: Chapman. 12mo. 1837.
- 18.—Do. In Vol. I. of *The Irish Friend*, abridged.
Belfast: Macauley. 4to. 1837.
- 19.—Do. In B15.
Philadelphia: Rakestraw. Imp. 8vo. 1840.

- 20.—Do. In B16.
Warrington: Hurst. 8vo. 1840.
 - 21.—Do. In B17.
New York: Collins. 8vo. 1845.
 - 22.—Do. In B18.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1847.
 - 23.—Do. In B19.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1857.
 - 24.—Do. In B20.
Philadelphia: Friends' Tract Association, etc. 12mo. 1860.
 - 25.—Do. In B36, as: Eine Epistel an die vierteljährlichen und monatlichen Versammlungen der Freunde.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1852.
- See Extracts in *Ground of Christian Discipline*.
York: Alexander. 12mo. 1824.

J.

- 1.—Some Expressions of John Woolman in his last Illness. In H1.
B32, Q. R.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
- 2.—Do. In A5.
London: Hinde. 12mo. 1773.
- 3.—Do. In H3.
Dublin: Jackson. 12mo. 1773.
- 4.—Do. In H4.
New York: Collins. 12mo. 1805.
- 5.—Bound with "Visions in Verse for the Entertainment of Younger Minds." 7th. edit.
J. Dodsley, Pall Mall, London.

K.

- 1.—Account of Elizabeth Woolman. In B16, B32, &c.
Warrington: Hurst. 8vo. 1840.
- 2.—Do. In B17.
New York: Collins. 8vo. 1845.
- 3.—Do. In B18.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1847.
- 4.—Do. In B19.
London: Marsh. 12mo. 1857.
- 5.—Do. In B36, as: Bericht von Elizabeth Woolman.
London: Marsh. 8vo. 1852.

L.

- 1.—A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich. Correct title, as written by John Woolman, "*A Plea for the Poor.*"
Dublin: Jackson. Small 12mo. 1793.
- 2.—Do. In B8.
Dublin: Jackson. 8vo. 1794.
- 3.—Do.
London: Darton and Harvey. Small 12mo. 1794.
- 4.—Do. In H4.
New York: Collins. 12mo. 1805.
- 5.—Do. In B14, as: *A Plea for the Poor*, with sixteen sections, otherwise numbered, and containing additional matter. Dated 9th of Tenth Mo., 1769.
Philadelphia: Chapman. 12mo. 1837.
- 6.—Do. In B16.
Warrington: Hurst. 8vo. 1840.
- 7.—Do. In B17.
New York: Collins. 8vo. 1845.
- 8.—Do. In P4, briefly extracted.
Manchester: Harrison. 16mo. 1844.
- 9.—Do. In B21.
Boston: Osgood. 8vo. 1871.
- 10.—Do. In B22.
Boston, Osgood. 8vo. 1872.
- 11.—Do. In B23.
Glasgow: Smeal. 8vo. 1882.
- 12.—Do. In B24.
Glasgow: Smeal. 8vo. 1883.
- 13.—Do. In B26.
London: Hicks. 8vo. 1895.
- 14.—Do. In B27.
London: Headley. 8vo. 1896.
- 15.—Do. As Tract No. 79, abridged to about one-half; with Introduction and Bibliography.
London: Fabian Society. 8vo. 1897. 15pp.¹
- 16.—Do. As L15. "*Tenth Thousand. Reprinted.*"
London: Fabian Society. 8vo. 1898.
- 17.—Do. In B29.
Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. 8vo.

¹ John Woolman is called "the John the Baptist of the Gospel of Socialism."

R E M A R K S
O N
SUNDRY SUBJECTS.

By JOHN WOOLMAN.

L O N D O N :

Printed by MARY HINDE.

- 18.—Do. In B30.
London: Headley. 8vo. 1899.
- 19.—Do. In B31.
London: Headley. 8vo. 1900.
- 20.—Do. In B32.
London: Headley. 8vo. 1900.
- 21.—Do. As No. 13 of Stockport Tracts, abridged. 12mo.
NOTE—See Nos. 5, 14 of same series of Tracts.
- 22.—Do. Translated into French by Jacques Desmanoirs, as: *Avis Rememoratif, ou, Un Mot de Caution adressé aux Riches.*
à Dublin: chez Bates. 16mo. 1800.
- 23.—Do. "Reprint of the Appendix of John Woolman's Journal".
Philadelphia: D. H. Wright. 1913.
- 24.—Do. Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store. 1917.

M.

- 1.—A First Book for Children, A, B, C, D, etc. Much useful reading being sullied and torn by Children in Schools before they can read, this Book is intended to save unnecessary expense.
- 2.—Do. "The 2nd edition."
- 3.—Do. "The 3rd edition, enlarged."
Philadelphia: Cruikshank. 48mo.¹

N.

- 1.—Letters of John Woolman. In Vol. II. of *Letters on Religious Subjects*. Numbered 25 and 32. Edited by John Kendall.
London: Phillips. 12mo. 1820.
- 2.—Do. In Vol. I. of *Friends' Miscellany*, edited by John and Isaac Comly.
Philadelphia: Richards. 8vo. 1834.
- 3.—Do. In B14.
Philadelphia: Chapman. 12mo. 1837.
- 4.—Do. In *Memorials of Rebecca Jones*, compiled by William J. Allinson.
Philadelphia: Longstreth. 8vo. [1849.]
- 5.—Do. In *The Journal*. B32, pp. 81, 97, 141, 239, 291ff.
- 6.—Do. In *Friends' Review*, Vols. V., XXVIII.

¹ As to date of publication, Joseph Smith's *Catalogue* says "about 1774," but Hildeburn's *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1885, II, 206, says, "The year assigned by Joseph Smith is undoubtedly wrong," and gives 1769. Both dates are too late.

O.

- 1.—A small Paper on Prayer. Headed, "During a season of severe illness, John Woolman had the following committed to writing."
12mo.
- 2.—Do. Card. Printed by John Bellows of Gloucester.

P.

Extracts from the Works of John Woolman.

- 1.—Conversations on the True Harmony of Mankind, from MS. Journal dated Third Month, 1772. In B14, and in Vol. I of Comly's *Friends' Miscellany*.
- 2.—Selections from the Writings of John Woolman. As Tract No. 21, containing portions of C (entitled On Christian Moderation), E. F.
London: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo. 1816.
NOTE.—Reprinted, 1818, 1824, 1841, etc.
- 3.—Do. Reprinted from P2, as Tract No. 24.
Dublin: Friends' Tract Association. 12mo. 1817.
NOTE.—Reprinted 1823, 1841, etc.
- 4.—Do. Containing portions of G. L. With brief Extracts from William Penn's No Cross, No Crown.
Manchester: Harrison. 16 mo. 1844.

Q.

- 1.—Testimonies concerning John Woolman of Friends of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, England, in 1773, and of Burlington Monthly Meeting, N. J., in 1774. In A1.
Philadelphia: Crukshank. 8vo. 1774.
- 2.—Do. In Collection of Memorials concerning Friends in Pennsylvania, . . . with Notices of Dying Sayings, by Thomas Priestman.
Philadelphia: Crukshank. 8vo. 1787.
These Testimonies appear in nearly all of the older editions of Woolman, and in the edition in German of Marsh, (London) 1852, B36. See also, *Friends' Review*, Philadelphia, Vol. xiii.

R.

LETTERS RESPECTING THE ILLNESS AND DEATH OF
JOHN WOOLMAN.

- 1.—Esther Tuke to a Friend [Samuel Emlen]. York, 14th of Tenth Month, 1772. In Vol. V. of *The Irish Friend*, 1842. B32, p. 293-296. [Inaccurate.]
- 2.—Esther Tuke to a Friend. York. In MS. volume in Library at Friends' Meeting-house, Brighton. B32, p. 297ff.
- 3.—William Tuke to Reuben Haines. York, 26th of Tenth Month, 1772. In Vol. VIII. of Comly's *Friends' Miscellany*.

S.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER ARTICLES ON
JOHN WOOLMAN

Reflexions arising from Well-known Events (decease of Samuel Fothergill, William Hunt, and John Woolman). In verse. Dated 10th month 29, 1772. By Mary Barnard.

London: Darton. Broadside. 1772.

Do. Reprinted in the *Annual Monitor* for 1815; in Vol. I. of *The Irish Friend* (1837); at York, as a Broadside, in 1815; and elsewhere.

To the Memory of John Woolman. By T[homas] May. In verse. Broadside. 1772.

Memoir of John Woolman. Chiefly extracted from a Journal of his Life and Travels. B. & T. Kite.

Philadelphia: 20 pp. 1825.

A Tribute to the Memory of John Woolman. In verse. *Poems*, By Bernard Barton, also in Vol. III. of *The Friend*.

Philadelphia: Richardson. 4to. 1830.

Do. In B16 and B17; in the *Annual Monitor* for 1825; and in Vol. I. of *The Irish Friend*. 1837.

Saint John Woolman. In *The Eclectic Review*, of June, 1861.

Do. Reprinted from *The Eclectic Review*, of June, 1861.

London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 8vo. 1864.

See also *Friends' Review*, Vol. XVII.

John Woolman. By David Duncan. A Paper read at the Manchester Friends' Institute.

London: Kitto. 8vo. 1871.

628 THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN

- John Woolman. By Dora Greenwell. See B32, p. 3.
London: Kitto. Small 8vo. 1871.
- John Woolman's Journal. Art. by W. P. Garrison. "The Nation,"
Vol. 13, p. 44. (2 pp.) 1871.
- C. W. Moulton. Art. on J. W. in "Library of Literary Criticism."
Vol. III. p. 596 (3 pp.).
- To ——— with a copy of Woolman's Journal. By John G. Whit-
tier. Among published poems.
- Introduction to John Woolman's Journal, with Notes, by J. G. Whit-
tier. Dated First Month 20th. 1871. See B21, ff.
See also *Friends' Review*, Vol. XXIV.
- Early Life of John Woolman. As No. 40 of Manchester District
Friends' Tract Association.
- "John Woolman." In "*The New Englander*." Vol. V. p. 219. 1872.
By E. O. Daggett.
- "The Christianity of John Woolman." In "*Characteristics*," A. P.
Russell.
Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884.
- A Quaker Saint: The Story of John Woolman. By W. Garrett
Horder. In *The Young Man* of December, 1874.
- John Woolman. In *Biographical Catalogue of Friends' Institute*.
London: Friends' Institute. 8vo. 1888.
- John Woolman. Reprinted from *The Young Man* of December, 1874,
in *Quaker Worthies*, by W. Garrett Horder.
London: Headley. 8vo. 1896.
- John Woolman: A Study for Young Men. By Thomas Green, M.A.
London: Hodder and Stoughton. Small 8vo. 1885.
- Do. "The 2nd Edition." With Introduction by Principal H. C. G.
Moule, B.D.
London: Headley. Small 8vo. 1897.
- A Sketch of the Life of John Woolman. As No. 6 of *Booklet Series*.
Illustrated. "I.M.A."
London: Friends' Tract Association. Oblong 8vo.
- John Woolman. By Eliz. M. Chandler. In *Quaker Poems*. Com-
piled by Charles F. Jenkins.
Philadelphia: Winston Co. 8vo. 1893.
- John Woolman. Irene M. Ashby. *Present Day Papers*, Vol. III.
April, 1900.
London: Headley.
- John Woolman: A Social Reformer of the 18th Century. E. C.
Wilson in "Economic Review." Vol. II. p. 170ff.
London: 1901.

- John Woolman: His Life and Our Times. A Study in Applied Christianity. By W. Teignmouth Shore.
London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo. 1913.
- John Woolman. T. Edmund Harvey, M.A. In *Constructive Quarterly*.
London: March, 1914.
- John Woolman. By G. M. Trevelyan. In *Clio, A Muse, and Other Essays*. London: 1913.
London: Longmans.
- Everyday Friendliness—John Woolman. In *Christian Standards in Life*. Murray and Harris. Student Association Press.
New York and London: 1915.
- John Woolman. Craftsman-Prophet. Ernest E. Taylor. In *Friends, Ancient and Modern*. No. 20.
London: Friends' Tract Association. 1920.
- John Woolman. A Pioneer in Labor Reform. Ann Sharpless.
Philadelphia: Friends' Book Committee. 1920.
- Personal Religion and Social Progress—An Interpretation of John Woolman's Message. Herbert G. Wood, M.A.
London: Reprinted from *The Friend*. Oct., 1920.
- John Woolman. In Vol. LXII. of *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- John Woolman. In Part III. of *Piety Promoted*.

References to John Woolman have appeared in many publications.

Among the most important are the following:

- Appleton's Encyclopædia of American Literature. VI. 605.
- Hildeburn's Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania. 1885.
- Allibone's Dictionary of English Literature. 1891. III. 2471, 2834.
- Lamb's Essay of Elia. A Quaker's Meeting.
- Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books and Supplement.
- Poem* to John Woolman, signed "Gertrude." *The Friend*, [Phil*]. Vol. V. p. 292.
- Comly's Friends' Miscellany. I. 142, 337, 399, 404; IV. 260; VIII. 229; IX. 94.
- Friends' Quarterly Examiner, Seventh Month, 1888.
- Quakeriana. I., 157; II., 29.
- Brissot's New Travels in America. 1788.
- Henry Crabb Robinson's Diary, under dates 1824 and 1826. I., 403, 406; II., 14, 136. *The Friend*, 1870, p. 65.
- Leeds Mercury, 13th October, 1772.
- Ascot R. Hope's Heroes in Homespun, 1894.
- Friends' Review. Vols. I., IV., V., VI., X., XIII., XV., XVII., XVIII., XXIV., XXV., XXVIII.,
- Good Words. I., 528, 715.

The Friend, London. 1845, p. 12; 1865, p. 178; 1870, p. 65; 1896, p. 790; 1898, p. 60; 1900, p. 113.

The British Friend. 1843, 1852, 1857, 1865, 1866, 1868, 1885, 1889.

Genius of Universal Emancipation, quoted in *The British Friend*, 1852.

The Democrat, quoted in *The British Friend*, 1885.

John Barclay's Select Anecdotes.

Bowden's History of Friends in America. II., 390ff, with woodcut of J. W.'s house at Mount Holly, and facsimile signature.

Janney's History of Friends. III., 306ff.

Walton's Incidents concerning the Society of Friends, 1897, pp. 130, 538, 635.

Cunningham's The Quakers, 1897.

William Beck's The Friends, 1893.

J. Storrs Turner's The Friends, 1889.

Friends' Intelligencer and Journal, 1893, 1897, 1899.

Bancroft's History of the United States.

Life of Elizabeth Pease Nichol, 1899, p. 291.

Illustrated Christian Weekly, quoted in the *Friends' Review*. Vol. XL. (1886).

Philadelphia American, quoted in the *Friends' Review*, Vol. XLIV. (1890).

The United Friend. 1895.

Christian Union, quoted in the *Friends' Review*. Vol. XXV.

Charles Tylor's Samuel Tuke, 1900.

Hodgson's Historical Memorials of Friends, 1844.

Armistead's Select Miscellanies. Vols. I., II., IV., V., VI.

N. P. Willis: Pencillings by the Way, p. 373.

Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, 1898, chap. 8.

Cartland's Southern Heroes, 1897, chap. 5.

Fortnightly Review, January, 1882.

Great Souls at Prayer, 1899, p. 245.

Allinson's Memoirs of Rebecca Jones, 1849, chap. 2.

Frederick Sessions, Isaiah, 1900, p. 17.

Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature, I., 146.

Social Hours with Friends. New York, 1867.

The Friend, Philadelphia. Vol. LXXII., p. 197.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Since this volume went to press, the Editor has had the opportunity of examining another Account Book which once belonged to John Woolman. It was exposed as of no value among some old books at a recent public sale in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. The wise purchaser noticed on the old leather binding the words "John Woolman's Ledger, B, 1753," and secured it for a trifle. It has been compared with the "Larger Account Book" frequently quoted here, and proves to be an earlier book of the same accounts. It contains reference to volume "A", for which search is being made, with, however, small hope of its recovery.

This old book has been used for a newspaper scrap-book, largely on anti-slavery subjects. The flour paste used under the clippings has permitted their very careful removal, revealing some interesting entries. Besides running accounts with his own family, and neighbors and friends in Shrewsbury and Philadelphia, there are purchases of skins for leather breeches, and all manner of country merchandise and imported materials, as well as groceries and rum and molasses. His spelling books are sold at 9d. for six, and "English quills" are bought. One account with William Calvert runs thus:

da.	mo.		£	s.	d.
21	7	1767	To cash paid at Philadelphia for thy		
			Books		
				7	10 0
da.	mo.				
12	7	1768	By cutting A Doz. Books		
			To 2 Doz. Books, "Considerations"		
			&c.		
				0	6 0
20			To cash lent when I went abroad		
				1	0 0
"			To two pair wooden shoes (no figure)		

We find too that in the winter of 1763-4, John Woolman removed his family to live for a time with his brother Asher in the

old home in Rancocas. Most important, perhaps, of all is a list of books loaned to various persons named. This shows that Woolman had quite a little lending library, in which were such writers as Eusebius, Everard, Desiderius, Behmen. Bishop Sherlock and Edward Taylor appear, and such books as "Every Man His Own Lawyer," loaned to John Abbott, his wife's cousin. There is ample evidence of the influence of the mystics on the mind of John Woolman, and of his study of legal methods for his many services as surveyor, conveyancer, and legal advisor to half the community. Charges for bleeding also occur.

While it is matter of regret that it has not been possible to make use of this old volume, it is only right that its discovery and rescue should be reported.

A. M. G.

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